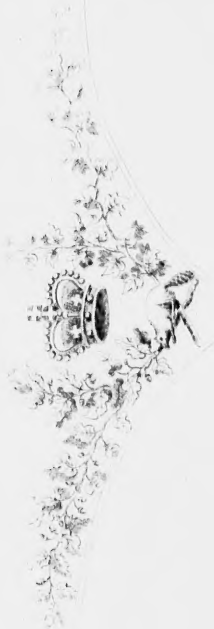




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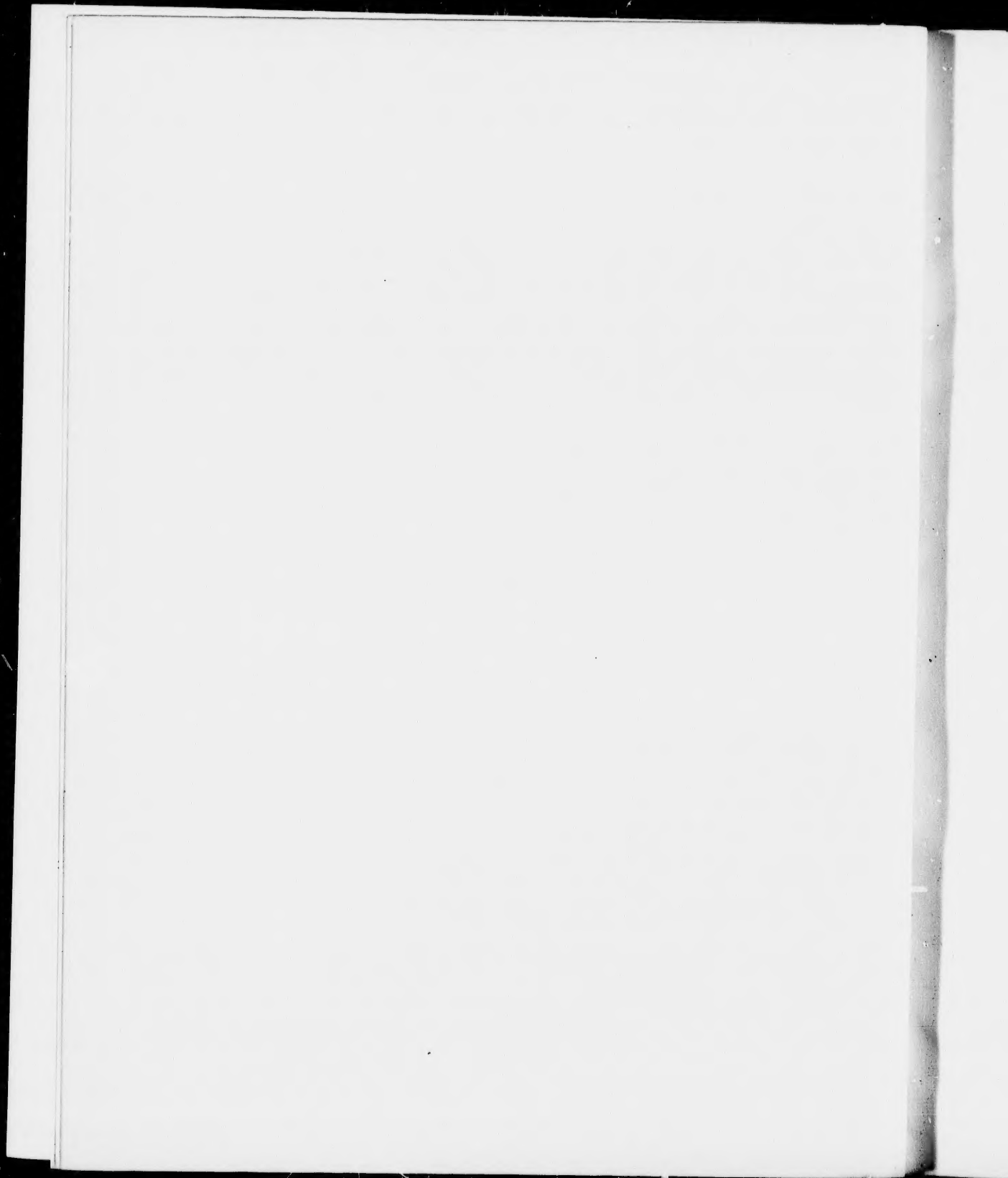
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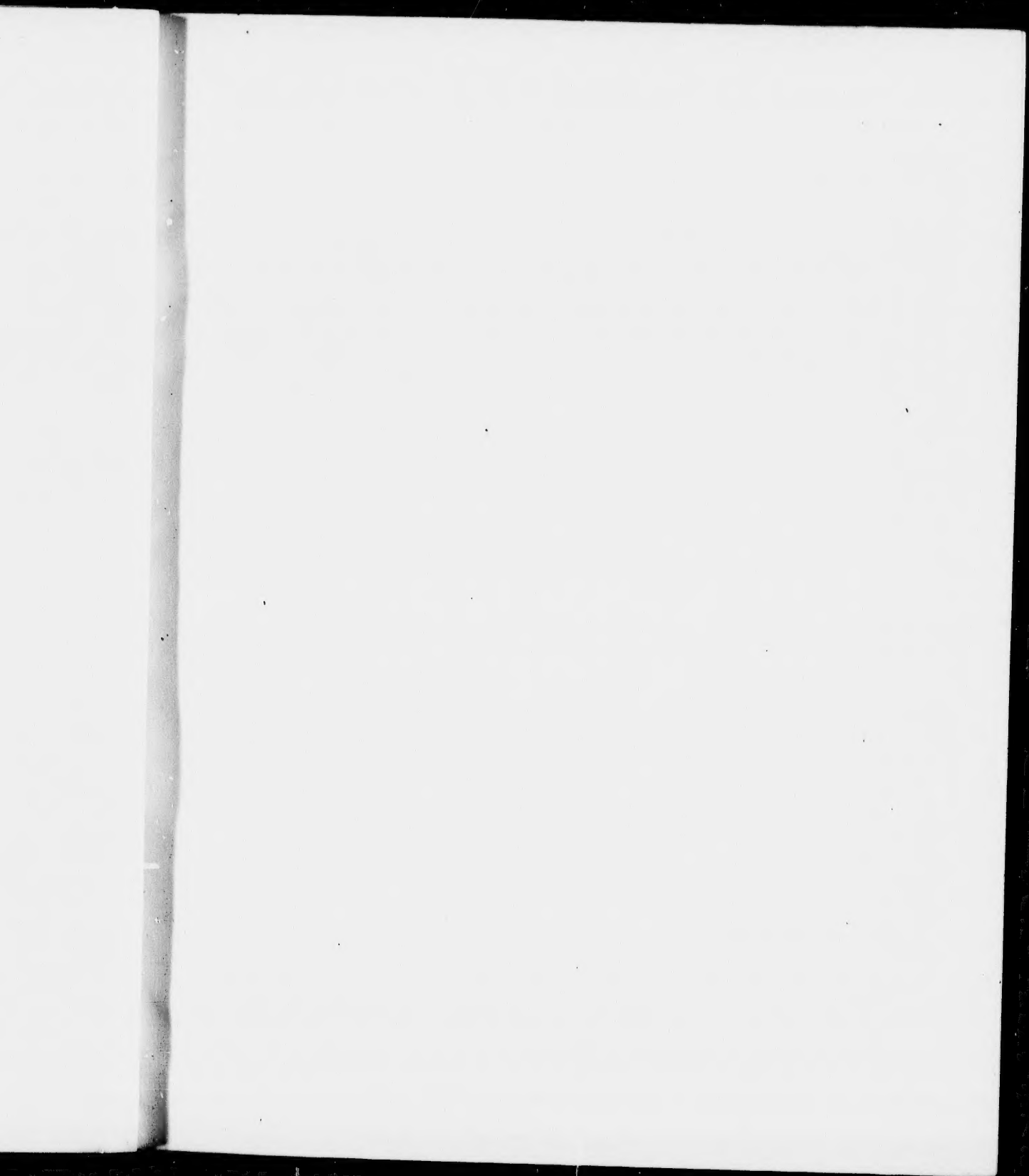
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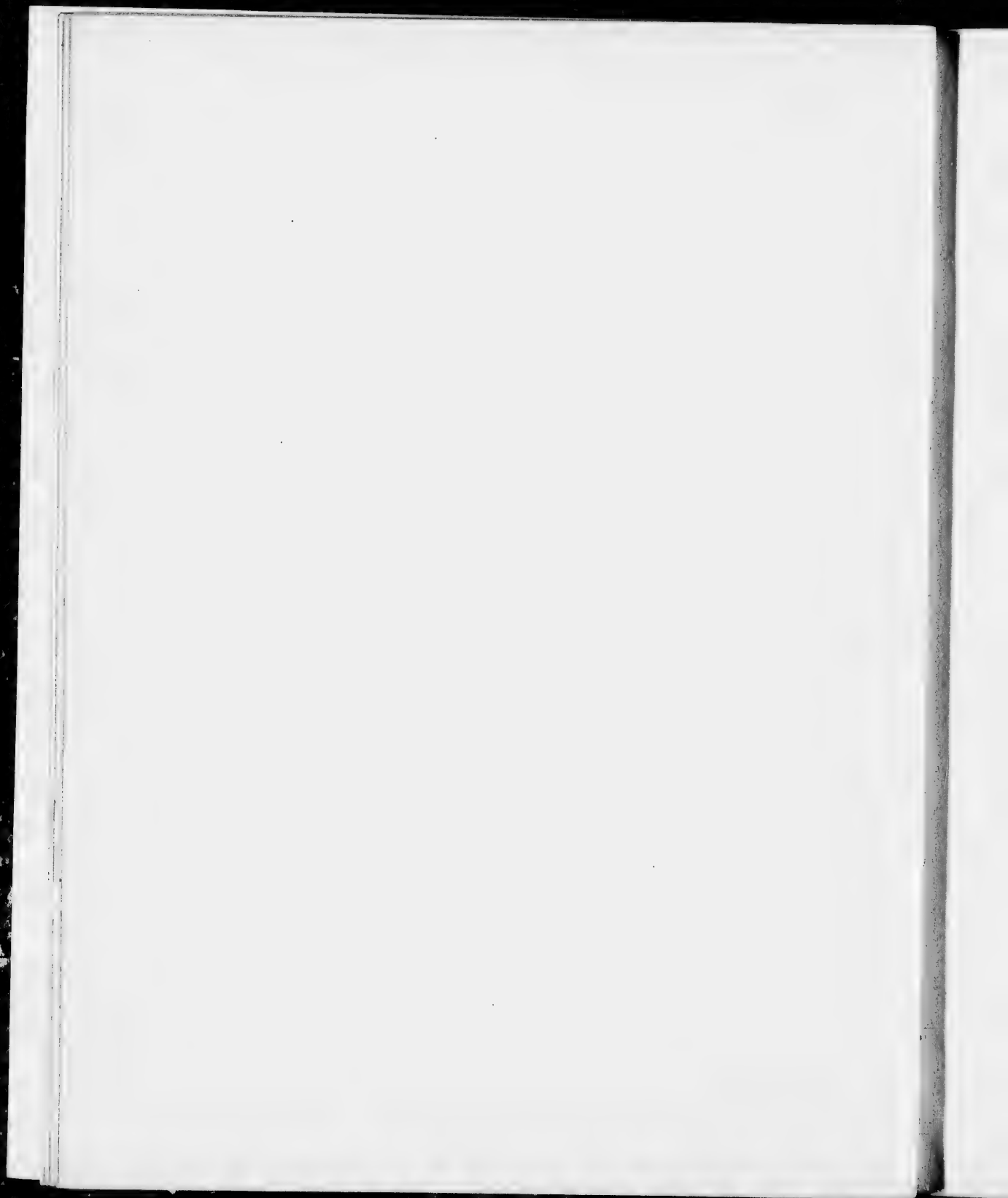
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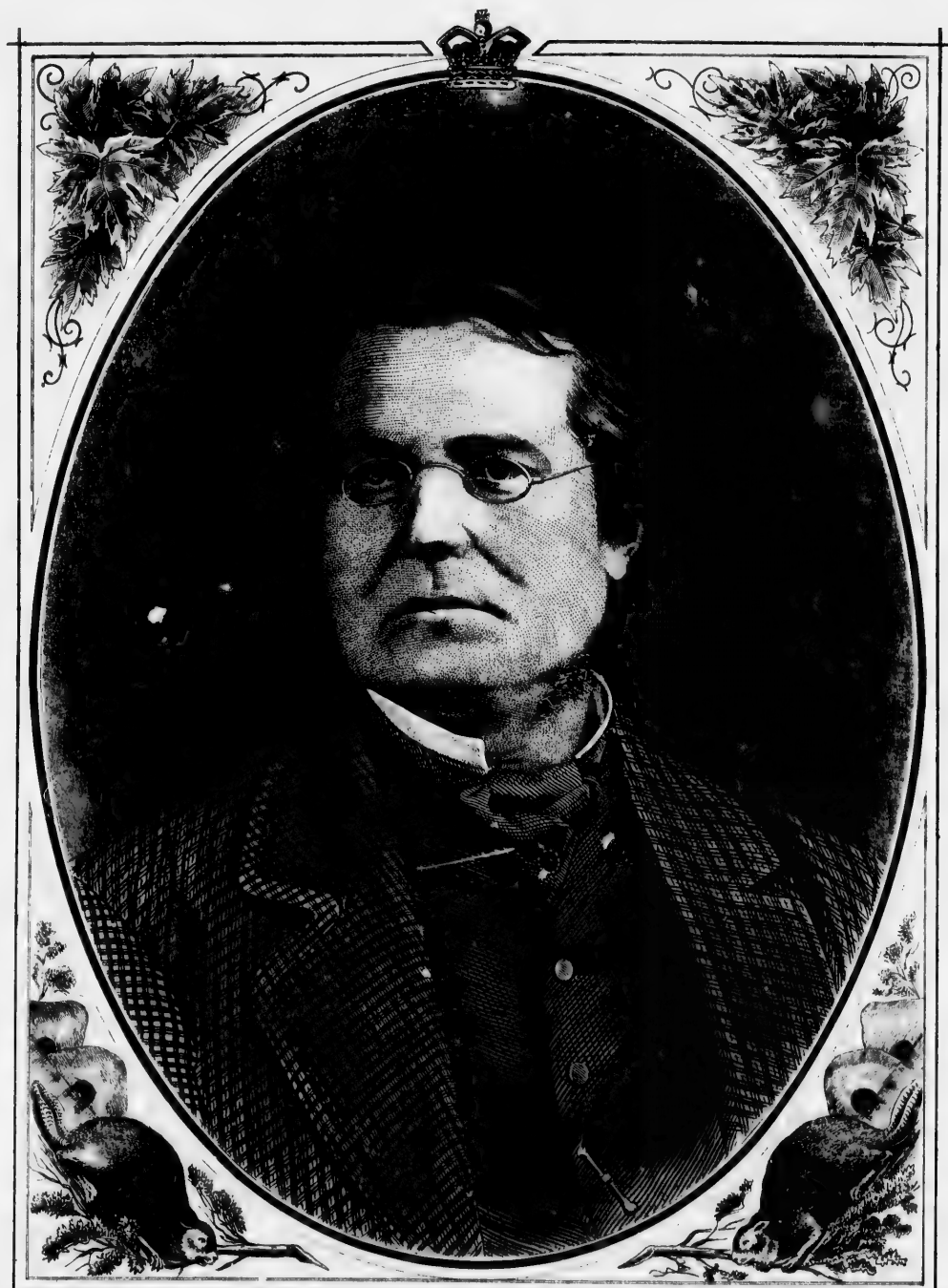
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THE COMPREHENSIVE  
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VOLUME II,  
FROM THE  
CONFEDERATION OF 1867 TO THE CLOSE OF 1878.

By CHARLES R. TUTTLE,

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN;" "HISTORY OF THE BORDER WARS OF TWO  
CENTURIES;" "HISTORY OF THE STATES OF IOWA, INDIANA, WISCONSIN;" "HISTORY  
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Registered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, A. D., 1879,

By CHARLES R. TUTTLE,

In the office of the Minister of Agriculture at Ottawa.

"THE GAZETTE" PRINT, MONTREAL.

## PREFACE.

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### VOLUME II.

IN presenting the second volume of the History of the Dominion of Canada to the public, the Editor wishes to set forth his plans concerning the whole work, and more particularly in respect of the scope and character of the volumes yet to be published. It is generally known that the first volume, issued in 1877, embraces the History of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island from their discovery and first settlement to the Confederation, of 1867. The present volume covers the period since Confederation, or from 1867 to 1879, and includes, not only the Provinces named, but also Manitoba, British Columbia and the North-West. The unfinished portion of the work, upon which the Editor is now engaged, may be described as follows:—Volume III, to be uniform in size and style with the two volumes already published, and to embrace Biographies of those persons who have distinguished themselves in any of the pursuits or professions of life, in all the Provinces, from the earliest Canadian and Acadian times down to and including the present; Volume IV, to be uniform with the present one, and to comprise a County History of the Dominion of Canada, that is, embracing the local history of each county within the Dominion; Volume V, to be uniform with the present one and embracing the general, civil and political history of the Dominion of Canada under the Administration of His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne, or for the five years closing in 1883. It is also the intention of the Editor to publish a volume similar to that last mentioned for each succeeding five years, as long as he may be able to do so.

It is upon this plan, as set forth above, and on the strength of the two volumes already published, that the Editor rests his claims upon the public for patronage and support. It was a fact, fully recognized on every hand in 1876, when the first installment of this History was published, that the important work of preserving the history and biography of the country had been hitherto neglected. Therefore an urgent demand existed that at least one person should devote himself somewhat permanently to the work of collecting the past and preserving the current History of the Dominion. The needs of the country did not so much require the production of a single volume, embracing the annals of the past, as the earnest and efficient labor of gathering and consolidating the records of the present. It was felt that in 1867, Canada had entered upon a new life—upon a "National" existence, full of promise of a near future greatness that would command the respect of the Great Powers of the World. Hence in no period of Canadian History could the work of the historian yield greater fruit than in that of the past ten years; while on the other hand, it is evident, that during the next twenty years, the History of the Dominion will solve many questions of political science of the greatest possible importance. The Editor will endeavor to deal with these subjects in a non-partisan spirit, always avoiding the very appearance of political bias. The two volumes already published will afford the best guarantee in regard to this.

## PREFACE.

In the preparation of the present volume, the Editor has availed himself of much assistance. The excellent works of Messrs. Leggo and Stewart on the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin in Canada, have been carefully consulted. The various daily newspaper files to be had at the Parliamentary Library, as also the Debates and other Public Documents have each contributed, as sources of information.

Amongst those persons who have assisted the Editor in his literary labors, none, perhaps, have rendered more valuable service than Mr. Dougall Macdougall, of Berlin, Ont., late one of the Centennial Exposition Commissioners for the Dominion of Canada. The excellent account of the part taken by the Dominion in the Great Exposition at Philadelphia, in 1876, which will be found in the following pages, is largely due to the co-operation and assistance of Mr. Macdougall. All readers of this history will no doubt unite their gratitude and appreciation with the thanks of the Editor for Mr. Macdougall's kind and generous contribution to this important department of the work.

The Editor would not fail to mention the name of Mr. John A. Phillips, a gentleman who has been connected with the newspaper press in Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa, and who has assisted in the compilation of both the first and second volumes of this work, and whose labors, the writer is free to acknowledge, have been not only faithful and arduous, but very productive. It is the hope and expectation of the Editor, that Mr. Phillips' labors will also be associated with those of the writer in the preparation of the future volumes of this work.

The names of many others might be mentioned, but it will suffice to state that within the past two years, almost all persons connected with the various literary pursuits of the Dominion, have in one way and another, recognized the value of this work by their ready and useful co-operation. It is from such evidences of appreciation as these that the writer feels encouraged to persevere to the end, in a work which can scarcely fail to yield a lasting benefit to the present and future generations of the Dominion of Canada.

CHAS. R. TUTTLE.

OTTAWA, April, 1879.

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2. LORD DURHAM'S EFFORTS FOR CONFEDERATION.—3. FRESH OFFICIAL STEPS TAKEN.—4. THE CHARLOTTETOWN CONVENTION.—5. THE MOVEMENT IN THE CANADAS.—6. THE WORK OF THE CHARLOTTETOWN CONVENTION.—7. THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE.—8. PROCEEDINGS IN CANADA.—9. PROCEEDINGS IN NEW BRUNSWICK.—10. PROCEEDINGS IN NOVA SCOTIA.—11. PROCEEDINGS IN NEWFOUNDLAND.—12. PROCEEDINGS IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND AND BRITISH COLUMBIA.—13. PROCEEDINGS OF THE DELEGATES IN ENGLAND.—14. ACTION OF THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.—15. PROCLAMATION.

1.—In the preceding volume we have traced the history of the Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, down to the federal union of 1867. In this volume we shall endeavor to compass the history of the Dominion since confederation; and, although in the previous volume we have given a pretty full account of the ways and means by which the federal scheme was accomplished, as also the causes leading to that end, yet, that each volume may be made complete in itself, a brief summary of the history of confederation itself may properly constitute

First efforts towards Confederation.

the opening chapter of this volume. As far back as 1784, when New Brunswick was set off from Nova Scotia, the subject of confederation was agitated. The idea was no doubt suggested to the minds of provincial statesmen by the then newly organized federal union of the United States, and therefore thought to be advisable as a counterpoise to that republic. There were men in those days who, discerning the tendency of the times, predicted that the near future would witness a federal union of British North America; but the Canadian people, with a few exceptions, have always been slow to advocate radical political changes, and therefore the sentiment could only be developed by circumstances. However, from that day to the consummation of the union, no Province has been without its advocate of the measure. About the year 1800, the Hon. R. J. Uniache, of Nova Scotia, suggested a scheme of colonial union to the Imperial authorities, which received considerable attention; and in 1814, Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec,—a man established in the friendship of the Duke of Kent, father of Her Majesty the Queen,—addressed to His Royal Highness a letter on the subject of a union, strongly recommending it—a document to which allusion is made by Lord Durham in his report on the affairs of the British North American Provinces. In 1822, Sir John Beverly Robinson, at the request of the Colonial Office, submitted a scheme of a similar nature. In 1824, and again in 1827, the subject was mooted in the provincial newspapers. Robert Gourlay,

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writing from London, in December, 1825, recommended that: "Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and Lower and Upper Canada, should be confederated; each to be as free within itself as one of the United States, and the whole to hold congress at Quebec. Each also to send two members to the British Parliament, to speak, but not to vote. A convention to meet after a lapse of time, to review and amend the whole system of government. A supreme judicial court to sit at Quebec for the final determination of appeals, and the governor-in-chief to exercise clemency." Many other details are included in his project, among which are, freedom of trade, assimilation of laws, canals, provincial army and navy; all to be gradually introduced, and religious equality to be established. In 1838, the Right Reverend Dr. Strachan, Lord Bishop of Toronto, in a letter to Mr. Charles Buller, secretary to Lord Durham, thus expresses himself: "It will be a pleasure to me to contribute everything in my power to the prosperous issue of Lord Durham's administration; and if Mr. Pitt considered the constitution which he conferred upon the Canadas one of the glories of his life, what glory must redound to the statesmen who give a free constitution to the British North American Colonies, and by consolidating them into one territory or kingdom, exalt them to a nation acting in unity, and under the protection of the British Government, and thus not only ensuring their happiness, but preventing forever the sad consequences that might arise from a rival power getting possession of their shores."

2.—We have good grounds for believing that Lord Durham's advocacy of union was, in a great measure, the "seed sown on good ground." In his celebrated report on Canada and British North America generally, His Lordship laid great stress upon the absolute necessity of a union, thus:—"On my first arrival in Canada I was strongly inclined to the project of a federal union, and it was with such a plan in view that I discussed a general measure for the government of the Colonies, with the deputations from the Lower Provinces, and with

Lord Durham's efforts for Confederation.

various leading individuals and public bodies in the Canadas. But I had still more strongly impressed on me the great advantage of an united government, and I was gratified by finding the leading minds of the various colonies strongly and generally inclined to a scheme that would elevate their countries into something like a national existence." Again, in reference to the influence of the United States as hemming us in on every side, His Lordship proceeds: "If we wish to prevent the extension of this influence, it can only be done by raising up for the North American colonist some nationality of his own, by elevating these small and unimportant communities into a society having some objects of a national importance, and by thus giving their inhabitants a country which they will be unwilling to see absorbed even into one more powerful. A union for common defence against foreign enemies is the natural bond of connection that holds together the great communities of the world, and between no parts of any kingdom or State is the necessity for such a union more obvious than between the whole of these colonies." But if colonial jealousies and dissensions prevented the accomplishment of Lord Durham's recommendations at that time, there is no doubt that his report was the means of preparing the public mind for the adoption of a measure similar in many respects to that proposed by him. The author of "Hochelaga" and "The Conquest of Canada," writing in 1843, gives expression to his hopes in the following language: "I should rejoice to see all the British North American possessions, Newfoundland included, united under a central colonial government and represented in a common legislature; each, however, still retaining its own assemblies for local and particular purposes." But it would be tedious as well as difficult to enumerate all the "declarations" for a union that were pronounced by influential men of the provinces during these years.

3.—The British American League, at Kingston, passed resolutions in favor of union, and in 1851, Col. Arthur Rankin, in his address to the electors of Kent,

First official steps towards Confederation.

strongly advocated the project. Afterwards, in 1856, that gentleman, when member for Essex, placed the following motion on the notice papers of the House: "Mr. Rankin—On Wednesday next (30th April, 1856)—Committee of the whole on the general state of the Province, for the purpose of considering the subject of an union of the British North American Colonies, with a view to an address to Her Majesty to recommend the same to the consideration of the Imperial Parliament." The motion was coldly received, the leaders on both sides of the house regarding it as visionary; Hon. W. H. Merritt, who cordially approved of Col. Rankin's motion, being the only notable exception. In 1854, the question was discussed in the Nova Scotia Parliament, Hon. Messrs. Johnston and Howe, the leaders of the rival parties, vying with each other in their advocacy of a measure which, in their opinion, would be the means of constituting a great nation, by combining the elements of strength and wealth which all the isolated Provinces possess. In 1858, the Hon. A. T. Galt revived the subject in the Canadian Parliament, and eloquently dilated on the benefits to be derived from an union of the Provinces; and when, in the summer of that year, he became a member of the ministry, he insisted on its being made a cabinet question, with what success is shown by the following from Sir Edmund Head, the then Governor-General's speech at the closing of the session of 1858: "I propose in the course of the recess to communicate with Her Majesty's Government, and with the governments of the sister colonies, on another matter of very great importance. I am desirous of inviting them to discuss with us the principles on which a bond of a federal character uniting the Provinces of British North America may, perhaps, hereafter be practicable." This was followed by a despatch (signed by Hon. Messrs. Cartier, Galt, and John Ross), addressed to the Imperial authorities, which pointed to a federal union of the Provinces as a solution of the grave difficulties which presented themselves in carrying on the Queen's government in Canada. The defeat and consequent resignation of the Derby-

D'Israeli ministry in England, prevented any decisive measure at that time on the part of the Imperial authorities.

4.—In 1861, the Nova Scotia Parliament passed a resolution favorable to union, by a unanimous vote, which, having been trans-  
The Charlottetown Convention.  
 mitted to the Colonial Office, was forwarded by the Duke of Newcastle, the then Colonial Secretary, in a despatch dated July 6, 1862, to the Governor-General, and to the Lieutenant-Governors of the several Provinces. His Grace stated that Her Majesty's government was not prepared to announce any definite policy on a question which had been taken up by only one Province, and then expressed his own opinion thus: "If a union, either partial or complete, should hereafter be proposed with the concurrence of all the Provinces to be united, I am sure that the matter would be weighed in this country, both by the public, by Parliament, and by Her Majesty's Government, with no other feeling than an anxiety to discern and promote any course which might be the most conducive to the prosperity, the strength, and the harmony of all the British communities in North America." The Lieutenant-Governors of the several Provinces brought the subject before their respective legislatures, at the commencement of their several sessions of 1864, for the purpose of appointing delegates to confer as to the practicability of establishing a legislative union between the maritime Provinces. Considerable discussion followed in those Provinces, which elicited considerable opposition, especially in Prince Edward Island, to a *legislative* union. However, the legislature of that Province, in the same year, passed the following resolution, which is the same as was passed by the legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick: "*Resolved*, That His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, be authorized to appoint delegates,—not to exceed five,—to confer with delegates who may be appointed by the governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, for the purpose of discussing the expediency of the union of the three Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, under one government and legis-

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lature, the report of the said delegates to be laid before the legislature of this Colony, before any further action shall be taken in regard to the proposed measure." Delegates were accordingly appointed by the three Provinces in question, and arrangements were made for a convention at Charlottetown.

5.—While these movements were taking place in the maritime Provinces, the leading statesmen of the Canadas were casting about <sup>The movement in the Canadas.</sup> for some method by which the conflicts between the upper and lower Provinces could be adjusted. The very possibilities of party government seemed to be passing away. Ministry after ministry were compelled to resign the government, until, in 1864, when the Taché-Macdonald administration was overthrown, the leaders of the Reform party made overtures to Hon. John A. Macdonald, in a hope that the difficulties might be overcome by a federal system of government, applying either to the Canadas, or all British North America. These propositions were most cordially received, and resulted in the formation of a coalition government, which pledged itself in the following language: "The government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session, for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the northern provinces and the Northwest Territory to be incorporated with the same system of government." The Charlottetown convention, before spoken of, was arranged for within a month after the coalition government was formed, as the Canadian government hastened to join in the movement. This was done with the consent of the other governments concerned. The Charlottetown convention, therefore, became an event of great historic interest. It convened on the first day of September, 1864. The Canadas were represented by:—

The Hon. John A. Macdonald, M.P.P., Att. Gen. U. C.  
 " Geo. Brown, M.P.P., Pres. Coun.  
 " A. T. Galt, M.P.P., Finance Min.  
 " G. E. Cartier, M.P.P., Att. Gen. L. C.  
 " Wm. McDougall, M.P.P., Min. of Ag.  
 " T. D'Arcy McGee, M.P.P., Sol. Gen. L. C.

Nova Scotia was represented by:—

The Hon. Charles Tupper, M.P.P., Prov. Sec.  
 " W. A. Henry, M.P.P., Att. Gen.  
 " R. B. Dickie, M.L.C.  
 " J. McCully, M.L.C.  
 " A. G. Archibald, M.P.P.

New Brunswick was represented by:—

The Hon. S. L. Tilley, M.P.P., Prov. Sec.  
 " J. M. Johnston, M.P.P., Att. Gen.  
 " J. H. Gray, M.P.P.  
 " E. B. Chandler, M.L.C.  
 " W. H. Steeves, M.L.C.

Prince Edward Island was represented by:—

The Hon. Col. Gray, M.P.P., Pres. of Coun.  
 " E. Palmer, M.L.C., Att. Gen.  
 " W. H. Pope, M.P.P., Colonial Sec.  
 " G. Coles, M.P.P.  
 " A. A. Macdonald, M.L.C.

Newfoundland sent no delegates.

6.—The work of the Charlottetown Convention embraced little more than an interchange of sentiment on the subject of confederation, and the arrangement for another convention at Quebec, to take place at such time thereafter as would appear most favorable to the Governor-General. The difficulty preventing further action was, that the maritime delegates were commissioned only to discuss the propriety of a legislative union. This was deemed impracticable by all, and as the Canadian delegates were authorized to treat only of a federal union, their presence was, of course, informal. The proposition for a subsequent conference, to be held at Quebec, came from the Canadian delegates. The proposition was agreed to, and the Charlottetown Convention suspended its deliberations. But it must be remembered that the great work of this conference was to ripen the now rapidly growing sentiment in favor of a general union of all the Provinces.

7.—The arrangements for the Intercolonial Conference, at Quebec, were soon completed, and the conference commenced its deliberations on the 10th of October, in the same year, all of the delegates, thirty-three in number, being present. There were seven delegates from New Brunswick; five from Nova Scotia; seven from Prince Edward Island; <sup>The work of the Charlottetown Convention.</sup>

<sup>The Quebec Conference.</sup>

two from Newfoundland; and twelve, comprising the whole Canadian ministry, representing Canada. The votes were taken not by persons present, but by Provinces. The following is a list of all the gentlemen who sat in conference:

*Canada.*

The Hon. Sir Etienne P. Taché, Premier.  
 " J. A. Macdonald, Att. Gen. West.  
 " G. E. Cartier, Att. Gen. East.  
 " W. McDougall, Prov. Sec.  
 " George Brown, Pres. Coun.  
 " A. T. Galt, Finance Min.  
 " A. Campbell, Com. of Crown Lands.  
 " Oliver Mowat, Postmaster Gen.  
 " H. L. Langevin, Sol. Gen. East.  
 " T. D'Arcy McGee, Min. of Ag.  
 " J. Cockburn, Sol. Gen. West.  
 " J. C. Chapuis, Com. of Pub. Works.

*New Brunswick.*

The Hon. S. L. Tilley, Prov. Sec.  
 " J. M. Johnston, Att. Gen.  
 " P. Mitchell.  
 " C. Fisher.  
 " E. Chandler.  
 " W. H. Steeves.  
 " J. H. Gray.

*Nova Scotia.*

The Hon. C. Tupper, Prov. Sec.  
 " W. A. Henry, Att. Gen.  
 " R. B. Dickie.  
 " J. McNully.  
 " A. G. Archibald.

*Prince Edward Island.*

The Hon. Col. Gray, Pres. Coun.  
 " E. Palmer, Att. Gen.  
 " W. H. Pope, Prov. Sec.  
 " G. Coles.  
 " T. H. Haviland.  
 " E. Whelan.  
 " A. A. Macdonald.

*Newfoundland.*

The Hon. F. B. S. Carter, Speaker House Assen.  
 " Ambrose Shea.

Sir Etienne P. Taché was elected chairman by the unanimous vote of the conference. The provincial secretaries of the several Provinces were elected honorary secretaries to the conference, and Col. Hewitt Barnard was appointed executive secretary. The conference sat some eighteen days in Quebec, and the result of their deliberations was the famous "Seventy-two Resolutions," which, in accordance with the final resolution, were authenticated by the sig-

natures of the delegates, and were ordered to be submitted by its delegation to its own government; the chairman submitting a copy to the Governor-General for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. After a tour through Canada, during which the delegates from the maritime Provinces were *fêted* in princely style, they separated, each delegation being pledged to use every legitimate means to secure the adoption of the scheme by their several legislatures, and by the Imperial Government.

8.—We now turn from the convention to notice the proceedings in the several Provinces. The Canadian Legislature met <sup>Proceedings in</sup> in January, 1865. On the 3d of <sup>Canada.</sup> February, Sir E. P. Taché, in the Legislative Council, and Hon. J. A. Macdonald, in the House of Assembly, simultaneously moved: "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying that she may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the Colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island in one government, with provisions based on certain resolutions which were adopted at a conference of delegates from the said Colonies, held at the city of Quebec on the 10th of October, 1864." After a debate of over a fortnight's duration, the resolutions were adopted in the Council on the 20th of February, by a vote of forty-five to fifteen; and, in the Assembly, after a most exhaustive and exhausting five weeks' debate, they were agreed to on the 10th of March, by a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three. The ninety-one who voted for the resolutions were composed of fifty-four from Upper Canada, and thirty-seven from Lower Canada; while twenty-five from Lower Canada and eight from Upper Canada made up the thirty-three who opposed them. After the close of the session in April, 1865, the Hon. Messrs. Brown, Cartier, J. A. Macdonald, and Galt, proceeded to England, in order to confer with the Imperial authorities upon the subject of confederation and other matters connected



therewith of colonial and national importance. The Imperial Government again renewed the assurances of their approval of the confederation scheme, and their desire to promote its adoption by every legitimate means.

9.—In New Brunswick, the Quebec scheme was brought before the people at the general

*Proceedings in  
New Brunswick.*

election, in March, 1865, and a House of Assembly, hostile to that scheme, was chosen. An anti-confederation ministry came into power, and things looked ill for a speedy success of the union cause. However, after-events proved that the real sentiments of the people of New Brunswick upon the subject of confederation had not been obtained, and that the elections of 1865 had been carried in a great measure by side issues. In the session of 1866, the Hon. A. E. Botsford moved the following resolution in the Legislative Council, on the 9th of April: "We, your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council of New Brunswick, in Provincial Parliament assembled, humbly approach your Majesty with the conviction that a union of all your Majesty's British North American Colonies, based on the resolutions adopted at the conference of delegates from the several Colonies, held at Quebec on the 10th day of October, 1864, is an object highly to be desired, essential to their future prosperity and influence, and calculated alike to strengthen and perpetuate the ties which bind them to your gracious Majesty's Throne and Government, and humbly pray that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of thus uniting the Colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island into one Government." His Excellency's reply was highly favorable to the confederation scheme, and, in consequence thereof, the ministry resigned office on the 10th of April. Their resignation was accepted, and a new ministry formed, which was composed chiefly of gentlemen who had taken an active part in forwarding the cause of confederation. A general election immediately followed, which

resulted in the utter rout of the anti-confederates, and the complete triumph of the friends of union. In the address in reply to the Governor's speech, the following paragraph on the subject of confederation was carried by a vote of twenty-seven to seven: "We know that Her Majesty's Government have expressed a strong and deliberate opinion that the union of the British North American Provinces is an object much to be desired, and that the legislature of Canada and of Nova Scotia concur in this view, and your Excellency may rely with confidence on our cordial co-operation to accomplish that object." On the 30th of June, on motion of the Hon. Charles Fisher, the Lieutenant-Governor was petitioned to appoint delegates to arrange with delegates from the other Provinces, with the Imperial Government, for the union of British North America, upon such terms as would secure the just rights and interests of New Brunswick, accompanied with provision for the immediate construction of the Intercolonial Railway. An amendment to defeat the resolution was voted down by thirty-one against eight. A similar resolution was adopted in the Legislative Council, and thus the question of confederation was settled so far as New Brunswick was concerned.

10.—To Nova Scotia, it may be said, belongs the honor of having taken the initiatory steps which finally resulted in the *Proceedings in Nova Scotia.* adoption of confederation. In the session of 1861, when the Hon. Joseph Howe was a member of the Government, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "*Whereas*, the subject of a union of the North American Provinces, or of the maritime Provinces, from time to time, has been mooted and discussed in all the Colonies; and, *whereas*, while many advantages may be secured by such a union, either of all the Provinces, or a portion of them, many and serious obstacles are presented which can only be overcome by mutual consultation of the leading men of the Colonies, and by free communication with the Imperial Government. *Therefore, resolved*, that His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor, be respect-

fully requested to put himself in communication with His Grace, the Colonial Secretary, and His Excellency the Governor-General of the North American Colonies, in order to ascertain the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and the opinions of the other Colonies, with a view to the enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests, and upon which the public mind in all the Provinces ought to be at rest." Now, this was the resolution which brought about the Charlottetown Convention, which, as already explained, brought about the Quebec Conference. For some time after the Quebec Conference, Nova Scotia, because of the bad effects which the defeat of the union cause in New Brunswick produced, took no steps to further the federal scheme. However, in 1866, the Hon. Dr. Charles Tupper submitted the following resolution to the House of Assembly, which was adopted by a vote of thirty-one to nineteen: "*Whereas*, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a confederation of the British North American Colonies should take place; *Resolved, therefore*, that His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be authorized to appoint delegates to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of union which will effectually ensure just provision for the rights and interests of this Province. Each Province to have an equal voice in such delegation, Upper and Lower Canada being for this purpose considered as separate Provinces." As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the people of Nova Scotia, in the next election pronounced strongly against the measure.

11.—The progress of the union movement in Newfoundland had so far resulted unfavorably.

Proceedings in Newfoundland.

The subject was brought before the legislature by His Excellency the Governor, in his speech at the opening of the session in January, 1866, and the House, in committee of the whole on the address in reply to His Excellency, adopted the following paragraph in answer thereto: "On the important question of confederation, in recognizing the solicitude of Her Majesty's Government for the welfare of this Colony, we concur in the view

of your Excellency that the abstract advantages of union are so obvious as to be almost necessarily acknowledged; whilst with regard to this Colony, and on the details of so grave a measure, it is natural that much diversity of opinion should prevail. This is a matter which shall engage our serious attention." This expression of opinion was carried over an amendment to defeat it by a vote of eighteen to six. Soon after, at the same session, a resolution was carried to leave the whole matter in abeyance until information of the action taken by the other Provinces in relation thereto would be received. It is more than probable that had the legislature of Newfoundland been convened after the action taken by the other Provinces in appointing delegates to arrange the terms of confederation with the Imperial Government, its own course would have been more favorable.

12.—Prince Edward Island, by its legislature, repudiated the action of the delegates at the Quebec Conference, but, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, the Province reconsidered its action and came into the union, after the confederation was accomplished by the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The action taken by British Columbia will be recorded in connection with an account of the admission of that Province into the union.

Prince Edward Island and British Columbia.

13.—During the summer of 1866, the Colonies which had pronounced in favor of confederation made arrangements for the meeting of a conference of delegates from the several Provinces, to settle the details and determine the precise terms of the Act giving effect to the union of the Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, which should be submitted for adoption by the Imperial Parliament. The several Governments duly appointed delegates.

Proceedings of the delegates in England.

Upper Canada was represented by:—

The Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney-General.

" Wm. McDougall, Provincial Secretary.

Lower Canada was represented by:—

The Hon. G. E. Cartier, Attorney-General.

" W. P. Howland, Finance Minister.



The Hon. A. T. Galt.

" H. L. Langevin, Postmaster-General.

**New Brunswick was represented by :—**

The Hon. S. L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary.

" C. Fisher, Attorney-General.

" P. Mitchell, President of the Council.

" R. D. Wilmot.

" J. M. Johnston.

**Nova Scotia was represented by :**

The Hon. C. Tupper, Provincial Secretary.

" W. A. Henry, Attorney-General.

" J. W. Ritchie, Solicitor-General.

" A. G. Archibald.

" J. McCully.

These gentlemen met, according to the appointment, in London, Eng., early in December, 1866, and immediately proceeded to business. The Hon. John A. Macdonald was elected chairman by the unanimous voice of the conference, and for several weeks they were engaged late and early in their arduous task of framing a nation's constitution. Lord Carnarvon afterwards bore testimony to the statesmanlike qualities which were displayed in the settlement of sectional difficulties, the unravelling of knotty points, the mutual forbearance, and the zeal and assiduity displayed during the prolonged sittings of the conference. Several of its members have since received the blue ribbon of the Bath, and its chairman is now Sir John A. Macdonald, K. C. B.

14.—The Imperial Parliament met on the 5th of February, 1867. On the 7th, the bill for the Action of the Imperial Parliament. confederation of the Provinces was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Carnarvon, the then Colonial Secretary, and was received with approbation by all parties. On the 19th it was read a second time, was passed through committee of the whole on the 22d, and on the 26th February was read a third time. It was at once brought down to the House of Commons, and on the 28th of February was moved to a second reading. After a long and interesting debate, during which no men of any prominence, with the exception of Mr. Bright, opposed the measure, the motion was agreed to without a division. It passed through committee of the whole on the 4th of March, and was read a third time and finally passed the House of Commons on the 8th of

March. On the 28th of that month it received the royal assent, and became one of the laws of the empire. The name chosen for the united Provinces was "The Dominion of Canada," Upper Canada to be henceforth called Ontario, and Lower Canada Quebec. From Nova Scotia alone came any serious opposition to the confederation scheme after the appointment of delegates to the London Conference. Hon. Messrs. Howe and Aunand went to London on behalf of the opponents of the union, who made a final effort to throw obstacles in the way of its success. On the meeting of the Nova Scotia legislature on the 16th of March, when an amendment to the address in reply to the Governor's speech breathing a spirit hostile to confederation, was moved, after an animated debate, it was defeated by a vote of 39 to 16. But this opposition is further described in a following chapter.

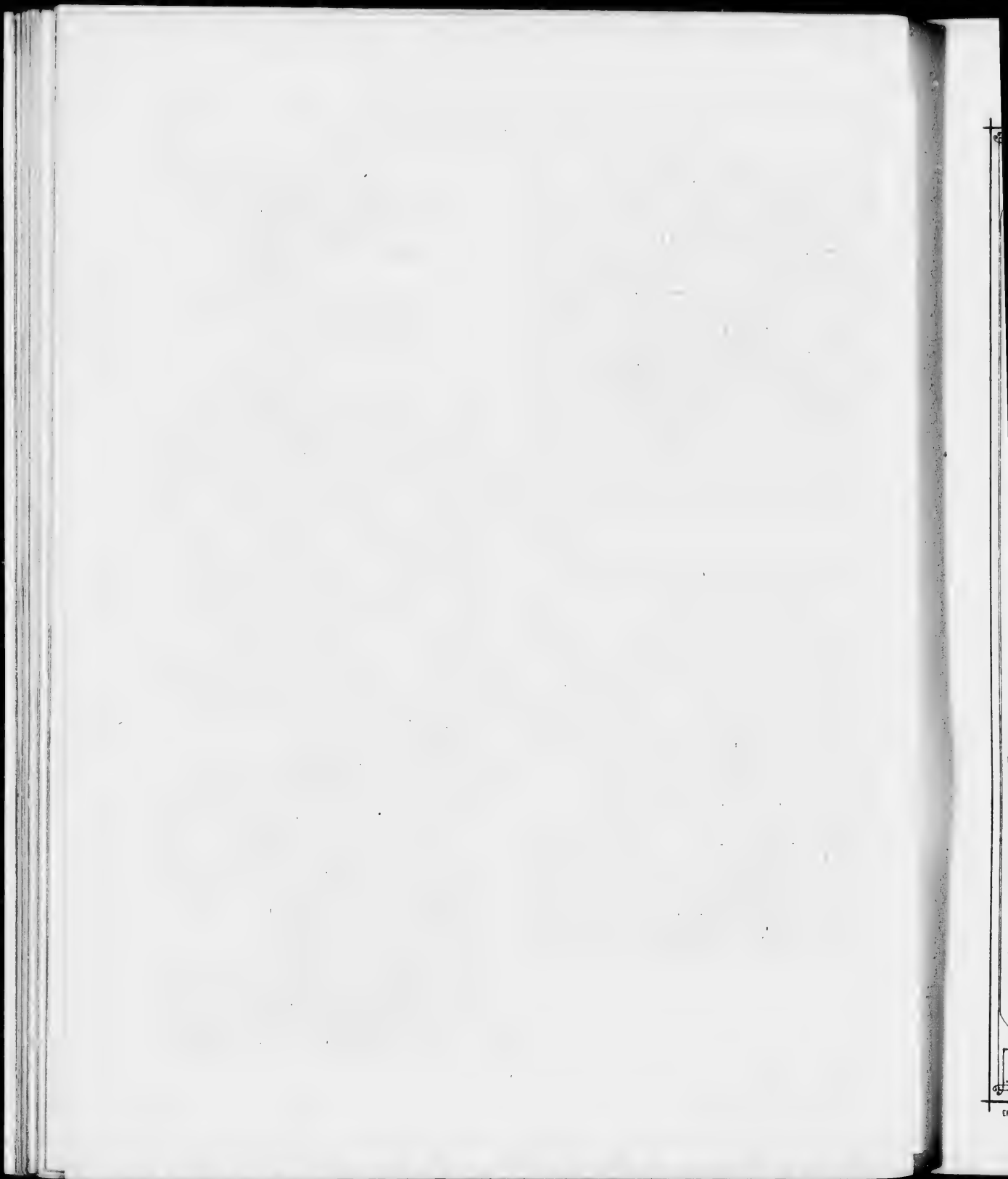
15.—The work of legislation being fully accomplished, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to issue her proclamation on the 22d of May, declaring that the The Proclamation of the Queen. Dominion of Canada should commence its existence on the 1st of July, 1867, and appointing the members of the Senate. "In thus briefly tracing the history of confederation from the time that, as a tiny seedling it was fostered in the minds of men of far-seeing and statesman-like views, until now, when it has grown into a wide-spreading tree, beneath whose shelter rest the hopes of what promises to be a mighty nation," it has been our object to show that it is not a hastily conceived and ill-digested scheme, but that it is one of gradual growth, towards which for years our destiny has been drawing us, as in itself peculiarly adapted to the necessities and the genius of our people. The ten years of prosperity which have succeeded the measure amply demonstrate the wisdom of its provisions.

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## CHAPTER II.

## LORD MONCK'S ADMINISTRATION.—1867.

1. THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA.—2. THE TERMS OF THE UNION.—3. CELEBRATION OF DOMINION DAY.—4. DETERMINATION TO FORM A COALITION MINISTRY—OPPOSITION TO THE SCHEME.—5. MEETING OF THE REFORM CONVENTION.—6. HON. MESSRS. HOWLAND AND McDUGALL DEFEND COALITION.—7. COALITION CONDEMNED BY THE CONVENTION.—8. REFORM PARTY AND CONFEDERATION.—9. PLAN OF FIRST CABINET.—10. THE FIRST CABINET.—11. HONORS GIVEN TO CONFEDERATION COMMISSIONERS.—12. THE ELECTIONS.—13. RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS.—14. THE CONTEST IN QUEBEC.—15. CONTEST IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES.

1.—The Dominion of Canada came into existence, by royal proclamation, on the first day of July, A. D., 1867. This was an event fraught with greater importance, in many respects, than any other which has characterized the history of the country, with the possible exception of General Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham. The latter was a victory of war, the former of peace. There were not a few, who, from unpatriotic motives—and a smaller number from honest conviction—proclaimed the union to be a hurtful measure, and predicted for it a short and disastrous life. But the first decade of its noble existence has not only silenced all opposition, but yielded the grandest fruits of national prosperity. The scheme of confederation has therefore proved successful beyond the best expectations of its most sanguine advocates. It has already revealed the great possibilities of our future greatness, and endowed us with a patriotism and a spirit of enterprise which are alike requisite to the development of our resources, and indispensably characteristic of British people. Confederation has furnished Canada an issue of union, in which the best thought, talent, genius, capital and energy of

the statesman, the artist, the preacher, the merchant, the farmer, and the mechanic, centre in a common fund of national wealth, from which shall long continue to emanate those blessings which secure the best freedom and most endurable happiness of Christian civilization. Confederation is Canada's passport to a larger and more useful, as well as a happier existence.

21.—The Dominion of Canada, by the terms of confederation, did not become wholly a nation. The bond of union with the mother country was not broken off, but, in the long run, substantially improved. However, Canada, by the measure of confederation, secured a decree of freedom and independence such as few nations enjoy, and a greater and more complete control of her internal affairs than was possible to the provinces in their separate condition. Indeed, under her present constitutional government, Canada has the conduct of her general affairs nearly as completely in her own hands as those of Great Britain are in those of the Imperial Government,—the slight revisionary power retained in the hands of the Home authorities not being of a nature to render it at all probable that any ill-feeling or dissatisfaction will ever arise; while the line dividing the authority of the general and local governments is so wisely drawn that there is scarcely a possibility of internal difficulties in the administration of political affairs. The union is a federal one of just and equitable terms, and contains all the germs of strength and permanency. By the terms of the act the Province of Canada was redivided and made into two separate provinces, to be known as Ontario and Quebec, the boundaries of each corresponding to those of the old provinces of Upper and Lower Canada respectively, each having its local parliament for the management of its local affairs; the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick remained as they were before confederation. The Senate was to consist of seventy-two members, to be appointed by the Crown, twenty-four each from Ontario and Quebec, and twelve each from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Representation in the House of Commons was to be by

Character of the  
Union of 1867.

A new era in  
Canadian history.

population, based on the census of 1861, and to be re-adjusted after each decennial census; the number of representatives from Quebec was permanently fixed at sixty-five, and the other provinces were to be allowed representation in the ratio that sixty-five stood to the population of Quebec at each census. By this arrangement the number of members to be elected to the first Parliament was one hundred and eighty-one, of which Ontario furnished eighty-two, Quebec sixty-five, Nova Scotia nineteen, and New Brunswick fifteen.

3.—It was generally desired that the first day of July, the day upon which, by Royal proclamation, the Dominion came into existence, and each succeeding anniversary of the event, should be celebrated by loyal and patriotic demonstrations, somewhat after the fashion of the "Glorious Fourth of July" in the United States. But if there were those who held sanguine expectations in respect of this, they were doomed to partial disappointment. There was but little in the day to stir the average Canadian heart. Although confederation was popular generally, it was quite as universally admitted to be, in a measure, at least, an experiment, and over this the people could not be expected to celebrate very enthusiastically. Besides, the Canadian people had taken but few lessons in patriotism. This branch of national education had been left to a monopoly of the Americans, while, for the most part, we had hitherto been content with loyalty as a higher grade of political sentiment. It now began to dawn upon the people of Canada that they might add a love of country to their love of Queen, without the slightest damage to the latter, and finally there was a general graduation into the wholesome theory that Canadians should be more devoted to Canada than to any other portion of Her Majesty's wide dominions; and in demonstration of this theory, the Dominion was given a flag of her own, which properly enough was the British flag, but with such additions as to make it, if you please, the Canadian British flag. However, the first Dominion Day, July first, 1867, was generally celebrated as a public

Celebration of  
Dominion Day—  
Feelings of  
dissatisfaction—1867.

holiday throughout the four provinces. Business was suspended, troops were reviewed; pic-nics, excursions, concerts, etc., were held. In the larger cities, the day was one of rejoicing. But beneath the tide of acclaim there was a small but well defined current of dissatisfaction, especially in Nova Scotia, and much yet remained to be done before all those who had been legislated into union would become happy and contented. Many of the leading men in the maritime provinces still strongly opposed confederation, and Messrs. Howe, Annand, Jones, and others, went so far as to openly express a preference for annexation to the United States, while a portion of the Reform party in Ontario and of the Rouges in Quebec, were by no means fully satisfied with the scheme after it was accomplished. It is with peculiar feelings that we now (1878), remember the speeches of the anti-confederates of ten or eleven years ago. It was our lot to be reared within the sphere of the political influence of the late Hon. Joseph Howe, and like thousands, we had learned to admire the man, and, even against our political education, to listen, with profound respect, to his expositions of political economy. This eloquent statesman was among the foremost of those who drew doleful pictures of the ruin which confederation, in his estimation, was sure to work in all the provinces, and Mr. Howe was not alone in these groundless cries of alarm. But since the country has the good fortune to rejoice at the failure of these anti-confederate prophecies, why parade the names of those gentlemen who were unfortunate enough to render a conscientious but ill tempered opposition to the country's best interests? Better by far to look at this opposition in another light altogether, and see in it as we may, many good results, in the way of toning down many of the rough edges of the crude scheme, and in forcing those who favored it to work more earnestly and faithfully to bring it to a successful issue.

4.—It soon became evident to political leaders at least, that the great change in the form of government, must produce a considerable change in the relative

Coalition—Opposition  
to the scheme.



attitude of the two great political parties. To form a ministry that would command the hearty support of the country at large, a fusion of interests must, it was believed, take place, and old party lines be broken down, and a government formed of the best men, and those in whom the country had the most confidence, irrespective of party. The Hon. John A. Macdonald, who by common consent was the acknowledged leader of his party, and who, because of his position in connection with the very scheme of confederation must necessarily lead the new government, plainly intimated that as a coalition had to be formed in the Province of Canada in 1864 to promote the scheme of confederation, so it would become necessary to form another coalition government to conduct the affairs of the new Dominion, now that confederation had been accomplished. This idea, however, by no means met with hearty approval from all the leaders of the respective parties, and was most bitterly condemned and opposed by the "Clear Grit" party, under the leadership of the Hon. George Brown. A large section of the press, led by

the *Globe*, strongly opposed the formation of another coalition government, and a general convention of the Reform party was called to meet at Toronto on the 27th of June, to consider this and other questions. Meanwhile the Governor-General had called the Hon. John A. Macdonald to form an administration for the new Dominion which was to be born on the first day of July, and that gentleman had formed a ministry of thirteen, six of whom were Conservatives, six Reformers, and one who had acted with the Reform party for some time, but had left it for religious and personal reasons.

5.—The Reform Convention met in the Music Hall, Toronto, on the 27th of June, 1867. There were between six and seven hundred delegates present, about thirty of whom were members of the old Parliament of Canada. The meeting was called to order at two o'clock, when Mr. William Patrick, of Prescott, was elected chairman, and Messrs. Spruell and Edgar, of Toronto, secretaries. The Hon. George Brown, in moving the second resolution,\* explained at length the

Reform Convention—  
Views of Hon. Geo.  
Brown.

\* The following are the resolutions adopted by the Convention:

1. Moved by Mr. Edward Blake, of Toronto, seconded by Mr. A. Irving, of Hamilton, and

RESOLVED,—That this Convention records its high gratification that the long and earnest contest of the Reform Party for the great principles of representation by population, and local control over local affairs, has at last been crowned with triumphant success; and it claims from the people of Upper Canada the need of gratitude due from a just and generous people to those who, by years of self-sacrificing labor, have peacefully achieved great and invaluable constitutional changes—the accomplishment of which, in other countries, has rarely been attained except through the sad scenes of armed revolution.

2. Moved by Hon. George Brown, of Toronto, seconded by Mr. J. G. Currie, of St. Catharines, and

RESOLVED,—That while the new Federal Constitution for the United Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, doubtless contains obvious defects, yet we unhesitatingly and joyfully recognize that the measure, as a whole, is based on equitable principles, and removes the barriers that have heretofore stood in the way of good government in this Province; and on behalf of the great Reform Party of Upper Canada, this Convention heartily accepts the new Constitution about to be inaugurated, with a determination to work it loyally and patiently, and to provide such amendments as experience from year to year may prove to be expedient.

3. Moved by Mr. Stirling, M. P. P., South Wellington, seconded by Mr. John Macdonald, M. P. P., Toronto, and

RESOLVED,—That during the long and earnest struggle of the Reform party for representation by population, and local control over local affairs—at length happily embodied in the new Constitution—these reforms were ever steadily regarded as but means to the end of securing efficient and economical government, and to bringing to an end that long reign of reckless misrule which (in the words of the great Reform Convention of 1869) entailed on the country a "heavy public debt, burdensome taxation, great political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction."

4. Moved by Mr. Adam Crooks, of Toronto, seconded by Mr. Pardee, of Lambton, and

RESOLVED,—That this Convention recalls with pleasure that the people of Canada have looked earnestly forward to the successful termination of the long struggle of the Reform party for representative reform, as a day when the tax-payers in all sections of the Province would receive their rightful and equitable influence in the State, and when by the consequent ascendancy of reform principles and reform statesmen in the councils of the nation, the scandalous abuses under which the country has so long labored could be swept away, and a new and better era inaugurated; and this Convention fully recognizes the grave responsibility now devolving upon the Reform party, by the largely increased political influence secured to it under the new Constitution, of meeting the just expectations of the country, and of carrying into effect vigorously and promptly those numerous reforms in the practical administration of public affairs for which its members have so long contended in the legislature and through the press.

5. Moved by Mr. McKeown, of Hamilton, seconded by Mr. James Young, of Galt, and

RESOLVED,—That coalitions of opposing political parties, for ordinary administrative purposes, inevitably result in the abandonment of principle by one or both parties to the compact, the lowering of public morality, lavish public expenditure, and wide-spread corruption; that the coalition of 1864 could only be justified on the ground of an urgent necessity, as the only available mode of obtaining just representation for the people of Upper Canada; and on the ground that the compact then made was for a specific measure and for a stipulated period and was to come to an end as soon as a measure was attained; and while the Convention is thoroughly satisfied that the Reform party has acted in the best interests of the country by sustaining the Government until the confederation measure was secured, it deems it an imperative duty to declare that the temporary alliance between the Reform and Conservative parties should now cease, and that no Government will be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is formed and maintained by a coalition of public men holding opposite political principles.

6. Moved by Mr. Kenneth MacKenzie, seconded by Mr. Hamilton, and

RESOLVED,—That one of the fundamental principles of the Reform party, now as ever, is, the total separation of Church and State, the

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objects for which the Convention was called together. His speech was largely devoted to prove the superiority of party over coalition government, and many of the able arguments adduced by him have since been fully verified. But it would not be fair to charge the leaders of the Conservative party with advocating coalition doctrines as a permanent necessity for the new government; and it was, perhaps, with regard to this point that the greatest misunderstanding grew up between the two great political parties. Mr. Brown was, however, not the man to discriminate, in so small a matter, and pronounced the scheme of coalition as pernicious in whatever way it might be attempted under confederation. There were many who fully endorsed his views, but ten years of practical working under the federal scheme have plainly shown the wisdom of temporary coalition, as the best means of quieting discontent under the new order of things, and of reaching a sound and healthy party government. Mr. Brown thoroughly supported confederation. To summarize his speech, he expressed a belief that if

support of the clergy of all denominations by the free contributions of their people, and the recognition by the Legislature and Government of all Canadians as subjects of the Queen and not in any sectarian capacity. The Convention heartily rejoices that the new Constitution sweeps away from the Federal arena every question of a sectional and sectarian character, and records its earnest conviction that on the fidelity with which this vital safeguard is respected in the practical administration of this Government, rests the future harmony and stability of the Dominion; and it joyfully recognizes that by the transference to the Legislature of Ontario of all local matters, the Protestant electors of Upper Canada will have the opportunity of showing to their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, that generous consideration which a minority ought ever to receive in all free countries at the hands of a largely preponderating majority.

7. Moved by Mr. John Smith, of Hamilton, seconded by Mr. McDougall, of West Elgin, and

RESOLVED,—That it is alike the duty and the desire of the Canadian people to cultivate the most friendly relations with the neighboring people of the United States, and especially to offer every facility for the extension of trade and commerce between the two countries. The Convention anticipates with pleasure that the day is not far distant when the Government of the Republic will modify their restrictive commercial policy towards the British American Colonies; and while holding it the true Canadian policy to look diligently about for new and profitable markets for the products of the Dominion, wherever they can be found, and while well satisfied that such markets exist in other foreign lands, fully as lucrative as those heretofore enjoyed, yet this Convention regards it as the duty of the Canadian Administration to meet frankly and cordially any overtures from the Washington Government for a new treaty of commercial reciprocity between Canada and the Republic, extending over a fixed term of years, based on equitable principles, and consistent with the honor of both countries.

8. Moved by Mr. Hodgins, of Toronto, seconded by Dr. Bull, of West York, and

RESOLVED,—That this Convention records its great satisfaction that the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are hereafter to be united with

the government was a purely party one, confederation would prove the greatest blessing the country had ever known, but if a coalition government was formed, confederation might prove a curse instead of a blessing, for it would lead to more corruption and political immorality than had ever been known before. He defended the coalition government of 1864, of which he was a member, on the ground of its being a political necessity, and the only means of bringing about confederation; but now that that end had been attained, coalition had served its purpose and should not again be resorted to. He contended that representation by population, a proper adjustment of the revenue, and many other important and necessary reforms which would be gained by confederation, were the results of many years' unceasing efforts of the Reform party of Upper Canada, and held that it was only fair and just that that party should be the one to carry out these reforms; but, even if it were not, and the Conservative party came into power after the elections, he thought it would be far better for the interests of the

the people of Canada under one Government and Legislature; and it does this the more heartily because it well remembers that the same long battle for popular rights and social and material progress was fought and won in these Provinces, as in Canada, by Reform statesmen against the bitter opposition and hostility of the Tory party; and because it agrees that the great and influential Reform parties of these Provinces hold principles essentially in unison with those of Canadian Reformers, and that their representatives will be found in the Federal Parliament of the new Dominion the earnest and able advocates of just, efficient, and economical legislation; and this Convention entertains the hope that the day is not far distant when Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia will form part of the Dominion of Canada, upon terms satisfactory to the people of these important Colonies.

9. Moved by Mr. Jos. Rymal, M.P.P., South Wentworth, seconded by Mr. Rock, of London, and

RESOLVED,—That this Convention heartily rejoices that, under the new Constitution, the barriers that have stood in the way of cordial sympathy between the Liberals of Lower Canada and the Reform party of Upper Canada, have been totally removed; it gratefully remembers the aid received from them in hours of trial, and it anticipates anxiously that the time is not far distant when the Reformers of Upper Canada may be able to repay the obligations then incurred.

10. Moved by Mr. J. G. Currie, of St. Catharines, seconded by Mr. Britton, of Kingston, and

RESOLVED,—That the advantage to be derived by the people of Canada from the new Constitution, as well as the future progress of our country, will very much depend on the efficiency and economy with which the new governmental machinery is administered; and this Convention regards it as a first duty of the Reform representatives in the new Legislature to apply themselves to a thorough overhauling of the departmental system, the curtailment of the lavish annual expenditure, the enforcement of strict economy in every branch of the public service, the gradual liquidation of the public debt, and the reduction of the customs duties as rapidly as consistent with maintaining the public faith.

11. Moved by Mr. Moyle, of Berlin, seconded by Dr. Fraser, of Monckland,

country for the Reform party to hold together, and present a firm and united opposition, so as to act as a wholesome check on any attempts at reckless extravagance or corruption on the part of the party in power. He strongly denounced those members of the Reform party who favored coalition, and most especially the Hon. W. P. Howland and Hon. William Macdougall, who had accepted seats in the then proposed new cabinet, and claimed that after the Reform party had fought a long and hard fight and gained the victory, it was now asked, by the terms of the proposed coalition, to give up all that it had won, go down on its knees and humbly ask to be permitted to follow according to the leadership of Hon. John A. Macdonald. It would be hard to praise the Reform party too highly for the great achievements which it has wrought for the benefit of the country; but in the one matter of confederation, that party could not justly claim to have contributed so much as the Conservatives, and was not, therefore, entitled to more than a second place in the new government. This, it appears, Mr. Brown declined to accept, and endeavored to persuade his friends to take a similar stand. Had his advice prevailed, his party would, no doubt, have obtained control of the government a year

or two sooner than it did, but, in such a course, it is not clear that the best interests of the country would have been so well protected.

6.—The Hon. Messrs. Howland and Macdougall, who had accepted the portfolios of Inland Revenue and Public Works, respectively, in the new coalition cabinet, being both Reformers, were not only denounced for this breach of political faith, in the speech of Mr. Brown, but on the evening of the first day of the convention, the fifth resolution was read and passed, condemning them severely for the same act. These gentlemen, in their turn, came forward and defended their positions, setting forth the political necessity, which, in their opinion, existed, for forming a coalition government. The Hon. Mr. Howland claimed that by virtue of the union old party lines had been swept away; that the government to come into existence under the new constitution had, at that time, no declared policy, and that it was unfair to attack it before it had announced what it intended to do. He believed that new issues would arise and an honest opposition be formed, but considered opposition for opposition's sake unjust and ungenerous. He stated that he and his colleagues had consented to join Mr. Macdonald because

Hon. Messrs. Howland and Macdougall defend coalition.

RESOLVED,—That in the opinion of this Convention one of the first and most important duties of the Government and Legislature, under the reformed Constitution, will be the improvement of the internal navigation of the country.

12. Moved by Dr. McGill, of Hamilton, seconded by Mr. Jackson, and  
RESOLVED,—That one of the questions most deeply affecting the stability and future progress of our country, is how we shall attract to our shores a large tide of European emigration; and this Convention is of opinion that this highly important end will best be attained by a thorough reform of the Crown-land departmental system; by extending to proposing settlers the utmost facilities for ascertaining what public lands are in the market, and selecting and properly securing their titles to the lots they may select; by the imposition of a special tax on wild lands held back from cultivation for speculative purposes in settled townships; and by the speedy opening up for settlement and cultivation of the great North-Western territories; and the Convention records its conviction that the small sum that may be extracted from the settler for his lot of wild land is of no consideration whatever in comparison with the rapid occupation of the soil by a hardy and industrious population.

13. Moved by Mr. A. McKellar, M. P. P., Bothwell, seconded by Mr. R. M. Rose, Kingston, and

RESOLVED,—That the development of the vast mineral resources of the country has been seriously retarded through the mismanagement of the Crown Lands Department—miners and capitalists have been driven to other countries where useless departmental restrictions and annoying uncertainties and delays do not stand in the way of progress, and large tracts of the best mineral lands having been locked up in the hands of mere speculators. This Convention is firmly of opinion that a system of

survey and location, enabling actual operators to know with certainty what mineral lands are in the market, on what condition—selections may be made, and how enterprising explorers may promptly and easily secure the fruits of their labor, would speedily produce an immense development of the mineral industry of the Province; and this Convention regards it of great public importance that the arduous and valuable labors of the settlers in our mineral regions on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, and in all other sections of the Province, entitle them to the consideration of the Government and Legislature, in the improvement of the means of communication and the supply of ample postal facilities.

14. Moved by Mr. William Eccles, of St. Catharines, seconded by Mr. Radcliffe, of South Ontario, and

RESOLVED,—That this Convention records its belief that the progress and social happiness of the people would be greatly promoted by the passage of a well considered homestead law, by which settlers may apply money, honestly their own, to the purchase of a farm or house, and set it aside by public registration for the benefit of their families, without liability to future creditors.

15. Moved by Mr. Dalglish, of South Grey, seconded by Mr. Malcolm Campbell, of Eckford, and

RESOLVED,—That among numerous other questions demanding the early and earnest attention of the Government and Legislature are an Act for the winding up of insolvent incorporated companies, a revision of the Patent Laws, a stringent Audit Act, applicable to all public expenditures, the establishment of a Provincial system of instruction for the blind and deaf and dumb persons, and the organization of an improved system of public statistical returns for commercial, sanitary, and general purposes.

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they considered that the great Liberal party of Upper Canada should be represented in the first cabinet of the Dominion, and also because he did not think they should desert those Reformers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, who had worked so zealously to accomplish the union. He deprecated unnecessary agitation, and said that an impression would be given in England that the Reform party could never be satisfied, but must always be agitated on some subject. Hon. Mr. Macdougall followed in a similar strain; he denied that coalitions were immoral, or that they necessarily tended to promote extravagance; he defended the course he and his colleagues had taken as the only one they could honestly and honorably pursue, and said that he was willing to submit their conduct to a higher tribunal than that Convention—to the decision of the people, which would soon be given at the general elections. Upon the whole, the Hon. Messrs. Howland and Macdougall made a most creditable defence, and in not sustaining their views the convention failed to express the sentiments of the country, as the result at the polls afterwards proved.

7.—On the following day the debate on the fifth resolution was resumed, when the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, of Lambton, afterwards Prime Minister, delivered a very able speech, in which he abused Hon. Mr. Macdougall, charging him with having deserted his party, and with proving recreant to his principles on obtaining power. He contended that a man should never advocate a principle while in Opposition which he was not prepared to stand by at all hazards when a member of the Government. He made vigorous charges against the then incoming Government, the severest of which was that its members contemplated exercising undue influence at the elections which were then approaching. Mr. Mackenzie made a decided impression upon the Convention. Addresses were also made by other members of the Convention, and some amendments offered to the resolution, but they were all voted down, and the resolution as originally read adopted almost unanimously, very few voting against it.

Coalition condemned  
by the Convention.

All the other resolutions were adopted unanimously, and the Convention adjourned the same afternoon *sine die*. Upon the whole, its deliberations were purely partisan and characterized with such unanimity as to leave but little doubt in the minds of Conservative leaders, that while confederation might soften or change old party lines and policies, it would not abolish either.

8.—The Reform Convention, of which we have just closed a brief account, was a timely stroke in the management of that party, and one which produced <sup>Reform party and Confederation.</sup> an epoch in its history. As a party, it received a serious blow by the success of confederation. While in many notable instances life long Reformers gave the measure a hearty support, it could not be forgotten that much of the opposition to the scheme emanated from Reform ranks. This dilemma, together with the convenient cloak of coalition, craftily supplied by the Conservatives, induced many, who could not see how the party could be held together, to join the popular cause and the then most popular political organization. In these things we have ample ground for the decided stand taken by Hon. Messrs. Brown, Mackenzie and others against coalition, and in favor of party Government, so that it is difficult, even at this late date, to render a decision, were we disposed to do so, for or against the claims then put forth by the Conservatives in behalf of coalition. The most we can venture in opinion is, that while the plan enabled the Government to adjust and perfect the new Federal machinery, and to quiet such discontent as was championed by Hon. Mr. Howe and Nova Scotia, it weakened the influence of the regular opposition and delayed the benefits which the country is now reaping from a legitimate party Government. Of the two evils presented at the time the latter was, perhaps, the least.

9.—No one was surprised when His Excellency Lord Monck, the Governor-General, assigned to Hon. John A. Macdonald <sup>Plan of first Cabinet.</sup> the difficult task of forming the first Ministry under confederation. It was absolutely necessary that, whichever party was

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in power, to conduct the business of the country successfully, the Government must needs be a strong one, "one which could command a large majority in the House, and be enabled to carry out its measures fearlessly, without incurring the risk of defeat at any moment, at the whim or caprice of two or three members, as had been the case in the old Parliament of Canada, and in order to accomplish this, great care had to be exercised. Mr. Macdonald acted with great judgment in his selections. He avoided any attempt to form a Ministry entirely out of his own party, but wisely determined that all the Provinces and both political parties should be represented, and, as nearly as possible, in accordance with the relative strength and importance of parties and Provinces, in the new Cabinet." But we have, in his own language, the ideas of Hon. John A. Macdonald as to how the new Ministry should be formed. He said:—"I desire to bring to my aid, without respect to parties in the past, gentlemen who are in the present Government who were active in bringing about the new form of Government—who used their influence to that end in the different sections of the Confederacy. I desire to bring to my aid in the new Government those men, irrespective of party, who represent the majorities in the different Provinces of the Union. I do not want it to be felt by any section in the country that they have no representative in the Cabinet and no influence in the Government. And as there are now no issues to divide parties, and as all that is required is to have in the Government the men who are best adapted to put the new machinery in motion, I desire to ask those to join me who have the confidence and represent the majorities in the various sections, of those who were in favor of the adoption of this system of Government and who wish to see it satisfactorily carried out." And the Conservative Chieftain cannot be charged with departing from this plan in forming the following Ministry, which was the first under the Federal Union of 1867:—

HON. JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD, Conservative, M. P., Ontario.  
Premier and Minister of Justice.

HON. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Conservative, Senator, Ontario, Postmaster-General.

HON. ADAM JOHNSON FERGUSON BLAIR, Reform, Senator, Ontario, President of the Privy Council.

HON. WILLIAM PEARCE HOWLAND, Reform, M. P., Ontario, Minister of Inland Revenue.

HON. WILLIAM MACDOUGALL, Reform, M. P., Ontario, Minister of Public Works.

HON. GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER, Conservative, M. P., Quebec, Minister of Militia and Defence.

HON. ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT, Conservative, M. P., Quebec, Minister of Finance.

HON. JEAN CHARLES CHAPPAIS, Conservative, Senator, Quebec, Minister of Agriculture.

HON. HECTOR LOUIS LANGRIN, Conservative, M. P., Quebec, Secretary of State of Canada.

HON. SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY, Reform, M. P., New Brunswick, Minister of Customs.

HON. PETER MITCHELL, Reform, Senator, New Brunswick, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

HON. ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD, Reform, M. P., Nova Scotia, Secretary of State for the Provinces.

HON. EDWARD KENNY, Senator, Nova Scotia, Receiver-General.

10.—Thus, indeed, was coalition thoroughly introduced in the new Government, and a Cabinet formed which contained

The first Cabinet.

as much permanent strength as could have been secured by the appointment of any other thirteen persons in the Dominion. Ontario being the wealthiest and most populous Province, was given five members, three of whom were Reformers, that party being in the ascendancy in the Province. Quebec was given four representatives, all being Conservatives, as that party was in a larger majority in that Province; two members each were given to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, all being Reformers, with the exception of Hon. Mr. Kenny, who had been a Reformer for many years, and a member of the Government of Nova Scotia under the Premiership of Hon. Joseph Howe; but when that gentleman introduced some measures antagonistic to the Roman Catholic Church, Mr. Kenny, who was a member of that faith, resigned his seat in the Ministry and after that acted in opposition to the Reform party. It will be observed that the Senate was represented by five members, two from Ontario and one from each of the other Provinces; it appears, therefore, almost impossible that Mr. Macdonald could have made a more equitable distribution of offices in carrying out his idea that all the

Provinces and both political parties should be as fairly represented as possible in the new Cabinet. It may be here stated, that in making appointments to the Senate—which were for life—the same spirit of fairness was preserved, the number of seats for each Province being evenly divided between the two political parties, so that the first Senate of the Dominion consisted of thirty-six Reformers and thirty-six Conservatives.

11. No sooner had his Excellency Lord Monck been sworn in as Governor-General,\* which took place at 11 o'clock on the first day of July, 1867, at Ottawa, than he announced that he had been instructed by Her Majesty, through the Colonial Secretary, to confer the title of K. C. B. on Hon. John A. Macdonald in consideration of his distinguished services in bringing about confederation; and the title of C. B. on the other members of the London deputation, the Hon. Messrs. G. E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, W. P. Howland, W. Macdougall, S. L. Tilley, and Charles Tupper. The honor was subsequently declined by Messrs. Cartier and Galt, but accepted by all the others. One of the changes brought about by confederation was the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors for the Provinces by the Federal instead of the Imperial Government, and Sir Narcisse F. Belleau was immediately commissioned Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, while the senior military officers in the other Provinces were temporarily appointed to act pending the commission of civil officers; thus Major-General Henry William Stisted was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario; Major-General Charles Hastings Doyle, of New Brunswick, and Lieutenant-General Sir W. Fenwick Williams, of Kars, Bart., K.C.B., of Nova Scotia.

12.—One of the results of the federal union was to produce an exciting contest at the polls at the first general election. The campaign began furiously as

Political issues of the Provinces.

\* The oath was administered to Lord Monck by Chief Justice Draper, the other Judges present being Chief Justice Richards and Judges Hozart, Wilson and Mondelet, who signed their names as witnesses.

soon as it was known that the Union Act passed the English Parliament. Party lines were considerably broken, at least in name, and the words, "Conservative" and "Reform" gave way to those of Unionists, anti-Unionists, Coalitionists, and anti-Coalitionists. Excitement ran high! The whole country was aroused, and there was not to be found any man, or woman, in either of the four Provinces, so unintelligent as not to have some sort of opinion to express on the subject. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the central, and in fact the only question mooted was Union or anti-Union, for although the Queen's proclamation had been added to the Act of the Imperial Parliament, the enthusiastic Nova Scotians could see Repeal in the face of it all. It was the Hon. Joseph Howe who shaped the political issues of the Liberals in that Province, while the Hon. Dr. Tupper defined the position of the Conservatives. The words of these able statesmen were caught up by the masses in their respective parties and heralded throughout the length and breadth of both the Maritime Provinces, but Mr. Howe soon had nearly the whole of his Province following him. In New Brunswick the "Anti" feeling was also very strong, and in both Provinces there was so much talk about annexation that, we are bound to say, the feeling of loyalty had reached an ebb so low as to be dangerous. In every respect the New England States afforded the people a more accessible market for either buying or selling, than either Ontario or Quebec, and all the promises that could be made on the strength of the Intercolonial Railway, were insufficient to persuade them against the belief that the proposed confederation would work great advantages to the Canadas at the expense of the Lower Provinces. In Quebec the contest was a party one between *Rouges* and Conservatives, but the former caught the disloyal ideas of the maritime anti-Unionists, and entertained an expressed desire for annexation to the United States. However, there was nowhere in the country a settled policy of annexation. It was the mere creation of defeated partisanship,—an outburst of mis-



guided radicalism,—a sentiment which did not live a single year in the hearts of one hundred intelligent people in all Canada. In Ontario the question generally narrowed itself down to one of coalition or anti-coalition,—that is, the opposition was not to the scheme of confederation itself, but to the form of government which confederation had called into existence. Public opinion was so excited that the government decided the sooner the question was settled the better for the peace and welfare of the country, and, therefore, concluded to hold the elections as speedily as possible. Elections were not held then as they are now, simultaneously throughout the Dominion with only one day's polling; then the writs were issued a few at a time for such districts as the government pleased to select, and voting lasted two days. There was an impression that confederation changed the law in this respect, but it was an error, and the elections were held in the old way, those for the House of Commons and the Local Legislatures taking place on the same day. This plan worked great disadvantage to the Reformers, was unfair to the opposition, and has, happily, been superseded by a better system.

13.—The manner in which the elections were conducted gave the coalitionists every possible advantage. The writs were issued from Ottawa on the seventh of August, and the government, naturally, selected some places where it was considered to have great strength, so that a number of the early elections went in favor of the Government candidates by acclamation, the first election in Ontario being in West Northumberland, where the Hon. James Cockburn was returned to the House of Commons without opposition. The elections in different constituencies followed fast on each other's heels, as many as a dozen a day sometimes occurring, and it speedily became evident that the great bulk of the people in Ontario and Quebec heartily endorsed both confederation and the government, and that the latter was assured of a large majority, no matter who the elections in Nova Scotia or New Bruns-

wick resulted. In Ontario the principal interest centered in South Ontario, where the Hon. George Brown opposed Mr. T. N. Gibbs, the Government candidate. On leaving the Coalition Cabinet of 1864, Mr. Brown had announced his intention of retiring from public life, but at the solicitation of his friends he consented to stand for South Ontario, where he was personally popular, and where anti-coalition principles were supposed to prevail. "From the close of the Reform Convention on 28th June, Mr. Brown had been unceasing in his efforts against coalition, and had unsparingly used all the influence of the *Globe* to defeat the new administration, so that, as he was the representative man in the anti-coalition party, the contest was watched with keen interest. The campaign was exceedingly active on both sides, and each party put forth its utmost effort to influence converts to its side. The contest attracted more attention also from the fact that South Ontario was one of the first four places in the Province where the questions at issue would be put to the test of a vote, the previous elections having been by acclamation. The other three places were Kingston, Carleton and Ottawa City, and the voting took place on the 26th and 27th of August. At the close of the first day's polling in South Ontario, the vote stood a tie at 1,002 each, and the excitement reached fever pitch; but the knowing ones prophesied that Mr. Brown, acting on a well-known axiom of his, that 'one vote polled before twelve o'clock was worth two afterwards,' had put forth all his strength, and that Mr. Gibbs would be elected. And so the event proved, for on the second day Mr. Brown only polled 216 votes to his opponent's 287, and Mr. Gibbs was elected by 71 votes. This defeat had a very depressing effect on the anti-coalitionists, and there is little doubt but that many wavering constituencies were gained to the Government by it, and the anti-coalition movement lost much of its strength. Government candidates were also elected in the other constituencies contested on 26th and 27th of August, Sir John A. Macdonald being elected

Results of the  
elections.

by a vote of 734 against 142 polled for his opponent, Mr Stewart. After this, the elections in Ontario continued to go steadily in favor of the Government, and only about fifteen Opposition and Independent members were elected out of eighty-two." This result, as the reader will observe, was contributed in no small measure by the skillful management of the elections, rendered possible by the unfortunate terms of the law then regulating such matters.

14.—In the Province of Quebec, the contest centered in Montreal. Here the Hon. Messrs.

The elections in  
Province of Quebec.

Cartier and McGee, both of whom are now dead, were the Government candidates, and were opposed by Lanctot and Devlin. "An attempt was made to create ill-feeling among the friends of Messrs. Cartier and McGee by statements that the latter had been slighted by the former, inasmuch as he had not been offered a portfolio in the new Administration while he held one in the old Parliament; but Mr. McGee completely refuted the statement and said that he had voluntarily offered to waive any claim to a seat in the new ministry, as he saw that it was necessary for some of its members to retire so as to make room for those to be appointed from the Maritime Provinces, as, otherwise, there would be more members of the ministry than were at all necessary, or Parliament would be disposed to sanction; and that as Mr. Edward Kenny, an Irish Roman Catholic, had taken his place, he saw no reason for his Irish Catholic friends to fancy that they had in any way been slighted. The contest between Messrs McGee and Devlin was extremely bitter and personal, and there is no doubt but that to it, in a measure, may be traced the murder of Mr. McGee in Ottawa, on the seventh of April, 1868. The Fenian element was strong in Montreal at the time of the raid in 1866, and continued so for some time after, and Mr. Devlin was accredited with entertaining very warm sympathy for 'the cause,' while Mr. McGee strongly opposed it. This led to a large amount of ill-feeling between the Irish members of the Conservative and Reform parties, and the public

meetings of both candidates were very turbulent. At the close of the second day's polling, when Mr. McGee was declared elected by a majority of 262, an attack was made on Mechanics' Hall, where he had his headquarters, and a serious row ensued, during which clubs and pistols were freely used, and several persons were severely injured. No lives, however, were lost. Mr. Cartier was elected to both the House of Commons and the Local Legislature by large majorities. As in Ontario, the elections went steadily in favor of the Government, and out of the sixty-four members elected, only twelve were in opposition to the Government. No election was held in Kamouraska, on account of a riot occurring on nomination day, which necessitated the postponement of the election until after the meeting of Parliament." \*

15.—The elections in the Maritime Provinces, which occurred on the 18th of September, were hotly contested. In Nova Scotia The elections in the Maritime Provinces. the result was the complete defeat of the Union party, eighteen of the nineteen constituencies being carried by the opponents of confederation. Cumberland, the native county of the writer, was the only constituency in the whole Province which elected a supporter of the Government, and had the Government not been represented by the Hon. Dr. Tupper in that county, who was by all odds the strongest candidate in the field, the Union cause must have been defeated in Cumberland also. The doctor was opposed by Hon. William Amand, of the Halifax *Chronicle*, the strongest anti-Confederate in the Province, always excepting Mr. Howe,—and gained his seat by the slight majority of seventy. Hon. Mr. Archibald, Secretary of State for Provinces, was defeated; and, being unable to obtain a constituency, was subsequently obliged to re-

\* The above account of the contest in Montreal, which is in quotations, is from the pen of one who has taken no part in politics, and who has no prejudices on the subject. In such matters, upon which many of my readers will doubtless be very sensitive, I have sought with the greatest pains to divest every statement of the slightest appearance of partisan feeling, and, in pursuit of this end, have succeeded in bringing to my aid the judgment of those every way competent and reliable. Though not always permitted to use the names of persons rendering such assistance, I seek to extend the customary acknowledgment by the use of quotation marks.—C. R. T.

sign his seat in the Cabinet. He was the only member of the Government who was not elected. Messrs. Howe, Jones, and all the leading anti-Confederationists—except Mr. Annand—were returned, and the Local Legislature was almost entirely anti-Union. In New Brunswick the result was almost as complete a victory for the Government as Nova Scotia was a defeat, for there, twelve out of the fifteen members were returned as supporters of the Government; so that the Maritime Provinces together sent thirteen supporters and twenty-one opponents of the Government to the first Parliament of the Dominion. Taking the four Provinces, it will be found that three of them pronounced most unmistakably in favor of confederation and the Coalition Government, while one was just as pronounced in its want of confidence in both. Leaving out Nova Scotia, four-fifths of the members elected from the other Provinces were supporters of the union who were, also, either supporters of the Government or willing to allow it a fair trial before condemning it; including Nova Scotia, with its eighteen opposition votes, the Government had still nearly two-thirds of the House as its supporters, so that it was far stronger than any Government which had been in power in the old Province of Canada for many years, and had an ample majority to enable it to carry out those measures which were thought most necessary to ensure the effectual working of the new Dominion. We cannot conclude this account of the elections without noting that both parties were charged with using money very freely for corrupt purposes; the *Globe*, in an article on the sixth of September, says: "Never before in Canada have votes commanded such prices or found such a buoyant market as during the present contest."

### CHAPTER III.

#### GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK—1867—FIRST PARLIAMENT.

1. FIRST CHANGE IN THE DOMINION CABINET.
- 2. CAUCHON APPOINTED SPEAKER OF SEN-

ATE.—3. OPENING OF THE FIRST DOMINION PARLIAMENT.—4. DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.—5. SPEECH OF HON. JOSEPH HOWE.—6. SPEECH OF HON. DR. TUPPER.—7. INDEMNITY OF MEMBERS.—8. DUAL REPRESENTATION; INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.—9. FIRST PART OF THE FIRST SESSION—LEGISLATION.—10. POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS; POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.—11. INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.—12. MISCELLANEOUS LEGISLATION.

1. The great Conservative leader now found himself nearing the goal of his ambition. Confederation was an accomplished fact,—and even the loud demands for repeal which Hon. Joseph Howe sent up in behalf of misguided Nova Scotia, did not alarm the premier. Besides, his government had secured a strong majority and the then approaching session of Parliament could be fraught with no special dangers to his policy. It was not long after the elections before the first session of the Dominion Parliament was convened, but the short interim was by no means barren of results,—results which lost to Sir John one of the ablest of his ministers,—Hon. (now Sir) Alexander T. Galt, the Minister of Finance. The change in the Cabinet was caused by the failure of the Commercial Bank, which occurred on the 22nd of October. We say the change was caused by the failure of this bank, and yet there was nothing in the circumstances surrounding the failure, to which the change can be reasonably traced. During the last session of the old Parliament of Canada, a Currency Act was introduced by Mr. Galt, who was the Finance Minister, which provided for the issuing by the Province of \$5,000,000 in legal tender notes, which were to be circulated by the banks in lieu of their own bills, they being allowed a commission of five per cent. as an offset against the loss they would otherwise sustain by the withdrawal of their own notes. The banks did not avail themselves of the privilege to any great extent, except the Bank of Montreal, whose President, Mr. King, managed

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to circulate a large quantity of the government notes, reaping a correspondingly large profit. Of course this transaction had a damaging effect upon the circulation of other banks and may have resulted in considerable embarrassment to the Commercial Bank, but to what extent, is a matter of doubt. When the latter bank failed, certain journals, opposed to Mr. Galt, foremost among which was the *Toronto Globe*, undertook to throw the whole responsibility of the failure upon the Currency Act, and made bitter attacks upon its author, charging him with favoritism to the Bank of Montreal, and claiming that his whole fiscal policy was a failure. Under the pressure of these charges Mr. Galt resigned his portfolio, for reasons which he subsequently explained in Parliament. It is not our mission to criticize the charges made against Mr. Galt's fiscal policy, but we cannot refrain from commending the course which the Finance Minister adopted. On explaining his action in Parliament he pleaded the necessity of increased attention to his private affairs, and the unjust attack made upon him with reference to the failure of the Commercial Bank. Owing to the latter he considered that his usefulness in the government would be impaired, for a short time at least, as he could not feel assured of the cordial and hearty support of the Upper Canada members. He pledged himself however to continue as a private member, and await the developments of time to justify his acts. While we now believe that time has fully exonerated Mr. Galt, the failure of the bank, was no doubt, in some small measure, at least, precipitated by the advantage taken of the government notes by the Bank of Montreal, but this was not the prime cause of the failure. That was to be found in the reckless management of the bank, which had been run, to a large extent, in the interests of a few individuals. Aside from this nearly one-half its capital had been invested or sunk in bonds of the Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad, which were practically worthless, as they paid no interest, and were not convertible into money. As we shall see, Mr. Galt was succeeded in the

Finance department by Hon. (now Sir) John Rose, and the change, although unattended by any well authenticated charges from the opposition, was the first clue given to them upon which to assail the government.

2. His Excellency, Lord Monck, the Governor-General, opened the first Dominion Parliament in person, on the seventh of November, 1867. Cauchon appointed Speaker of the Senate Mr. Joseph E. Cauchon was appointed Speaker of the Senate. This gave rise to considerable dissatisfaction, but of such a character as not to weaken the government. Mr. Cauchon had not been a member of the Legislative Council, and was only elevated to the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Hon. (afterwards Sir) N. F. Belleau to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Quebec; some of the other Senators, who had for many years previous been Legislative Councillors, therefore felt somewhat slighted at being passed over, as it were, for so young a Senator; but Mr. Cauchon had been of great service in the Province of Quebec in advocating Confederation, and his great personal influence was, undoubtedly, of much importance to the Union party, so the leaders of the government thought that his services should be recognized, and offered him the Speakership of the Senate. The appointment was not a popular one, and even the *Leader* did not attempt to defend it on any other ground than that of necessity. In its issue of sixth of November, when announcing the appointment, it says:—"We do not pretend to say that the appointment will give general satisfaction to the Senate. That it was in contemplation had for some time been known, and considerable objection to it was made. Mr. Cauchon was not previously a member of the Senate, and it is objected to that he is appointed Speaker over the heads of old members of the Legislative Council at the very time he comes into the Senate to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Hon. Mr. Belleau, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. The anomaly is striking enough, no doubt, but it cannot be denied that Mr. Cauchon's claims on the Administration, and

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we may say on the country, were paramount. In the district of Quebec, he is by far the strongest individual public man, and in the Province of Quebec, after Mr. Cartier, he wields the largest measure of popular power. At great sacrifice of personal feeling, he took a prominent part in the popular advocacy of Confederation; and it is scarcely too much to say that if he had not made that sacrifice, the district of Quebec would have a very different verdict on this question. Without overrating the influence of an individual, it may well be doubted whether the Province of Quebec would have given more than a very feeble majority in favor of this national measure. As he could not be offered a seat in the Privy Council, we think he is fairly entitled to the position he has attained, and we congratulate him on his appointment."

3.—The opening of the first Parliament of the Dominion of Canada was an event of unusual interest, and is worthy of more than a passing notice. At two o'clock on the 7th of November,

Opening of the first Dominion Parliament.

a quorum of the Senate being assembled, the clerk read the proclamation of His Excellency the Governor-General, summoning the Hon. Mr. Cauchon to the Senate, and appointing him to its presidency. Mr. Cauchon at once announced that His Excellency's pleasure had been communicated to him. Then, the mace, a relic of old formalities, was borne to the foot of the table, at which the clerk and other officers of the Senate were seated, and the Speaker, advancing, took the oath of office, and seated himself in the chair. He then administered the oath to the clerk, and the chaplain opened the proceedings with prayer. And it was well that this should be; a pause in all the pomp and ceremony, whereby Canada was asserting her national strength and dignity, to confess humbly her insignificance and unworthiness, praying that He, Who alone is strong, and Whose Kingdom endures, would endue her rulers with wisdom and enlighten her councillors with righteousness, and would bless our beloved land with peace and plenty, and be our sword

and our shield. Prayers are scarcely concluded when the boom of cannon outside announced the arrival of His Excellency. A moment later and the Senate rose and rustled homage to the representative of Royalty. His Excellency Lord Monck entered in military costume, attended by a brilliant staff, in scarlet coats, white feathers, gold lace and decorations, and proceeded to take his seat on the Throne. The Usher of the Black Rod was desired to proceed to the Commons, and request the immediate attendance of that House. In two or three minutes the Commons poured in, headed by their clerk and the Hon. Messrs. Howland and Cartier. His Excellency remarked that he was surprised that the Commons had not elected a Speaker, and in set phrase commanded them to do so, and to reappear at the bar of the Senate on the following day at three o'clock. Subsequently the task of electing a Speaker was undertaken in the House of Commons. Sir John A. Macdonald proposed, and Sir George E. Cartier seconded the appointment of the Hon. James Cockburn, member for West Northumberland, who had been solicitor-General for Upper Canada in the old Parliament. No other nomination was made, and Mr. Cockburn was elected by acclamation. On the following day, at three o'clock, the Governor-General delivered the formal opening speech from the Throne.\* The speech, after congratulating the

\* The following is the full text of the Speech:

*Hon. Gentlemen of the Senate.—*

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons.—*

In addressing for the first time the Parliamentary representatives of the Dominion of Canada, I desire to give expression to my own deep feeling of gratification, that it has been my high privilege to occupy an official position which has made it my duty to assist in every step taken in the creation of the great Confederation. I congratulate you on the legislative sanction which has been granted by the Imperial Parliament to the Act of Union, under the provisions of which we are now assembled, and which has laid the foundation of a new nationality, that I trust and believe will, ere long, extend its bounds from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

In the discussions which preceded the introduction of this measure in the Imperial Parliament, between the Government on the one side and the delegates who represented the Provinces now united on the other, it was apparent to all who took part in these conferences that, while Her Majesty's Ministers considered and pressed the principle of union as a subject of great Imperial interest, they allowed to the Provincial representatives every freedom in arranging the mode on which that principle should be carried out.

In a similar spirit of respect for your privileges as a free and self-governing people, the Act of Union as adopted by the Imperial Parlia-

Houses on the consummation of confederation, stated that measures for carrying the same into practical effect would be submitted; these would include Acts regulating and assimilating the currency, tariff, excise and postal laws of the Provinces; Acts for regulating and controlling the public works and property of the Dominion; the management of the militia; care of the Indians; issuing of patents, and the naturalization of foreigners. Bills would also be submitted for the assimilation of the criminal laws of the different Provinces, as well as the laws relating to bankruptcy and insolvency; as well as an election law and one relating to Parliamentary privileges. Special reference was made to the Intercolonial Railway, the building of which was one of the stipulations of confederation, and an Act promised with regard to it, as well as others with reference to the extension of Western territory, and the care and development of the fisheries and marine interests. Altogether the speech foreshadowed a large amount of necessary legislation, which would be quite enough to keep the House busily employed for some time to come.

4.—On the retirement of the Commons, on the second day, to their own chamber, some routine

business was transacted, when Mr. Dorion inquired of the Gov-<sup>Debate on the Address.</sup> ernment in regard to rumored Cabinet changes. This brought Sir John to his feet, when he explained that Hon. Mr. Archibald, Secretary of State for the Provinces, having failed to secure his seat in the House, had tendered his resignation, which had been accepted, and that he held office only until his successor was appointed; also the Hon. Mr. Galt, Minister of Finance, had tendered his resignation, and held his portfolio only on the same terms. The address in reply to the speech from the Throne was moved in the House of Commons, on the eighth, by Mr. Fisher (N. B.), seconded by Mr. Desaulniers, and the debate on the adoption was continued until the fifteenth, when it was carried without a division or an amendment, the whole debate on the subject partaking more of the character of personal explanations than of criticism of the proposed course of the ministry. The first grand feature was the onslaught of Hon. Joseph Howe, and the terse reply of the Hon. Dr. Tupper. Great interest was manifested in the course which Mr. Howe would pursue, for it was pretty well understood that his action would be sustained by his anti-*confrères* from

ment imposes the duty, and confers on you the right of reducing to practice its system of Government which it has called into existence, of consolidating its institutions, harmonizing its administrative details, and of making such legislative provisions as will secure to a constitution in some respects novel a full, fair and unprejudiced trial.

With the design of effecting these objects, measures will be laid before you for the amendment and assimilation of the laws now existing in the several Provinces relating to currency, customs, excise and revenue generally; for the adoption of a uniform postal system; for the proper management and maintenance of public works and the properties of the Dominion; for the adoption of a well-considered scheme of militia organization and defence; for the proper administration of Indian affairs; for the introduction of uniform laws respecting patents of invention and discovery; the naturalization of aliens; and the assimilation of the criminal law and the laws relating to bankruptcy and insolvency.

A measure will also be submitted to you for the performance of the duty imposed upon Canada under the terms of the Union Act of immediately constructing the Intercolonial Railway. This great work will add a practical and physical connection to the legislative bond which now unites the Provinces comprising the Dominion; and the liberality with which the guarantee for the cost of its construction was given by the Imperial Parliament is a new proof of the hearty interest felt by the British people in your prosperity.

Your consideration will also be invited to the important subject of Western territorial extension, and your attention will be called to the best means for the protection and development of our fisheries and marine interests.

You will also be asked to consider measures defining the privileges of Parliament, and for the establishment of uniform laws relating to elections, and the trial of contested elections.

#### Gentlemen of the House of Commons—

The circumstances under which the Act of Union came into operation rendered it impossible to obtain the assent of the Legislature to the expenditure necessary for the ordinary carrying on of the business of the Government. The expenditure since the first of July has therefore been carried on on the responsibility of the Ministers of the Crown. The details of that expenditure will be laid before you and submitted for your sanction.

I have directed that estimates for the current and succeeding financial year shall be laid before you; you will find that they have been framed with all the attention to economy which is compatible with the maintenance of efficiency in the different branches of the public service.

#### Hon. Gentlemen and Gentlemen—

The general organization and efficiency of the volunteers and militia have been greatly improved within the last year, and the whole volunteer force of Ontario and Quebec is already, by the liberality of the Imperial Government, armed with breech-loading rifles.

I am happy to be able to congratulate you on the abundant harvest with which it has pleased Providence to bless the country, and on the general prosperity of the Dominion.

Your new nationality enters on its course backed by the moral support, material aid and most ardent good wishes of the Mother Country. Within your borders peace, security and prosperity prevail, and I fervently pray that your aspirations may be directed to such high and patriotic objects, and that you may be inspired with such a spirit of moderation and wisdom, as will cause you to render the great work of Union which has been achieved, a blessing to yourselves and your posterity, and a fresh starting point in the moral, political and material advancement of the people of Canada.

Nova Scotia. When the first paragraph of the address from the Throne was put to the House, it brought the great orator to his feet, but he was much more moderate than had been expected, and while attacking the manner in which Nova Scotia had been brought into the Union, disclaimed any intention of acting as leader of the Opposition, or of offering any factious opposition to the Government. As this speech may be regarded the text of Nova Scotia's opposition to confederation, we give a condensed synopsis of it in this place.

5. Mr. Howe began by remarking that some friends had assigned him the position of leader

Speech of Hon.  
Joseph Howe.

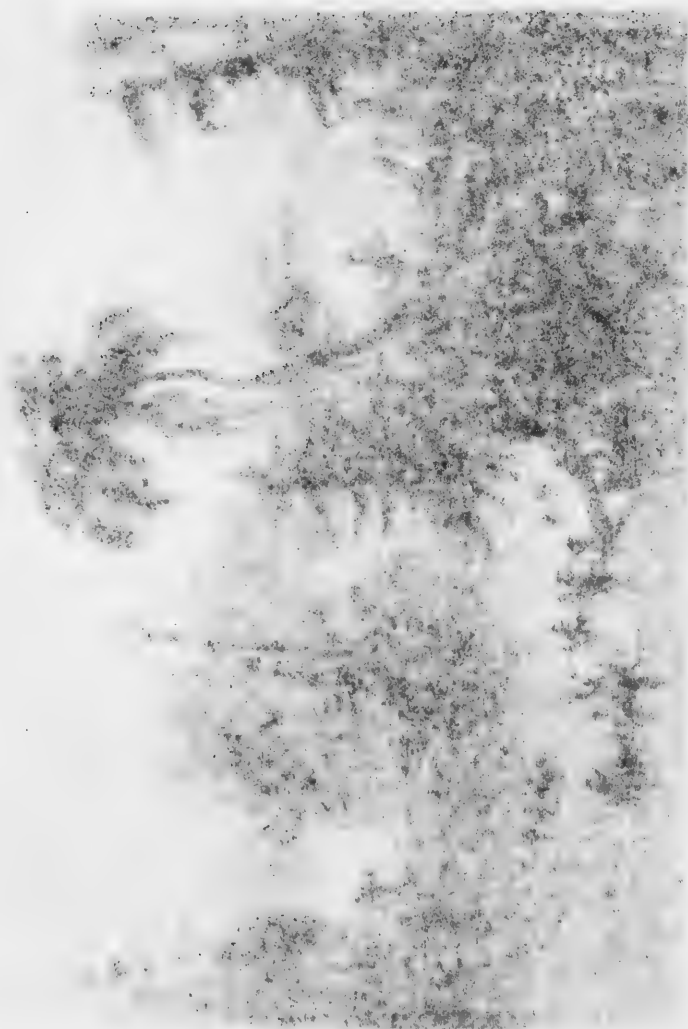
of the Opposition, which he could not accept. The question, he said, of supporting or opposing the present Government did not enter into any of the political contests in Nova Scotia, and this being the case, and holding the opinion he did in reference to Confederation, he thought it better to take his seat in the body of the House as an independent member. No gentleman from Nova Scotia came pledged, in any way, to one political party of Canada. Still, if good measures were brought up, he would support them, come from what source they might, and if bad, he would oppose them. His honorable friend from York (Mr. Fisher) had predicted a reign of peace and harmony among politicians, but he was afraid he would be sadly disappointed. Confederation had not the merit of proclaiming peace upon earth and good-will among the men of Canada. Referring to the Intercolonial Railroad, he said that whether the words attributed to Mr. Macdougall at the Toronto Convention were his or not, the fact remained that the Government had that railway in their hands; they had the expenditure of fifteen millions, and he very much mistook their character if they could not with this power in their hands maintain themselves in office for the next ten years. Referring to the opening paragraph of His Excellency's speech, he said the people of Nova Scotia could not join in the congratulations of His Excellency. They would read his speech with sorrow and humiliation and not with congratulations. He referred

to the manner in which the Act had passed the Imperial Parliament, and averred that in the House of Lords of more than four hundred, there were never more than fifty while Confederation was under discussion, and when the Act passed its third reading, there were only ten members in the House of Lords. It had been represented to the Imperial Parliament that the people of Nova Scotia were in favor of Union, while every man in that country knew that statement to be a deliberate falsehood. The bill might have been submitted to the people of Nova Scotia, and still there would have been time to pass it the same session. His Excellency spoke of a new nationality extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, he (Mr. Howe) could only say that he saw in the Union a source of weakness, a want of the material that was absolutely indispensable in a great nation. Who is to protect the commercial interests of this nation? He came from a country that has 400,000 tons of shipping. This Act had relieved the Imperial Government of the responsibility of defending the western countries. How are we to assume that responsibility? The United States have opened up the country on their side of the line, whilst Great Britain has allowed the Red River country and British Columbia to take care of itself, and what is the result? Out of Minnesota could go men enough in a week to cut Canada off from the Red River country. Let her do the best she could, the position of British Columbia, with Russian America on the north and California on the south, rendered it doubtful to his mind if Britain with all her power could hold that country against a hostile army of the United States. He held that Canada was not so thickly settled that we need be in a hurry to extend our borders. There is room enough in Canada for fifty millions of people, and in the Lower Provinces for ten times their present population. He repudiated the cry that those who had opposed Confederation were disloyal, and claimed to be as loyal as any member of the Government. During the thirty-five years of his public life, he defied any man to point out a single act of his indicative of a disloyal spirit. His Excellency had referred

to the generous manner in which the Imperial Parliament had allowed the people to deal with the details of Confederation. He (Mr. Howe) denied that any such privilege was allowed. It did not even go before the Legislature of Nova Scotia. The only chance the people of Nova Scotia had of expressing their opinion on Confederation was last September, when the elections came off, and they showed then, unmistakably, that they were hostile to the measure. He referred to several instances in history when a change of constitution had taken place, but always with the consent of the people. Referring to the currency question, he remarked that in Nova Scotia they had a sound system, and never had a bank fail there. They had many banks, but not one of them had stopped, or was open to suspicion. The Government kept its account with one of these banks, but gave it no exclusive power. Since the first of July, a restless feeling had gone abroad among the people there that something was to be done which would limit the circulation of their banks. He trusted this would not be the case. He could not understand how any bank that is really sound and solvent could be broken by any Government, nor how any Government should possess the power to break any bank that is sound and solvent. He referred to the question of revenue to maintain the dignity of the Dominion, to the standing army that is promised, to the navy that we must have. Taxation must be increased; all the revenues of this Province were to be taken up by the General Government, and all they get back was eighty cents ahead, the price of a Nova Scotian as well as the price of a sheepskin. He went on to refer to the postal system, noticing the negotiations of Messrs. LaFontaine and Merritt, which resulted in the free interchange of various products and the establishment of a five cent postage. He thought the best thing that could happen would be the arrangement of a penny postage; but this could not be done without changing the constitution of the country. Now, the management of this system would be removed up to Ottawa; what happened now to Nova Scotia might one day happen to this Pro-

vince, and every postmaster and postmistress be appointed here by a Government which we could not for a moment influence. Then as to public works, by careful management Nova Scotia had spent something like a million and a half of dollars on them, and what had happened? Why, on election day every employé was marched up to vote for the Government candidate, influenced by some power which could not be discovered. Referring to the clause on the militia, he said that according to resources and population, Nova Scotia had as many men as England, but now that they were told there was to be some new militia organization, he only hoped it would be more effective. He would promise it a careful consideration, but reports had reached Nova Scotia that had caused some alarm. It was said that every man in this Dominion was to be armed. He hoped no impracticable scheme would be adopted. Who were we to arm against? There was only one enemy to fear, and he regretted that the whole of the proceedings in regard to Confederation looked too much like a menace against that country. If we managed our affairs properly, we should be the best of friends with our neighbors. Peace with them was what we invariably prayed for. Nova Scotia had never yet been able to frame a universally acceptable bankrupt law, and if this could be done, he would be glad to see it. Referring to the next clause of the address, he expressed his belief that in England they were preparing their minds to let us assume the responsibilities of a separate nationality. As to our fisheries, they were given up to the United States. England would not fire a shot in defence of them. He thought some system ought to be adopted in regard to controverted elections; passed over the other passages of the speech without remark, and in conclusion deeply regretted that the measure had been passed in such a manner as to make it highly distasteful to the people of Nova Scotia, a free and loyal people who had for years conducted their affairs with loyalty and vigor, and regretted that they should be obliged to send representatives here to make such speeches as he had

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made to-night. As the debate went on, he would move a short amendment expressing regret that this measure had not been submitted to the people of Nova Scotia. He knew that the decision on this question was a foregone conclusion; he knew that he stood here powerless to do more than express the sentiments he entertained.

6.—It was only in harmony with every expectation that Mr. Howe was followed by his great opponent, the Hon. Dr. Charles Tupper, who had fought him throughout the whole battle for confederation in Nova Scotia, and who had won a victory under many disadvantages. We give also a brief summary of Dr. Tupper's reply. He felt that if North America assumed its proper position among nations, it could only be by uniting these Provinces. In looking at commercial interests, every man must have felt that the Union was only meant for promoting the prosperity of the Provinces. He referred to the advantages which he believed would result from the Intercolonial Railway, and noticed the valuable mineral deposits with which Nova Scotia abounded. These were comparatively valueless heretofore, and could never have been developed by the unaided maritime population. If Nova Scotia was ever to advance and obtain advantages of free trade, it could only be by union with other Provinces, and what had not free trade done for other countries. Look what it had done even between Upper and Lower Canada! His honorable friend had said truly that the true source of strength of British America must consist in attracting emigration. Confederation would be the means of effecting this. He was prepared to admit that his honorable friend Howe had thoroughly swept the polls, but it was no new thing to hear of a sudden change of opinion among the people of Nova Scotia. They might easily imagine the effect his honorable friend's eloquence would have travelling through the country telling the people that their sons were to be dragged from their fireside, and that taxes were to be levied on them. Had Nova Scotia remained as she

Speech of  
Hon. Dr. Tupper.

was, they would either have had to greatly reduce their expenditure, or else raise their tariff. But they had been accustomed to these changes in Nova Scotia. His honorable friend had once before found himself thoroughly defeated, and went on to refer to some of the causes which he believed had contributed to his large majority on this occasion. He felt that he need not in that assembly defend the manner in which his measure had been carried. Pitt and Peel had declared in language eloquent and emphatic that the most dangerous precedent to establish would be to say that Parliament was not fully competent to deal with any question on behalf of the people. Nova Scotia happened to be the only Province in which Parliament had an opportunity of passing on this measure, and it obtained a two-thirds vote. Not one half of the votes at the polls in Nova Scotia had been given to his honorable friend and his supporters, and moreover, his election had taken place under a new franchise created by himself (Howe), and never put in operation before. He denied that the issue of confederation was put to the people at the polls. He asked how his honorable friend could reconcile his present course with his declaration in Nova Scotia that he would, if elected, give the Union a fair trial. The member for Guysboro' did the same, and was elected on that manly stand, while Mr. Annand, the only man who declared his intentions of opposing the Union, was defeated. The moral power which Union had given us rendered army and navy necessary. He believed we had lost the Reciprocity Treaty in consequence of the isolated position of the Provinces leading the States to believe they could dictate any terms they chose. He referred to some of Mr. Howe's former utterances, quoting speeches by that gentleman to prove his inconsistency in opposing Union. In regard to Mr. Howe's complaints as to being charged with disloyalty, he said the Queen's name had never been appealed to against the anti-Unionists except in a constitutional manner. Far be it from him (Tupper) to charge any man with disloyalty, but if charges had been made in Nova Scotia, it was in rela-

tion to the accusation that the Union party were traitors. If Mr. Howe and his friends were not disloyal, it was at any rate true that there was not Fenian or annexationist in the Province who did not sympathize and act heartily with them. He then criticised other objections raised by Mr. Howe to the speech from the Throne, and endeavored to show they were, in each particular, weak and unfounded.

7.—After the adoption of the Address, a bill was passed fixing the indemnity of members.

*Indemnity  
of members.*

The salaries of the Speakers of the two Houses were fixed at \$3,000 per annum each, and the pay of members at six dollars per day for a session of not less than thirty days, with ten cents per mile mileage; or six hundred dollars for the session should it exceed thirty days, with same allowance for mileage. The bill was opposed by Messrs. Blake, Mackenzie, Holton and others, who advocated a per diem allowance without regard to the duration of the session; Mr. Blake remarking that he could see no reason why members should receive one hundred and eighty dollars for a session of thirty days, and six hundred dollars for a session of thirty-one days. Exception was also taken to the bill on the ground that it would tend to induce members to draw out the session at its commencement until thirty days had expired, and then to hurry through the remainder of the session, as they would feel as if they were remaining at the seat of Government at their own expense after they had become entitled to their full sessional allowance. The bill was, however, passed without amendment.

8.—Dual representation came forward for the early attention of Parliament, and Mr David

*Dual Representation.  
Independence  
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Mills introduced a bill disqualifying members of the Local Legislatures from holding seats in the House of Commons. The bill, however, was withdrawn, and it was not until many years after that dual representation, which came into existence with confederation, was abolished. The British North America Act said nothing with regard to members of the Local

Houses being ineligible for seats in the House of Commons of the Dominion, and many members of the old Parliament of Canada were elected to the local Houses of Quebec and Ontario, as well as to the House of Commons—two of the most notable instances being Hon. George E. Cartier and Mr. Edward Blake. Dual representation never existed in the Maritime Provinces, local Acts being passed preventing it. One plea for this double representation was that all the experienced members of the old Parliament who could secure re-election would prefer the House of Commons to the more limited sphere of the Local Houses, and that the latter bodies would be destitute of experienced men, and their business correspondingly delayed. But this argument could be only of a temporary nature, and the contention of the Opposition that dual representation gave undue influence to the Government of the day by having its members in the Local Houses as well as in the House of Commons, gains much weight from the fact that although the evils of the system were pointed out during the elections, and a bill introduced within two weeks after the opening of the first Parliament, it was seven years before dual representation was abolished, and then only after the Liberal party had come into power. Bearing on the same subject was a question of privilege raised by Mr. Holton that members of the House of Commons were guilty of a breach of the Independence of Parliament Act by becoming members of the Local Governments, for which they received remuneration. This subject was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which decided that, as the Local Ministers were paid by the Local and not the General Government, no breach of privilege was committed; and members of the Local Governments continued to occupy seats in the House of Commons until the abolition of dual representation.

9.—The Government had planned to divide the first session of the Dominion Parliament into two parts, taking a recess during the holidays, and until March, in which to prepare and

*The first part of the  
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elaborate its most important measures. In pursuance of this plan, Parliament adjourned on the 21st of December until the 12th of March, 1868, but not until sufficient business had been transacted to provide for the new order of things. A supply bill was passed granting \$5,264,279 generally for the service of the Government from 1st July, 1867, to 31st March, 1868, and authorizing the Governor in Council to issue six per cent. stock or bonds for the redemption of any debt of the former Provinces, but the amount of the public debt was not to be increased by such issue. The vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. Mr. Galt as Finance Minister was filled by the appointment of Hon. John Rose, who was reelected for Huntingdon by acclamation, and sworn of the Privy Council on 30th November. The fifth bill passed related to the management of the revenue, the manner of collecting and disbursing, keeping accounts, &c. The Customs Act was comprised of one hundred and forty-one clauses, consolidating the different Customs Acts of the various Provinces, and making the rules and regulations with regard to ports of entry, transfers in bond, punishment of smuggling, &c., uniform. The bill only appointed twenty ports of entry in bond, but the Governor in Council had the power to increase this number, and in little more than a year from the passage of the Act the number had risen to one hundred and ten. The Customs Act relating to duties was temporary in its nature, and was superseded later in the session by the Tariff Act, to which we shall refer at length further on. The Inland Revenue, or Excise Bill, passed at this session, did not differ materially from that of the Province of Canada, the tax on spirits being retained at sixty cents per gallon (which was increased to sixty-three later on in the session), and cigars from one dollar per thousand upwards. The mode of collecting the tax on beer was, however, changed, and in lieu of a tax of three cents per gallon, one of one cent per pound on malt was substituted. These excise duties were very distasteful to the Maritime Provinces, where, previous to the Union,

the revenue of New Brunswick from this source was only about \$100 per annum, while there was no revenue at all derived from it in Nova Scotia. A Stamp Act was also passed, imposing a tax on bills of exchange, drafts and promissory notes at the rate of one cent for twenty-five dollars, two cents for fifty, and three cents for every hundred dollars. This was also a new tax to the Maritime Provinces, and was strongly opposed by some of the members from that section.

10.—The Act reorganizing and reconstructing the postal arrangements of the Dominion, assimilating the systems of the four Provinces, adopting a uniform rate of postage, and establishing Post Office Savings Banks. Up to the time of Confederation, the postal rate in the Province of Canada was five cents per half ounce to any part of the Province, and twelve and a half cents to Nova Scotia, *via* Boston; ten cents per half ounce to the United States, and twelve and a half cents to Great Britain. Newspapers were charged at the rate of twenty-five cents per annum for weeklies, and one dollar and sixty cents for dailies, payable quarterly in advance by either the publisher or subscriber; but periodicals devoted to the education of youth, agriculture, temperance, or any branch of science, were exempt from postage. In the Maritime Provinces the rates of postage were the same, except that all newspapers were free. In the new bill the whole postal service was placed under the control of the Postmaster-General at Ottawa, who was given large powers for the general management of his department, the establishment of mail routes, fixing rates of postage with other countries, &c. The entire systems of the Provinces were assimilated, and a uniform rate of three cents to any part of the Dominion established. Postage on weekly newspapers was fixed at five cents per quarter, payable in advance by either the publisher or subscriber, and thirty cents for dailies. Transient papers were charged one cent each if mailed by the publisher or subscriber, and two cents if by any

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other person. The bill, as originally drafted, required payment on newspapers to be made in advance by the publisher, but an effort being made, while the bill was under discussion, to have all newspapers pass free, and it being represented that the enforcement of payment in advance would press very heavily on the smaller publishers, a compromise was arrived at by reducing the rate to a minimum, and allowing the manner of payment to remain as it had been in the Province of Canada. Postage to Great Britain remained at twelve and a half cents, but that to the United States was, shortly after the passage of the bill, reduced from ten to six cents, so that the era of cheap postage may be said to have been fairly inaugurated with the new Dominion. But the most important feature of the new bill was the provision made in it for the establishment of Post Office Savings Banks, where sums of one dollar and upwards could be deposited, the depositor being allowed four per cent. on ordinary deposits, which could be withdrawn at any time, or five per cent. on special deposits, which could only be withdrawn after three months' notice. The offices were not opened until the first of April 1868, and the people speedily showed their appreciation of the convenience and safety afforded them by depositing freely, so that at the expiration of the first six months, 203 offices had been opened, and \$356,278.27 remained on deposit, \$219,907.97 being at four per cent., and \$135,800.00 at five. An attempt was made, while the Postal Bill was in progress through the House, to have the telegraph service amalgamated with the postal service, in the same manner as had just then been proposed in Great Britain; but it was not thought advisable to attempt the undertaking, and the telegraph service of Canada is now so complete, and the charges so moderate, that it is extremely doubtful whether it could be performed any better or cheaper if it did form part of the Post Office system. Another subject which received some attention was the abolition of the carriers' fee of two cents for delivering letters, and substituting a free delivery; but the financial con-

dition of the country was not such just then as to warrant taking the risk of the additional expense, and it was some years later before the free delivery system was introduced. A proposition was also made to extend the money order system to the United States, but the unsettled condition of the money market in that country at this time, added to other reasons, caused a postponement of the consideration of the scheme, and it was not until August, 1873, that arrangements were perfected and went into operation for an exchange of money orders between the Post Offices of Canada and the United States. The money order system was established in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec on the first of February, 1855, in Nova Scotia on the first of July, 1859, and in New Brunswick on the first of November, 1863, and some idea of the rapid growth of the system may be gathered from the facts that during the year 1866 there were 66,412 orders for a total amount of \$2,399,293.63 issued in the four Provinces, and 54,048 orders for a total amount of \$2,140,195.75 paid.

11.—Fortunately for the country, the British North American Act provided for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. <sup>Intercolonial Rail-  
road.</sup> and a bill was accordingly passed in the first part of the session, making provisions accordingly. It provided for the building of the road from River du Loup to Truro by four commissioners, to be appointed by the Governor-General, who was also to appoint the Chief Engineer. The gauge of the road was fixed at 5 ft. 6 in. on such grades, in such manner, in such places, with such material and on such specifications as the Governor in Council might determine. The powers of the Minister of Public Works and of a Railway Company were given to the Commissioners with regard to surveys, taking lands, &c. All tenders to be advertised, and no contract for over \$10,000 to be granted without the consent of the Governor in Council, who also fixed the remuneration of the Commissioners and the Chief Engineer, and to whose approval all other pay was subject. The Act provided for the issue of bonds to the extent

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of £3,000,000 sterling, under Imperial guarantee, at four per cent., and also of bonds of the Dominion of Canada—without guarantee—for any sum, not exceeding £1,000,000 sterling, which may be necessary to complete the road. A sinking fund of one per cent. was provided for, and the Consolidated Revenue Fund charged with the necessary funds. There was considerable opposition to the passage of the bill in the House, the principal ground being that no route was specified, and Mr. Dorion moved an amendment that the route should not be determined on without the consent of Parliament. Sir John A. Macdonald explained that the Imperial guarantee of £3,000,000 was obtained on the express stipulation that the route should be selected by the Home authorities, who would decide on the relative merits of the two proposed routes, the Northern, or Major Robinson's route, and the Southern, or Sandford Fleming's route. After considerable discussion a vote was taken on Mr. Dorion's amendment, and resulted in its rejection by a vote of 35 for to 83 against.\*

12.—It would be tedious to give an account of each measure passed during the first part of the session, hence we will enumerate only a few more of the important measures. These were, a bill establishing the department of Public Works, defining the duties, &c., of the Minister of Public Works; an Act respecting Banks; an Act in respect to the punishment of aggressions from subjects of

Miscellaneous legislation.

\* As this vote may be taken as a pretty fair indication of the relative strength of the Government and Opposition, we give the Yeas and Nays:

YEAS.—Messrs. Béchard, Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowman, Cheval, Connell, Coupland, Crooke, Dorion, Fisher, Fortier, Geoffrion, Holton, Kempf, Kierzkowski, McFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McLachlin, Mills, Morrison (Victoria), Oliver, Parker, Ray, Redford, Rymal, Savary, Sprout, Stirton, Sylvain, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Wells, Young.—35.

NAYS.—Messrs. Abbott, Ault, Beatty, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bolton, Boswell, Bown, Brousseau, Burpee, Burton, Caron, Cartier, Cartwright, Cayley, Chamberlin, Cymon, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Desaulniers, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Hoot, Hurdon, Jackson, Johnson, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Kirkpatrick, Lankevin, Lapum, Little, McDonald (Glengarry), Macdonald (Kingston), Macdonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McCarthy, Macdonald, McIvor, McGreevy, McMillan (Restigouche), McMillan (Vaudreuil), Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munro, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Poser, Rankin, Renaud, Robitaille, Rose, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Simard, Simpson, Stevenson, Street, Tilley, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, Wilson, Wright.—83.

foreign countries at peace with Her Majesty; an Act prohibiting the unlawful training of men to the use of arms, and an Act suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act. These three latter measures were rendered necessary by the continued threatening aspect of the Fenians in the United States, and fresh rumors of another invasion being contemplated. The private bills passed were to incorporate the trustees of the Bank of Upper Canada, for the purpose of winding up the affairs of the Bank; to amend the charter of the Commercial Bank, so as to permit it to wind up its business, or to amalgamate with some other bank,\* to authorize the Grand Trunk Railway to issue second mortgage equipment bonds to the extent of £500,000 sterling; to incorporate the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway, and to change the name of the Canadian Inland Navigation Company to that of "The Canadian Navigation Company," and to authorize an increase of capital to \$500,000 at once, with the right to further increase to \$2,000,000.

#### CHAPTER IV.

#### GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK—1867—THE NORTH-WEST.

1.—THE RECESS.—2. PROPOSAL TO ANNEX THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.—3. RUPERT'S LAND. CHARTER TO THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1670.—4. TERRITORY CLAIMED BY THE FRENCH. THE COUNTRY CEDED TO ENGLAND BY THE TREATY OF UTRECHT, 1713.—5. PROSPERITY OF THE COMPANY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST COMPANY.—6. EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES.—7. ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLONY AT RED RIVER BY THE EARL OF SELKIRK.—8. AMALGAMATION OF THE HUDSON'S BAY AND NORTH-WEST COMPANIES.—9. OPENING OF THE DEBATE ON THE ACQUIREMENT OF THE TERRITORIES BY THE

\* The Commercial Bank was afterwards amalgamated with the Merchants Bank.



DOMINION. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF ACQUIRING THE TERRITORY.—10. OBJECTIONS TO THE ANNEXATION TAKEN BY THE OPPOSITION.—11. AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY MR. HOLTON. THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

1.—As before stated, the first part of the first session of the first Dominion Parliament came to a close on the 21st of December.

The Recess.

The majority of the members were in favor of a long recess, so that the Government might have sufficient time to prepare its measures, and the Local Houses be enabled to get through their sessions before Parliament met again. The first half of the session was eminently satisfactory, and showed a vast improvement on the old state of things which existed in Canada before the Coalition Government of 1864. The Government was assured of a large majority, but showed no disposition to use its power arbitrarily; the measures introduced were, for the most part, sound ones and suited to the needs of the country; the Opposition displayed no signs of factiousness, and the members from whom most trouble was anticipated (those from Nova Scotia) seemed disposed to accept the inevitable with as good a grace as possible, to be moderate in their opposition and to allow the Government a fair chance to develop its policy and show what it proposed to do for the general good of the country. The Opposition, although numerically weak and powerless to seriously hinder the Government, was already beginning to show some signs of organization, and from this session we may date the formation of the Reform and Conservative parties as they exist to-day.

2.—One of the most important features of the part of the session already partially reviewed, was the introduction by the Hon. William Macdougall of a series of resolutions, on which an address was prepared to Her Majesty with regard to the North-West Territories.\* As this vast country, con-

\* These resolutions were based on the 14th Section of the British North America Act of 1867, which provided for the admission of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Rupert's Land and the North-

taining upwards of two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory, abundantly watered, and possessing in many parts agricultural lands of unusual richness, is destined to become to Canada in the future what the Ohio valley and "the Great West" are to the United States, we will pause for a moment here to briefly sketch its history from its early days to the time we are now writing of, when the first attempt was made to unite it to the Dominion.† Hudson Bay, from which most of this territory derived its name, was first visited by Henry Hudson in 1610, in his search for a north-west passage to India, but it is said that Sebastian Cabot reached it as early as 1517, and

Western Territory into the Union. The text of the resolutions was as follows:—

1. That it would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people and conduce to the advantage of the whole Empire, if the Dominion of Canada, constituted under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, were extended westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

2. That colonization of the lands of the Saskatchewan, Assiniboine, and Red River districts, and the development of the mineral wealth which abounds in the regions of the North-West, and the extension of commercial intercourse through the British possessions in America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are alike dependent upon the establishment of a stable Government, for the maintenance of law and order in the North-West Territories.

3. That the welfare of the sparsest widely scattered population of British subjects of European origin, already inhabiting these remote and unorganized territories, would be materially enhanced by the formation therein of political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances will admit, to those which exist in the several Provinces of this Dominion.

4. That the 14th section of the British North America Act, 1867, provides for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, or either of them, into Union with Canada upon terms and conditions to be expressed in addresses from the Houses of Parliament of this Dominion to Her Majesty, and which shall be approved of by the Queen in Council.

5. That it is accordingly expedient to address Her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased, by and with advice of her Most Honorable Privy Council, to unite Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory with the Dominion of Canada, and to grant to the Parliament of Canada authority to legislate for their future welfare and good government.

6. That in the event of the Imperial Government agreeing to transfer to Canada the jurisdiction and control over this region, it would be expedient to provide that the legal rights of any corporation, company or individual, within the same, will be respected: and that in case of difference of opinion as to the extent, nature, or value of these rights, the same shall be submitted to judicial decision, or be determined by mutual agreement between the Government of Canada and the parties interested. Such agreement to have no effect or validity until first sanctioned by the Parliament of Canada.

7. That upon the transference of the territories in question to the Canadian Government, the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement, would be considered and settled in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the Crown in its dealings with the aborigines.

8. That a select committee be appointed to draft an humble address to Her Majesty on the subject of the foregoing resolutions.

† This historical sketch of the North-West, has, to a great extent, been contributed by one thoroughly conversant with the subject, whose name the editor is not authorized to use in this connection.

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several other early navigators made explorations in its vicinity nearly a century before it was visited and named by Hudson.

3.—Although the territory was not visited by white men with any view to settlement for many years after the discovery of Canada, it was well known by repute to the earliest French settlers as a famous hunting ground, and the trading post at Tadousac was mainly supplied with furs from this region by way of the Saguenay River; and the King of France claimed sovereignty over the territory—a claim which was allowed by the treaty of St. Germain, in 1632. After the signing of the treaty, the country was visited by two French traders named DeGrozellier and Radisson, who tried to induce their Government to establish a colony on Hudson Bay for trading purposes; but meeting with no encouragement at the French Court, they turned their attention to England, where they met with better success, Prince Rupert entering warmly into the scheme and sending them on a trading voyage. Out of compliment to the Prince the new territory was called Prince Rupert's Land, and some voyages were made to it until 1670, when King Charles II. granted a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company to prosecute the peltry trade in Rupert's Land. The first expedition under the company was sent out in 1673, DeGrozellier being engaged as pilot. He, however, failed to agree with his English employers, and, being dismissed by them, returned to France and afterwards to Quebec, where he joined a trading company, and, together with Radisson, visited the territory in the French interest. The trade rivalry between the English and French soon grew to considerable proportions; the traders of both nations claimed the country, the French under the treaty of St. Germain, and by virtue of the Indians having permitted the erection of crosses marked with the *fleur de lis*—thus acknowledging the sovereignty of France, and the Hudson's Bay Company on the strength of their charter from Charles II.

4.—Both parties built forts and trading posts, and it was not long ere they came to an open

rupture as to the right of possession. In 1684, Radisson, who had entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, was despatched to the Bay with five vessels, and destroyed the factories which the French had erected on Nelson River. This led to reprisals on the part of the Quebec Company, and, in 1686, the Chevaliers de Troyes and D'Iberville commanded a body of troops from Quebec, and succeeded in capturing all the principal forts of the company. In 1689 two attempts were made by the Company to recapture their forts, but both attacks were repulsed by D'Iberville, and some of the ships captured. Other forts were built by the Hudson's Bay Company, and D'Iberville again attacked them in 1694 and captured all but Fort Albany, on the James River, which was the only place in the possession of the English Company at the signing of the treaty of Ryswick, 1697, by which each nation agreed to restore to the other the places on the Bay they were entitled to before the war, and a Commission was appointed to determine which those places were. As war broke out again almost immediately, however, the Commissioners accomplished nothing, and the subject remained in dispute until the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, by which France resigned all claim to the Hudson's Bay Territory.

6.—The Hudson's Bay Company, left in undisputed possession of the vast territory enjoyed nearly a century of peace and marvellous prosperity. The terms of the treaty were so vague that the Company had control of the whole upper portion of the continent, contending that its possessions stretched to the Rocky Mountains, including the valleys of the Saskatchewan, Red and Assiniboine Rivers. These claims were not vigorously contested at first but, as the monopoly began to be oppressive, they were disputed, and led to serious complications. The Company now organized on a large scale; its affairs were presided over by a Governor-in-Chief, whose headquarters were at York Factory, on the Nelson River; a number of

Territory claimed by the French. The country ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht 1713.

Rupert's Land. Charter to the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670.

Prosperity of the Company's Establishment of the North-West Company.



factories were established at various posts, and a numerous force of voyagers, traders, clerks and servants was employed. These trading posts were conveniently situated for the accommodation of the roaming tribes of Indians, and an immense trade in peltries sprang up, which was continued with great profit until a quarter of a century after the conquest of Canada by the English, when a formidable rival appeared in the North-West Company. This was composed of a number of English and Scotch residents of Montreal, who had come to Canada after the conquest and engaged in trading in the North-West Territory, which was defined as stretching from the head of Lake Superior over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, north to the Frozen Sea, and north-eastward to the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company's domains. These traders commenced about 1766, and operated singly, generally following the old French routes in the interior; but, in 1784, they united and formed the North-West Company, establishing posts on the Red River and Lake Winnipeg, and were soon employing a large number of servants and doing a prosperous business. Their territory, however, encroached on that claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and disputes as to boundaries ensued, which soon led to bloody encounters between the employees of the rival companies.

6.—Although neither of these companies can claim to have done much in the way of colonizing the country, or civilizing the Indians, their servants made some valuable explorations and discoveries, which tended to throw much light on the capabilities and resources of this hitherto unknown wilderness. In 1771 John Hearn, a New Englander, in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, penetrated far into the interior, and discovered the Great Slave Lake and the Coppermine River, which latter he describes in his report to the Company to be a marvellous stream, whose banks are almost pure metal. In 1789, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, at that time a Montreal merchant connected with the North-West Company, made further explorations to

Exploration and discoveries.

the North-West, and discovered the mighty river flowing into the Arctic Ocean, which now bears his name. In 1792 he undertook the second journey in search of the Peace River, which he reached, and pushed his way on to the Pacific, being the first European who ever crossed from sea to sea the whole breadth of the American Continent to the northward, a feat he accomplished in eleven months from Fort Chipiowyan. On his way across the Rocky Mountains he discovered the Tacont'hé Tesse, the river of the Taculty nation. In 1808 this river was navigated to its mouth by Mr. Simon Frazer, who gave it his name, and it is now known as the famous gold-bearing Frazer River.

7.—Although the Hudson's Bay Company did little or nothing itself in the way of colonizing, it assisted incidentally in that direction by selling, in 1811, a large tract of its territory along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers to the Earl of Selkirk for colonization purposes. The Earl had made a study of the subject of emigration, on which he had published a treatise; and, desiring to put his views into active practice, purchased a tract from the Hudson's Bay Company, and brought hither a number of families from Scotland, who were afterwards joined by some Norwegians and French-Canadians, and, eventually, formed the nucleus of the present Province of Manitoba. The colonists had to contend against many hardships and privations at first; their crops failed, the Indians were hostile, and the North-West Company soon began to dispute the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to sell territory to which its title was at best doubtful. Collisions between the employees of the rival companies became frequent, and for five years an irregular warfare was kept up. Captain Milnes McDonnell had been appointed Governor of the Colony, and established his headquarters at Fort Dan (now Pembina), but the unfortunate colonists were driven from their settlements, their crops destroyed, and many of them killed. A party found temporary shelter at Norway House, one of the principal posts of the Hud-

Establishment of a Colony at Red River by the Earl of Selkirk.

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son's Bay Company, near the outlet of Lake Winnipeg, and after a while returned to their settlements, but were again driven away by the servants of the North-West Company. The country finally became so much disordered that, in 1816, Sir George Drummond, Governor-General of Canada, sent a regiment of soldiers to the Red River to keep the peace. This had the desired effect for the time being, but meanwhile another influence was at work which was destined to bring about a lasting peace between the rival companies.

8.—Of course the object of both companies was to make money, and it was now seen that by their mad rivalry, and wanton destruction of each other's property, they were both losing money instead of making it. No dividends were declared by the Hudson's Bay Company, and its directors concluded that it was about time that the warfare which was ruining the peltry trade should cease. Overtures were made to the directors of the North-West Company, which resulted in an amalgamation of the two companies under the title of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a new charter was obtained from the Imperial Parliament granting a monopoly of the trade in the vast region between the coasts of Labrador and Columbia for a long period of years. With peace came a return of prosperity; the Company again began to make money, the colonists were re-established in their settlements and allowed to remain in undisturbed possession. Cut off from the rest of the world by immense stretches of uninhabited, and almost unexplored country on every side of them, the colonists began to prosper, and gradually built up a number of thriving settlements along the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. In the course of years, as the settlements of Upper Canada stretched westward, attention began to be turned to these far-away colonists on the Red River, and wonderful reports were made of the immense fertility of the soil, which, rudely and imperfectly cultivated as it was, gave more bounteous returns than some of the best lands

Amalgamation of the  
Hudson's Bay and  
North-West  
Companies.

in either Upper or Lower Canada. In 1858, the North-West Territory attracted considerable attention in Canada, and an attempt was made to claim it as a portion of Upper Canada, the title of the Hudson's Bay Company being disputed, but nothing was accomplished until after Confederation, when a series of resolutions were introduced in Parliament by the Hon. Mr. Macdougall, with the object of annexing the territory to the Dominion.

9.—It was on the fourth of December when Hon. Mr. Macdougall introduced the resolutions already referred to, with a view of bringing this vast territory under the control of the Dominion Government. He opened the debate, which was continued until the eleventh, in an able speech, in which he spoke of the importance of embracing the vast and fertile region within the bounds of the New Dominion; of the impetus which would be given to immigration by opening up this new country to settlers, and pointed out the necessity of a stable form of Government being established before any large amount of immigration could be attracted to the territory. He reviewed the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to the territory, and said that while the Government by no means admitted the justice or validity of those claims, it was evident that the Company had some rights in the matter, and those rights should be respected as far as the Company could maintain them in the courts. He referred to the tenure under which the Company held its title, and to the counterclaim set up that a large portion of the territory belonged to France at the time the Company received its original charter and down to the conquest, and that it was, therefore, transferred to England only at that time, and formed a part of the Province of Canada. He did not propose to discuss the claims of the Company then, but simply to urge that the Imperial authorities should transfer its title to the Dominion Government, as provided for in the British North America Act, and the Dominion Government would then be in a position to consider what claims, if any, the Company

Debate on acquiring  
the North-West  
Territory.

possessed. In summing up, he said: "The position is this.—First, that it is desirable that this country should be transferred from Imperial to Canadian authority. Second, that the control of that country ought to be in the hands of this Parliament, and under the direction of this legislature. Then, if the Company make any claim to any portion of the soil occupied by our servants, they will come into the courts to make good their claim, and they will have the right, if the decision is adverse to them, to appeal to the Privy Council." The debate was participated in by over forty members of the House, very full and free explanations and expressions of opinions being made by both the supporters and opponents of the measure. The arguments in favor of acquiring the territory may be briefly summarized as follows: The necessity for a more extended field for colonization, experience having shown that thousands of immigrants yearly passed through Canada on their way to the United States, many of whom could be induced to remain if the Government had any suitable lands to offer them free, as the United States had; the importance of acquiring the territory to prevent its being absorbed by the United States, which had just acquired Russian America, and showed a disposition to annex the Red River Territory; the immense advantage to the whole country of having its territory extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the moral obligation to provide for the settlers on the Red River a stable form of government, which they did not possess under the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was denied that the resolutions implied any acknowledgment of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Minister of Public Works clearly explained the position of the Government on that point as follows: "In regard to the question of terms, the honorable gentleman had pretended that Government was prepared to recognize the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to demand a large sum of money from the people of this country. He denied there was such intention. From the beginning of the discussion down to the last hour, the Govern-

ment of Canada had denied the legal claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to that portion of territory fit for settlement. They proposed to claim this country as being part of New France, as having been ceded to the English Government in 1760, and as having remained in that position from that time down to the present. As to Rupert's Land, that was an open point—they did not propose to settle that by these resolutions—that would be left to the legal tribunals of Canada, and every British subject would have the right to appeal from these to the highest tribunals of the Mother Country."

10.—But although there was much to say in favor of the measure, the Opposition found considerable to advance against it. It was urged that the Dominion had already enough territory, and was not in a position, financially, to warrant the acquirement of a tract of country—a large part of which was utterly worthless—involving the expenditure of a sum of money variously estimated by the speakers at from five to twenty millions of dollars; that the enlargement of the frontier of the Dominion by more than a thousand miles would be an increased source of weakness in the event of war, and would be apt to lead to complications with the United States, or to war between the Indians of the two countries; that the establishment of courts, a police force and other necessary machinery of government would involve a much larger outlay than there was any prospect of receiving an adequate return for; that the people of the Red River country did not want annexation, and that it was highly impolitic to acquire a territory the only access to which at present, was through the United States, and the expense of making a road to which on Canadian soil would be very great. With regard to the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, some of the opponents of the resolutions held that the Company had forfeited what title it ever had under the charter of 1670, by never having complied with its terms with reference to colonization and civilizing the Indians, while others held that the charter never was valid, as it had been granted by

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Charles II, without the consent of Parliament; that the Company had therefore no claim, and were not entitled to anything. Mr. Howe pointed out that the capital of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was only £1,000,000 five years ago, had been inflated to twice that amount as soon as it was known that Canada wanted the territory, and the inflated sum of ten millions of dollars was what the Government would be expected to pay; a sum altogether unreasonable, and more than the country could afford to pay.

11.—On the motion to concur in the resolutions as reported from the committee of the

Amendment proposed by Mr. Holton. The resolutions adopted.

whole, Mr. Holton moved the following amendment: "That, according to the provisions of British North America Act, 1867, an Order in Council founded on an address of the Canadian Parliament to the Queen, praying that Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory should be united to this Dominion on the terms and in such address set forth, would have the full force and effect of an Imperial statute, and would bind this House to provide whatever sum of money might be required to extinguish the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company upon the said territory, and that to pledge irrevocably public funds to the payment of a large and indefinite sum for the extinction of vague and doubtful claims would be alike unwise on grounds of general policy, and imprudent in view of the present financial position of the country: and that it is, therefore, inexpedient to adopt an address under the 146th clause of the British North America Act of 1867, until the nature, extent and value of the claims with which the territories in question are burdened, shall be ascertained." After a short debate the amendment was put, and lost on a division by a vote of 41 to 104.\* The resolutions as intro-

duced and amended by Mr. Macdougall were then adopted, and a select committee appointed to draw up an address embodying them.

## CHAPTER V.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK—1868—FIRST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

1. DEATH OF HON. FERGUSSON BLAIR. VACANCIES IN THE CABINET.—2. NOVA SCOTIA'S EFFORTS TO GET OUT OF THE UNION.—3. MURDER OF THE HON. THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE.—4. HIS MURDER THE RESULT OF HIS ATTACKS ON FENIANISM.—5. ARREST AND TRIAL OF WHELAN FOR MCGEE'S MURDER.—6. CONDEMNATION AND EXECUTION OF WHELAN.—7. THE CIVIL SERVICE BILL.—8. PASSAGE OF THE MILITIA BILL. SOME OF ITS PRINCIPAL PROVISIONS.—9. MISCELLANEOUS ACTS PASSED.

1.—The sessions of the Local Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec followed close upon the adjournment of the House of Commons, and the public attention of these Provinces was occupied for about two months with the measures of the new administrations which had been brought into existence by Confederation. We shall not enter into any details of Provincial matters in this part of the present volume, as all matters pertaining to the Provinces in their

Death of Hon. Mr. Blair.—Cabinet changes.

NAVALS.—Messrs. Abbott, Archambault, Ault, Beatty, Beaubien, Bellet, Benoit, Bensen, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Bown, Broussau, Burpee, Burton, Cameron (Huron) Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlain, Cimon, Colby, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Currier, Daoust, Desautels, Dobbie, Drew, Duquesne, Ferris, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Gray, Grover, Ingar, Huot, Harlan, Jackson, Johnson, Keeler, Kempt, Kirkpatrick, Langevin, Lapin, Lawson, Little, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Kinston), McDonald (Middlesex), McFarlane, MacKenzie, Macmillan, Masson (Soulanges), McAllum, McCarthy, McConkey, Macdougall, McCreedy, McMillan (Restigouche), McMillan (Vaudreuil), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morris, Morrison (Victoria), Munroe, O'Connor, Olivier, Perry, Piquet, Poirer, Poon, Poullet, Power, Read, Redford, Reynolds, Robitaille, Rose, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Seward, Snyder, Sprad, Stephenson, Sturton, Thompson (Haldimand) Tilley, Walsh, Webb, Wells, White, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright.—104.

\* The following is the vote on the amendment:

YEAS.—Messrs. Anglin, Béchard, Blake, Bourassa, Cameron (Inverness), Carmichael, Cheval, Chipman, Coffin, Connell, Crook, Dorion, Forbes, Fortier, Geoffrion, Godin, Holton, Howe, Huntington, Joly, Jones (Hull), Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Kierkowski, Killam, McDonald (Hengary), McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Lambert), Masson, McKeown, McLellan, Paquet, Power, Ray, Ross (Victoria), N.S.B., Rymal, Smith, Shanly, Savary, Tremblay.—41.

separate capacities will be found in another part of this work ; we will, therefore, for the present, confine ourselves to the sessions of the Dominion Parliament and to such matters as have some weight and bearing on the whole Dominion. The first event of Dominion importance which occurred after adjournment was the death of the Hon. A. J. Fergusson Blair, President of the Privy Council, at his residence in Ottawa, on 29th December after a very short illness. The death of Mr. Blair caused another vacancy in the Cabinet, two members of which had already failed to secure seats—Hon. A. G. Archibald, Secretary of State for the Provinces, who was defeated in Nova Scotia, and Hon. J. C. Chapias, Minister of Agriculture, who was a candidate in Kamouraska County, where the election was delayed on account of a row on election day. The latter, however, accepted a seat in the Senate, and retained his portfolio until 16th November, 1870. The question was, therefore, raised as to whether the Premier would take advantage of the opportunity thus offered to reduce the number of Cabinet Ministers, it having been stated in announcing the first Cabinet that some of the departments were experimentary, and might be merged into others, and the number thus reduced, in conformity with the ideas of a large section of the Reform party, which desired the utmost economy in the conduct of public affairs. No changes were made, however, before Parliament re-assembled.

2.—An attempt was made to resume the first session of Parliament on the 12th of March, but,

Nova Scotia demands  
repeal.

as only about sixty members were present, business was not proceeded with until the following Monday. One of the first questions which occupied the attention of the House was the appointment of the Hon. Dr. Tupper on a special mission to England with reference to Nova Scotia affairs. Explanation was made to the effect that the Local Legislature of Nova Scotia, having adopted an address to Her Majesty, praying for a repeal of the Union Act, and appointed the Hon. Mr. Howe and three other gentlemen to present it, it was thought advisable by the Dominion Gov-

ernment that some trusty agent should be sent to London who could present the views of the Union party to the Imperial authorities, if found necessary. It was not considered desirable to send a member of the Cabinet, as that might have been construed into an admission that the subject of repeal was open to discussion and reconsideration, a point which the Government by no means admitted ; it had, therefore, been thought advisable to select some gentlemen who thoroughly understood the alleged grievances of the Nova Scotians, and who were prepared to answer the arguments of the delegates. Messrs. Tupper and Galt had been requested to accept the mission, but the latter had declined, on the ground that he considered that the Hon. Dr. Tupper's appointment would tend to still further estrange the Nova Scotians, and the latter had proceeded alone. In the discussion which followed the explanation, several of the Nova Scotia members deprecated the action of the Government, and expressed the opinion that the appointment of the Hon. Dr. Tupper would intensify the feeling in Nova Scotia against the Union ; and some members of the Opposition held that although the Doctor was well qualified on account of his personal knowledge of the subject, the appointment was ill-advised, as it made the Government appear to espouse his cause against Mr. Howe and the anti-Union party, and would only make the feeling stronger against Confederation. After some discussion on the advisability of sending an agent, the matter was dropped.

3.—Parliament had been in session about three weeks, and the Currency and Militia bills were well proceeded with, when an event occurred which threw the consideration of all other subjects aside, and caused a wave of sorrow and consternation to spread throughout the whole Dominion. A wail of grief, a thrill of horror and shame pervaded nearly all classes when it was flashed over the wires on the morning of the seventh of April, 1868, that the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee had been foully murdered as he was entering his boarding-house on

Murder of the Hon.  
Thos. D'Arcy McGee.

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Sparks street, at 2.30 A.M., having just left the House of Commons. Mr. McGee attended the House on the night of the sixth, and delivered an effective speech on the motion to recall Dr. Tupper from England (which was withdrawn), in which he urged temperance, kindness and conciliation in dealing with Nova Scotia, and strongly deprecated the course of those members who would swerve from the path of duty and sacrifice the best interests of their country to gain a little personal popularity, little thinking then how soon his devotion to his adopted country, and his strict performance of his duty, at the expense of personal popularity, would cost him his life. The House did not adjourn until after two o'clock in the morning, and Mr. McGee lingered a few minutes in the lobby, then lit a cigar, and started on his way to Mrs. Trotter's boarding-house, on Sparks street, where he resided, accompanied by Mr. R. MacFarlane, M. P., and three messengers of the House. He parted from his companions at the corner of Sparks and Metcalfe streets, and proceeded westwards alone along Sparks street towards his boarding-house. A few minutes later, a son of Mrs. Trotter, who was a page in the House, while on his way home heard a pistol shot, and on reaching his mother's door found Mr. McGee lying dead on the sidewalk. The unfortunate gentleman had placed the latch-key in the lock, and was, probably, bending forward a little to open the door, when his assassin came up behind him, placed the pistol so close to his head that the hair was scorched. The ball entered the neck just at the base of the brain, a little to the right, and passing through the mouth—knocking out three teeth and the cigar he was smoking—lodged in the door. He died almost instantly, and although many of his friends lodged in the house were quickly on the spot, no assistance could be rendered him, neither could anything be seen or heard of his assailant.

4.—The utmost indignation was manifested in Ottawa and other large cities when the intelligence of the murder was spread, and the excitement ran especially high in Montreal,

which was known to contain many Fenians and their sympathisers—there being no doubt whatever entertained but that Mr. McGee's murder was the work of that body, out of revenge for exposures he had threatened of the workings of that body, and his fearless and persistent efforts to keep his countrymen from joining the organization. A notorious Fenian has written a book in which he parades the names of all the traitors, murderers and thieves who suffered some just punishment for their crimes committed in the name of Fenianism, and styles them "martyrs" or "heroes" according to his fancy; but the truest, noblest and greatest hero evoked by the wicked brotherhood was Thomas D'Arcy McGee, and he was the only martyr who was sacrificed, not in the cause of Fenianism, but in the cause of loyalty and order, of justice and right, by a Fenian. Well might Sir John A. Macdonald say of him: "He might have lived a long and respected life had he chosen the easy path of popularity rather than the stern one of duty. He has lived a short life, respected and beloved, and has died a heroic death, a martyr to the cause of his country. How easy it would have been for him, had he chosen, to have sailed along the full tide of popularity with thousands and hundreds of thousands, without the loss of a single plaudit, but he has been slain, and I fear slain because he preferred the path of duty." At the meeting of the House on the seventh, glowing eulogiums were pronounced on the murdered man by Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George E. Cartier, Hon. Mr. Chauveau, Messrs. Mackenzie, Chamberlin, Anglin and McDonald (Lunenburg), and the House adjourned out of respect to his memory until after the funeral, which took place at Montréal on the 13th, and was the largest ever known, over twenty thousand persons being in the procession. The funeral was at the public expense, and Parliament showed its appreciation of Mr. McGee's services by voting a pension of £300 per annum to his widow, and £1,000 to each of his two daughters, to be held in trust, and the interest, at 6 per cent., paid them.

His murder the  
result of his attacks  
on Fenianism.

5.—On the day of the murder the Dominion Government offered a large reward for the apprehension of the murderer, and this was supplemented by offers from the Quebec Government, the City of Ottawa and other sources, so that the gross amount swelled up to about \$20,000. The detectives of Montreal and other cities came at once to Ottawa and joined their efforts to those of the local force to discover the guilty person or persons. Several arrests were made the first day of suspected parties, and, the *Habeas Corpus* Act being suspended, a large number of persons in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal were apprehended during the ensuing week or two, not only on the chance of implication of murder, but on the mere suspicion of being Fenians. Soon suspicion as to the murderer narrowed itself down to one man—Patrick James Whelan—who had been arrested on the eighth, and the evidence against whom seemed very strong. The Coroner's Jury returned an open verdict, but the investigation was re-opened before the Police Magistrate, and, after a long examination, Whelan was committed for trial at the next Assizes, on the charge of having murdered Thomas D'Arcy McGee, while a number of others were held as accessories before the fact. The generally accepted theory of the murder was that it was the result of a Fenian conspiracy formed in Montreal; that six men had drawn lots to determine who should commit the deed, and that the lot had fallen to Whelan. An effort was made, as soon as Whelan had been committed for trial, to induce Sir John A. Macdonald to cause the appointment of a Special Commission to try him in anticipation of the regular Fall Assizes, but he wisely withstood the pressure, and let the law take its usual course. The trial commenced at Ottawa on the seventh of September, before His Honor Chief Justice Richards and a jury, and lasted eight days.\* Mr. O'Reilly was Crown Prosecutor,

\* The names of the jury were:

William Purdy, Thomas Weatherly, William Moran, Robert W. Brown, John Eccles, John Wilson, Matthew Heron, William Gamble, George Kavanaugh, A. McDaniel, Benjamin Hodgins and Samuel Conn.

and Messrs. John Hillyard Cameron, Matthew Crooks Cameron, and P. J. Buckley appeared for the prisoner. The evidence against Whelan may be summed up as follows: He was proved to have used threatening language towards Mr. McGee during the time of his election campaign against Mr. Devlin, as well as afterwards. He was shown to have passed under the names of Sullivan and Smith at various times, under the former of which he was arrested for Fenianism, and under the latter he visited Mr. McGee's house while that gentleman was ill, on a pretence that his (Mr. McGee's) house would be set on fire, but seemed disconcerted when the door was locked on him before he saw Mr. McGee, and appeared as if his plan, whatever it was, had miscarried. As to his direct connection with the murder, he was proved to have been in the gallery of the House of Commons several times on the night of the sixth of April, and to have behaved in so singular a manner as to have attracted the attention of one of the messengers as well as the doorkeeper, the messenger seeing him shake his finger at Mr. McGee in a threatening manner when he was speaking; he was shown to have been in the habit of carrying a pistol, and, when arrested, a six-barrelled Smith & Wesson revolver was found on him, one chamber of which gave evidence of having been recently discharged, and a new cartridge placed in it, and the bullet which had killed Mr. McGee, and which was found in the door of the boarding house, corresponded with those in the cartridges in the pistol found on Whelan. There were also minor details of circumstantial evidence which pointed to Whelan as the murderer; but, so far, the evidence was only circumstantial, and scarcely enough to convict on. Direct evidence was not wanting, however, and although counsel for the defence tried to shake the testimony, it was not materially effected; the evidence was that of Jean Baptiste Lacroix, a French Canadian laborer, who swore to having witnessed the murder, and of Detective Cullen, of the Montreal Police Force, who testified to having heard Whelan confess the murder to a companion

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named Doyle, who was under arrest as an accomplice, in the jail at Ottawa—Cullen being concealed, and the men supposing themselves to be alone.

6.—Lacroix was an ignorant man, whose evidence was not very clearly given, but he stood the test of cross-examination without damaging his statement, and his ignorance and evident fear of getting into the meshes of the law in any way went far to disprove the theory that he had made up the story for the sake of getting the large rewards offered, which was the defence set up. Cullen's evidence was attempted to be discredited on the same ground, but as it was corroborated by a man named Hess who was with him, and as the defence did not produce the prisoner Doyle, with whom the conversation was alleged to have taken place, in rebuttal, the inference is that Cullen's evidence was true, and could not be successfully met and disproved. The friends of Whelan were very active, and he had the benefit of the best counsel to defend him, but the case was too clear, and a verdict of "Guilty" was returned after the jury had considered the evidence for one night. When asked if he had anything to say in his defence, Whelan made a long address to the Court, in which he protested his innocence, and tried to make it appear that he was a martyr to the public demand for some one to be punished for Mr. McGee's murder. He was then sentenced to be hung on the tenth of December. An attempt was made by some of Whelan's friends to show that the murder was committed by a man named Dent, who shot himself on the day after the assassination, but the evidence adduced at the Coroner's inquest on Dent showed that he had been drunk for several days, and that not only could he not have murdered McGee, but that it was highly improbable that he had even heard of Mr. McGee's death when he committed suicide. Every effort which legal ingenuity could devise was resorted to by the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, and the other counsel of Whelan, to have his sentence set aside and a new trial

granted, but in vain, and the most that was accomplished was a postponement of the sentence, and consequent prolongation of the unfortunate man's life to the 11th February, 1869, when he was hanged in the jail yard at Ottawa. Immediately after the trial application was made for a new trial on the ground of irregularity at the first trial, but the application was refused. An appeal was then made to the Court of Error and Appeal, and decision given by a full court on 22nd January, 1869, to the effect that the error committed at the trial—that of refusing to allow Jonathan Sparks to be challenged for cause before all the peremptory challenges were exhausted—was not material to the case, and, therefore, the application for a new trial was denied, six of the Judges agreeing in the judgment, and four dissenting.\* Application was then made by Mr. Cameron for leave to appeal to the Imperial Privy Council, but the Court held, unanimously, that it had not the right to grant an appeal, as the 29th section of the "Act respecting the Court of Error and Appeal," after pointing out the way in which an appeal may be brought before that court in criminal cases, says: "And every rule or order of the Court of Error and Appeal shall be final." Application was then made to the Governor-General in Council for a further respite until an answer could be obtained from the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council whether an appeal would be entertained without the authority of the Canadian Court; this respite the Governor in Council declined to grant, holding that the question raised was purely one of law, and having been decided in the Court of Error and Appeal, the Government could not interfere, and that the sentence of the Court must be executed. It must be remembered that during this effort to get up a new trial, no plea was made of Whelan's innocence, nor of the discovery of any fresh evidence which would tend

\*The Court was divided as follows:—For a new trial: Chief Justice Hazard, Chancellor Vankoughnet, Vice-Chancellor Sprague, Justice Morrison.—4. Against a new trial: Chief Justice Draper, Chief Justice Richards, Vice-Chancellor Mowat, Judges Gwynne, John Wilson, Adam Wilson.—6.

to clear him of guilt, but the whole plea was based on a legal error which did not affect the merits of the case at all, for the juror challenged did not serve on the jury, and to the mind of laymen it was impossible to see what difference it made whether he was challenged peremptorily or for cause. During the efforts to obtain a new trial, Whelan had been removed to the jail in Toronto, but on the day the judgment of the Court of Error and Appeal was delivered, 22nd January, he was returned to Carleton County jail in Ottawa, and kept under guard there until his execution. Throughout the entire time of his imprisonment, Whelan displayed great coolness and self-command, and continued to plead that he was not guilty; and two days before the execution he made a statement before Mr. O'Gara, Police Magistrate, and Mr. Lees, County Attorney, to the effect that he did not fire the fatal shot, but that on the night of the murder two men were hidden near Mr. McGee's residence, and that he was simply detailed to watch that gentleman's movements and give them warning when he was coming, which he did, and the shot was fired by one of them. He did not give any names, but stated he believed the real murderer would be discovered. Very little credit was given to this statement, as it was altogether at variance with the facts discovered at the time of the murder, both with regard to the condition of the snow in the vacant lot through which the murderer was supposed to have escaped—which only showed the tracks of one man whose footprints corresponded exactly with the boots found on Whelan, in size and shape—and the brightness of the moonlight, which made it remarkable that even *one* man could escape without notice. Whelan had the constant attendance of the clergy of his Church during his last hours, and at six o'clock on the morning of the eleventh, mass was celebrated in his cell, and he received the last sacrament—having previously confessed. At a quarter to twelve he was pinioned, and, shortly afterwards, conducted to the scaffold, whither he was accompanied by the Rev. Fathers O'Connor, Collins and Lambert. He

was calm, collected and firm, walking with a steady step to the gallows, and made the responses "Lord have mercy on my soul," to the Litany for the dying, in a clear, audible voice. A very large crowd, variously estimated at from four to seven thousand persons, had assembled to witness the execution, and fears of a disturbance being entertained, two companies of the 60th Rifles, under command of Lord A. Russell, were drawn up in the jail yard, and all the available police force put on duty, but the crowd was very orderly, and nothing occurred beyond the picking of a few pockets. At the conclusion of the Litany, Whelan addressed a few words to the crowd,\* in which he asked forgiveness from those he had offended against, and prayed God to bless Ireland and have mercy on his soul, but did not say that he was innocent. He then knelt in prayer on the drop, and a second or two after the bolt was drawn, and he was launched into eternity. Application had been made by his wife for the body, which it was at one time decided to give her, but it becoming known that it was intended to give it a grand funeral in Montreal—which would in all probability have led to bloodshed between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in that city—it was deemed most prudent to refuse the request, and have the body interred in the jail yard. So ended the last act of the tragedy of D'Arcy McGee's murder; and although there were, and still are, many who believe that Whelan either did not fire the fatal shot, or that he was merely a tool in the hands of others, there were few who were not convinced that he was, at least, a party to the act before its commission, and that he deserved his fate.

7.—On the re-assembling of Parliament on 14th April, after adjournment out of respect to

\* As there are several versions of what Whelan said, we give all we have at hand: it will be seen that they do not differ materially:

"Friends and fellow-countrymen,—I address a few words to you upon this solemn occasion. I trust you will pardon this my offence. I ask it from the bottom of my heart in this solemn hour. From all whom I have injured by word, act or deed I ask forgiveness. God save Ireland, and God save my soul."

"Friends and fellow-citizens,—I have but a few words to say to you on this melancholy occasion. I humbly ask the forgiveness of any to whom I may have done harm, and I forgive all those who have wronged me. May God save poor Ireland, and God save my soul."

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The Civil Service  
Bill.

Mr. McGee's memory, business was rapidly pushed through, and the first session of the first Parliament of Canada was closed on the 22nd May. Ninety-three bills in all were assented to by the Governor-General, and three held over for Imperial assent. Of these, two on the extradition of criminals to the United States, and for the divorce of Mr. Whiteaves from his wife, Julia Wolf, for cause, received the royal assent; the third, which proposed to reduce the salary of the Governor-General from £10,000 to \$32,000 per annum, was disallowed by Her Majesty in Council. Among the most important Acts passed was one to secure the independence of members of Parliament, by declaring ineligible any person holding any position of profit or emolument under the Dominion Government, or any contractor with any of the departments, and making parties who sit and vote in violation of the Act liable to a fine of \$2,000 per day. A Civil Service Bill was passed, the basis of which was that of England, candidates having to pass an examination before the Civil Service Board before appointment, and then being one year on probation, at the expiration of which they may be promoted to the permanent staff, or kept on probation for a second year by an addition of \$50 to their salary; but if at the end of the second year they do not show sufficient capacity, they must leave the service. The Act divided permanent clerks into three classes, with salaries ranging from \$400 to \$650 per annum for the third-class; \$700 to \$1,000 for junior second-class, and \$1,100 to \$1,400 per annum for senior; \$1,200 to \$1,800 per annum for first-class. The second and third-class clerks receive an increase of \$50 per annum until they reach the maximum, but have to serve a certain number of years in each class. Heads of departments and chief clerks may be allowed extra remuneration. Candidates must not be less than 18 years of age nor more than 25. The provisions of the Act are carefully drawn to remove the Civil Service, as much as possible, from political influence, and make the members of it efficient public servants.

8.—One of the most important Acts passed was that creating the Militia Department, and providing for the enrolling, calling out and general management of the Militia of the Dominion.

Passage of the Militia  
Bill. Some of its  
principal provisions.

This Act called forth considerable opposition, it being contended that, having nobody to fight, the Dominion needed no army; but the Imperial authorities had clearly intimated their intention of withdrawing the regular troops from the colonies, so that they must make provision for their own protection in case of civil commotion or foreign invasion; and the threatening aspect of affairs on the frontier, where it was expected another raid would be made by the Fenians in the United States, tended to show the absolute necessity of reconstructing the militia laws and organizing an efficient force, so that the bill did not meet with very strenuous opposition. Under its provisions the militia was made to consist of all male British subjects between the ages of 18 and 60, and were divided into four classes, to be called out in the following order: 1st, all unmarried men from 18 to 30; 2nd, unmarried men from 30 to 45; 3rd, married men between 18 and 45; 4th, both married and unmarried between 45 and 60. The militia was divided into active and reserve, in the former of which all volunteers were included, and the Act provided for the re-enrolment of existing volunteer organizations. Nine military districts were provided for—Nova Scotia to constitute one; New Brunswick one; Quebec to be divided into three and Ontario into four. The Act empowered the Minister of Militia to resort to enrolment by ballot to fill up the active militia, if he should think it necessary; and gave power to the Governor in Council to erect drill sheds, establish military schools and form camps of instruction. Provision was made for calling out the militia to aid the civil power, on requisition of the Mayor or Warden of the town or municipality, or of two Justices of the Peace, the men being allowed \$1 per day each for such service, and liable to a fine of \$20 for refusing to perform it.

9.—A Coinage Act was passed providing that

the Governor in Council may issue a proclamation to assimilate the value of currency to that of the United States, provided Congress adopted the basis of the International Monetary Conference, and meanwhile continuing the currency of the old Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick, and giving the Governor in Council power by proclamation to make silver coins of the United States or of other foreign countries legal tender in Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick. An Act was also passed authorizing the issue of Dominion notes, and providing for a certain reserve of specie to be held. Acts were also passed establishing the Department of Justice; the Department of Secretary of State of Canada; the Department of Customs; the Department of Inland Revenue; the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Marine and Fisheries, and providing for the maintenance and management of the same. Amongst the most important Acts of the session were—one to make provision for fortifications and defence, and authorizing the raising of £1,000,000 sterling, under Imperial guarantee, to be expended on works of defence at St. John, N. B., Montreal, and places west of Montreal. It will be remembered that, in 1868, it seemed highly probable that England and the United States would become embroiled in war over the Alabama Claims, and other subjects on which the Governments differed; and one of the main objects of Confederation was to put the united colonies in a better position to defend themselves in the event of such a war, and this £1,000,000 was to be guaranteed by the Imperial Parliament to fortify Montreal and other points. Happily the appointment of the Joint High Commission, and peaceful settlement of the Alabama and other claims by arbitration, and the better feeling between the two nations, induced by the removal of these causes of irritation, relieved all anxiety on the subject of war, and this expenditure on fortifications was not needed and never made. An Act was also passed at this session respecting copy-rights; another respecting trade marks; another providing for a harbor

Miscellaneous Acts  
passed.

police, and levying a duty of three cents per ton on every vessel entering the ports of Quebec and Montreal, for the maintenance of such force; also, Acts providing for quarantine establishments, hospitals for sick mariners, steamboat inspection, naturalization of aliens, geological surveys—with an appropriation of \$20,000 a year for five years for that purpose—penitentiaries, &c. Amongst the most important private bills were—one incorporating a company with \$100,000 capital, to build a suspension bridge across the Niagara River, immediately below the Falls; one to amalgamate the Commercial Bank with the Merchants Bank; and acts to incorporate several joint stock companies.

## CHAPTER VI.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK—NOVA SCOTIA'S DISCONTENT.

1. AGITATION IN NOVA SCOTIA FOR THE REPEAL OF THE UNION ACT.—2. FAILURE OF THE NOVA SCOTIA FISHERIES. HELP FROM THE SISTER PROVINCES.—3. MR. HOWE AGAIN VISITS ENGLAND. SIR ROUNDELL PALMER'S OPINION ON THE UNION ACT.—4. PETITION FOR REPEAL REJECTED IN ENGLAND.—5. DEBATE IN IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT ON REPEAL.—THE END OF REPEAL.—7. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD'S VISIT TO HALIFAX.—8. MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

1.—The public had misunderstood the action of Hon. Mr. Howe and his colleagues from Nova Scotia in the first session of Parliament, for although they seemed inclined to give Confederation a fair trial, no sooner was the first part of the session closed, December 21st, 1867, than we find that gentleman reviving the agitation for repeal of the Union, addressing public meetings in Halifax and other places, and still striving by every means in his power, to impress the people

Agitation in Nova  
Scotia for Repeal.

with the idea that they were being robbed of their Constitution, and delivered over to the tyranny of Canada without their consent. The Local Legislature met on 30th January, and shortly after passed an address to the Queen, praying for repeal of the Union as far as Nova Scotia was concerned.\* The agitation for the

repeal was very general, and some of the most extreme demagogues almost went to the length of advocating open rebellion in the event of Parliament refusing to repeal the Union Act. Still, even at this time, there began to be a little reaction in favor of the Union amongst the great bulk of the people, and the extremists were

\* The following is the text of the resolutions on which the address was based: and a careful perusal of them will give a pretty fair statement of the grounds on which Nova Scotia, through her Legislature, asked to have the Union Act repealed:

*Resolved*, That the members of the Legislative Assembly of this Province, elected 1863, simply to Legislate under the Colonial Constitution, had no authority to make or consent to any material change of such Constitution without first submitting the same to the people at the polls.

"That the resolution of the 10th of April, which preceded the enactment of the British North American Act is as follows:—

"Whereas it is the opinion of this House that it is desirable that a Confederation of the British North American Provinces should take place.

"*Resolved* therefore that His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be authorized to appoint delegates to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of union which will effectually insure just provisions for the rights and interests of this Province, each Province to have an equal voice in such delegation—Upper and Lower Canada being for this purpose considered as separate Provinces."

"This was the only authority possessed by the delegates who procured the enactment of the Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

"That even if the House of Assembly had the constitutional power to authorize such delegation, which is by no means admitted, the foregoing resolution did not empower the delegates to arrange a Federal Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, without including in such Confederation the Colonies of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island.

"That no delegates from the two last named colonies having attended, and an unequal number from each of the others being present, the delegation was not legally constituted and had no authority to act under the said resolution, which expressly required each of the colonies to be represented by an equal number of delegates.

"That the delegates did not ensure a just provision for the rights and interests of this Province, as they were by the express terms of such resolution bound to do in arranging a scheme of union, but, on the contrary, they entirely disregarded those rights and interests, and the scheme by them consented to would, if finally confirmed, deprive the people of this Province of their rights, liberty and independence, rob them of their revenues, take from them the regulation of their trade, commerce and taxes, the management of their railroads and other public property, expose them to arbitrary and excessive taxation by a legislature over which they can have no adequate control, and reduce this free, happy and self-governed Province to the degraded condition of a dependency of Canada.

"That no fundamental or material change of the constitution of the Province can be made in any other constitutional manner than by a statute of the Legislature sanctioned by the people after the subject matter of the same has been referred to them at the polls, the Legislature of a Colonial dependency having no power or authority implied from their relation to the people as their legislative representatives to overthrow the constitution under which they were elected and appointed.

"That the scheme of Confederating Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was never submitted to the people of this Province at the polls before the 18th day of September last, upwards of two-and-a-half months after the British North America Act was by the Queen's proclamation declared to be in force, when the people were thereby informed that they had been subjected without their consent to the absolute dominion of more populous and more powerful colonies and had lost their liberty.

"That there being no statute of the Provincial Legislature confirming or ratifying the British North America Act, and the same never having

been consented to or authorized by the people at the polls, nor the consent of this Province in any other manner testified, the preamble of the Act reciting that this Province had expressed a desire to be confederated with Canada and New Brunswick is untrue; and, when the Queen and the Imperial Legislature were led to believe that this Province had expressed such a desire, a fraud and imposition were practised upon them.

"That the truth of the preamble of the British North America Act, reciting the desire of Nova Scotia to be confederated, is essential to the constitutionality of the statute; and if the same is false, the statute is defective, because a statute cannot be rendered constitutional by assuming as true the condition which is indispensable to its constitutionality.

"That from the time the scheme of Confederation was first devised in Canada until it was consummated by the Imperial Act in London, it was systematically kept from the consideration of the people of Nova Scotia at the polls, and the Executive Council and Legislature, in defiance of petitions signed by many thousands of the electors of this Province, persistently and perseveringly prevented the same from being presented to the people.

"That at the recent election the question of Confederation exclusively occupied the attention of the people, who were then for the first time enabled to express their will on a subject of the most vital importance to their happiness, and the result has proved that this Province does not desire to be annexed to Canada, and that the people of Nova Scotia repudiate the enforced provisions of the British North America Act, which, for reasons set forth in the foregoing resolutions, they believe to be unconstitutional, and in no way binding upon the people of Nova Scotia.

"That the Quebec scheme, which is embodied in the British North America Act, imprudently attempted to be forced upon the people of Nova Scotia, not only without their consent, but against their will, has already created wide-spread irritation and discontent, and unless the same be withdrawn, will, we fear, be attended with the most disastrous consequences, as the loyal people of this Province are fully conscious of their rights as British subjects, set an inestimable value upon their free institutions, and will not willingly consent to the invasion of those rights or to be subjected to the dominion of any other power than that of their lawful and beloved Queen.

"That the colonies were politically allied to each other by the common relationship to the Queen and her Empire in a more peaceable and less dangerous connection than under any scheme of colonial confederation that could be devised, even on the fairest, wisest and most judicious principles.

"That the people of Nova Scotia do not impute to Her Majesty the Queen and her Government any intentional injustices as they are well aware that fraud and deception were practised upon them by those who misrepresented the public sentiment of this country, and who, for reasons we will not venture to describe, desired that Confederation might be forced upon this Province without the consent and against the will of the people.

"That an humble address be presented to the Queen embodying the substance of the foregoing resolutions, informing Her Majesty that her loyal people of Nova Scotia do not desire in any manner to be confederated with Canada, and praying Her Majesty to revoke her proclamation and to cause the British North America Act to be repealed as far as it regards the Province of Nova Scotia."

During the debate on the above (which lasted until 22nd February) the following resolutions were also adopted and ordered to be incorporated in the address:

*Resolved*, That the Imperial Parliament have no constitutional power to authorize a Governor-General, or any other subject of the Queen



losing some of their influence; the reaction was very slight as yet, but the voices of reason and common sense were beginning to be heard, and people were recognizing the fact that if the Imperial Parliament refused to repeal the Union Act, it was nonsense for Nova Scotia to talk of annexing herself to the United States, for she would not be allowed to do so peaceably, and as to accomplishing it by force, that was most highly improbable, even if the United States went to war with England on the subject—which was far from being likely.

2.—There was another influence at work, also, which had much to do in gradually inducing the Nova Scotians to regard the Canadians with more kindness, and to begin to think they were not quite such monsters, nor so much inclined to monopolize the revenue of the Province and impose oppressive taxation on the people, as they had been represented to be; and this influence was that of human kindness and sympathy for those in distress. The fishing season of 1867 was almost a total failure, and thousands of families in Nova Scotia were reduced to great want, while many were in a state of actual starvation. The Lieutenant-Governor, in his Speech from the Throne, not only referred to the matter, but stated that he had been obliged to make some advances from the Treasury to alleviate the distress. As soon as the fact of the fishermen being in want became known in Canada, a general movement of relief commenced. Committees were formed in almost every city and town, to receive contributions; sums of money were voted by municipal corporations, and soon a very steady stream of money and provisions was flowing into Nova Scotia, which greatly relieved the suffering, which would otherwise have been much heavier during the winter of 1867-68. The heartiness and spon-

to make Senators or create any part of a legislature, with power to tax the people of Nova Scotia or otherwise legislate for them, without a provincial statute authorizing them to do so.

"Resolved, That the statement made by Mr. Watkin, as reported in the debates of the House of Commons, that in 1863, Confederation was brought under the notice of the electors at every polling booth of this Province, and that at every hustling the question was distinctly raised, is utterly at variance with the truth."

taneity of the act undoubtedly had a good effect in the way of reconciling many to the Union—although we do not believe that any of the contributors gave a thought to union or disunion when relieving distress—but it helped to induce a better feeling and so pave the way for calm consideration in place of passionate discussion.

3.—A delegation of four gentlemen, Messrs. Joseph Howe, William Annand, Jared C. Troop, and H. W. Smith, was appointed to proceed to England and urge a repeal of the Union Act. Mr. Howe left Halifax on 14th February, and the other gentlemen followed soon after, bearing with them an address to the Imperial Parliament signed by all the Nova Scotia members of the Dominion Commons, except one (Hon. Dr. Tupper), and all the members of the Local House, except four.\* The proposition to repeal

\* The following is the text of the address to the Imperial Parliament: *To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.*

"The humble petition of the undersigned, representatives of the Province of Nova Scotia, sheweth, that the Province of Nova Scotia has been occupied, peopled and improved under the full conviction that its inhabitants were to govern themselves, frame their own laws, and dispense their own revenues in loyal subordination to the Crown and Parliament of England. For more than a century Nova Scotia has flourished under a system of government adapted to the exigencies of a great Empire, in which each separate Province enjoyed the largest measure of liberty, while unity of thought and allegiance pervaded the whole. That an Act was passed during the last session of the Imperial Parliament, entitled "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," whereby the institutions under which the population of Nova Scotia had thriven and expanded were overthrown, and the relations of British America to the empire materially changed; that the undersigned object to that act, because while it is assumed to strengthen, it strikes a blow at the unity of the Empire, and initiates a process of dismemberment, which they believe, if it is not repealed, Her Majesty's loyal subjects will hereafter deplore.

"Already have ministers been appointed to control a navy that has no existence, a military force that offers us no protection, while with a flagrant disregard of all political experience, the frontiers of the Dominion are about to be extended beyond the possibility of defence. But the people of Nova Scotia protest against this Act of Union, because it deprives them of the right of self-government, long enjoyed and highly prized. It subjects them to enormous cost and great inconvenience by compelling them to transact in a city 800 miles away, a vast amount of public business formerly dispatched in their own capital, within easy reach of the whole population. It transfers to the Government at Ottawa powers more extensive than the Queen and the Imperial Parliament in practice ever exercised, and vests in that Government, which the people of Nova Scotia can rarely hope to influence, the entire patronage of the Post Office and Revenue departments, and of the light-houses and public works constructed at great expense by the people of Nova Scotia. It transfers the ownership of our Provincial Railways, built at a cost of a million and a half of pounds currency, to the Dominion, without equivalent or compensation. It takes from Nova Scotia the regulation of her trade, her banking system, and savings banks; of her sea coast and inland fisheries, of her militia, of her courts and criminal law. It transfers the customs duties of Nova Scotia, always amply sufficient for general and

Failure of the Nova Scotia fisheries. Help from the Sister Provinces.

Mr. Howe again visits England. Sir Roundell Palmer's opinion on the Union Act.

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the British North America Act was not favorably received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Duke of Buckingham), and a submission of the points raised by the anti-unionists to Sir Roundell Palmer and Mr. W. Vernon Harcourt resulted in almost convincing the delegates that they had a poor case. In the report of the delegates the following account of the opinions obtained from these two eminent counsel is given with the questions submitted and the answers returned thereto: Question.—“Has the Imperial Parliament the right to legislate away the constitution of a colony granted by royal charter, and developed into Responsible Government, as was the case in

regard to Nova Scotia?” Answer.—“As a matter of law, properly so called, we are of opinion that there is no limit to the authority of the Imperial Legislature over a colony in the situation of Nova Scotia.” Question.—“Supposing that there is in the Imperial Parliament the inherent right to deal with a colonial constitution such as that possessed by Nova Scotia, is the right absolute, or must the legislation of the Imperial Parliament receive the ratification by statute of the Local Legislature, before it can become a law, for the Province to be affected by it?” Answer.—“As the authority of the Imperial Legislature is absolute, it cannot in any legal sense be held to be dependent on the con-

local services and rapidly increasing under a low tariff, to Canada for a sum which is now no equivalent, and which being limited in amount, will establish a perpetual drain upon our resources. As those revenues expand it confers upon the Parliament of Canada the right to burthen our trade with the rest of the Empire and with the world at large for her own advantage; to protect her manufacturers and breadstuffs, and to burthen our industry by any mode or system of taxation. It vests in the Government of Canada the appointment of our governors, who will thus become the mere tools of the Canadian administration, instead of being, as they were, the impartial representatives of the Crown: of twelve Senators, already appointed by the Canadian ministers, but one shares the opinion of Nova Scotia, and four at least have been purchased by the distinction, to change their opinions and betray their country. For these and many other reasons that might be stated, this Act of Union has been and is most distasteful to the people of Nova Scotia—who believe it to be fraught with evil, unequal for, and unjust: but this disapproval of the Act itself has been aggravated and rendered more intense by the mode in which it was prepared and carried, which the undersigned do not hesitate to characterize as a surprise upon the people of Nova Scotia, and a fraud upon the Imperial Parliament: nothing in the condition of this country rendered revolutionary changes necessary. Nova Scotia did not demand them, nor was any scheme of government resembling the Dominion Act ever submitted to them at the hustings: yet a member of the House of Commons, misled we charitably assume, on the second reading of the bill, assured the House that the policy of Confederation was brought under the notice of the electors at every polling booth, and that at every hustling the issue was distinctly raised. Now that this statement has been brought under the notice of the electors at every polling booth, condemned and negated at every hustling, the undersigned trust that it will be frankly withdrawn, and that your honorable House will at once cancel the legislation adopted under so gross a misstatement of facts. The Dominion Act was published in this Province in March last: it was discussed in the press, on the platform and on the hustings until the general election, which was held on the 18th of September. At the election the people of Nova Scotia had for the first time an opportunity to express their opinion on the scheme of union, and it was condemned with a unanimity and sternness never before witnessed in the decision of a public question in any free country. In the counties of Cape Breton, Guysborough, Shelburne and Victoria, the Anti-Confederate candidates for the Commons were elected by acclamation. In every other county but one, the Confederates were beaten by large and in many of them by overwhelming majorities. In the single county, though a Confederate struggled in by a small minority, followed by a protest for bribery and corruption, the Opposition was so strong that one of the gentlemen who sign the petition obtained a seat. But one of the delegates who prepared this Dominion Act was re-elected: but two of the thirty-two members of the House who voted approval of it have been chosen, and of fifty-seven members returned to both Houses, all but four are humble petitioners to your honorable House for the repeal of the law so universally condemned, in the published papers submitted to Parliament. The Lieutenant-Governor

in transmitting an address against Confederation, informed the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he believed the attempt to agitate the Province to be a complete failure, and the delegates who for many months last year were in communication with the Earl of Carnarvon, made statements that have now been proved to have been entirely unfounded. Acting upon these statements Her Majesty's Government and both Houses of Parliament were misled, and have inadvertently done a cruel wrong to a high-spirited people, which it would be a reflection on the justice and magnanimity of both Houses to believe will not be promptly repaired. Neither Prince Edward Island nor Newfoundland was touched by this Act of Union, and Nova Scotia was only included because it was assumed those who professed to speak for her truly represented her interests and opinions. Now that the contrary has been proved, the people of Nova Scotia rely with confidence on the wisdom and justice of your honorable House. Though this question has so deeply stirred their feelings, the elections from end to end of the Province have been carried without a blow being struck, a disloyal sentiment uttered, or any necessity, as in Canada, for military interference at the polls. The people relying on the high sense of honor which distinguishes British statesmen, and on the protection of Parliament defeated in a peaceful and orderly manner those who had betrayed them. The undersigned, elected to represent the people both in the House of Commons and in the Local Legislature, will not dwell upon the consequences of an adverse decision which they do not anticipate, but ask in their behalf, with all respect, for the repeal of so much of the act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as relates to Nova Scotia: and as in duty bound they will ever pray, &c.

“(Signed) A. G. Jones, M. P.; Patrick Power, M. P.; Henry Balcarr, M. P. P.; James Cochrane, M. P. P.; Jeremiah Northrup, M. P. P. (Halifax County); Thomas Coffin, M. P.; Thomas Johnson, M. P. P.; Robert Robertson, M. P. P. (Shelbourne County); Martin J. Wilkins, M. P. P.; James W. Carnichael, M. P. P.; Robert S. Copeland, M. P. P.; George Murray, M. P. P. (Pictou County); A. W. McLellan, M. P.; Thomas J. Morison, M. P. P.; Robert Chambers, M. P. P. (Colchester Co.); John K. Ryerson, M. P. P.; W. H. Townsend, M. P. P.; Thomas Killam, M. P. (Yarmouth Co.); W. H. Chipman, M. P.; Edward L. Brown, M. P. P.; D. M. Dickie, M. P. P. (King's Co.); William Ross, M. P.; William Kid-hon, M. P. P.; John Ross, M. P. P. (Victoria County); E. M. McDonald, M. P.; M. B. DeBrisay, M. P. P.; James Eisenhauser, M. P.; A. W. Savary, M. P.; William B. Vail, M. P.; Urban Doucettes, M. P. P. (Digby Co.); Joseph Howe, M. P.; William Lawrence, M. P. P.; E. Young, M. P. P. (Hants Co.); Amos Purdy, M. P. P. (Cumberland Co.); John J. Marshall, M. P. P.; John A. Kirk, M. P. P. (Guysborough Co.); Hugh Cameron, M. P.; Alex. Campbell, M. P. P. (Inverness Co.); William J. Croke, M. P.; M. P. Flynn, M. P. P.; Josiah Hooper, M. P. P. (Richmond County); H. McDonald, M. P.; Joseph McDonald, M. P. P.; D. McDonald, M. P. P. (Antigonish); James Forbes, M. P.; Henry W. Smith, M. P. P.; Samuel Freeman, M. P. P. (Queen's Co.); William H. Kay, M. P.; D. C. Landers, M. P. P.; J. C. Troop, M. P. P. (Annapolis Co.); Alonzo J. White, M. P. P.; John Ferguson, M. P. P. (Cape Breton).”



sent of the colony testified in any particular form." Question.—"How is the validity of an Act of Parliament affected by the fact that the statement in its preamble, on which it professes principally to proceed, is based upon entire error?" Answer.—"The recital in the preamble is very important, as evidence that the Imperial Legislature did not, in fact, intend or assume to exercise its extreme rights, but founded itself on the supposed consent of the Colony. This may afford a valid argument for the repeal of the Act, if the fact of this consent should be disproved; but such a recital not being essential to the foundation of the authority of the Legislature, which is supreme and independent, cannot affect the legal validity of the statute."

Question.—"How far does the judgment given by Lord Mansfield in *Campbell v. Hall*, Cowper's Report, establish the independence of a self-governed colony from the control of the Imperial Parliament in matters affecting that colony's constitution and revenues?" Answer.—"This is answered by the reply to the first question." Question.—"The delegates from Nova Scotia who joined last year in the London Conference, in preparing the Confederation scheme, afterwards engaged by the Imperial Parliament, were appointed under a resolution of the Local Assembly to arrange a basis of Union for five Provinces, with representatives from all five. Two of these Provinces, whose presence in the Union was contemplated by the resolution referred to, refused to join in the conference, and in their absence could the remaining delegates constitutionally proceed, under the resolution referred to, to arrange a more limited scheme than that which their instructions indicated?" Answer.—"We are of opinion that the authority conferred upon the delegates by the resolutions of April, 1866, ought to have been strictly followed, and that they had no authority to negotiate any union but one of the whole Provinces, if (in the general terms used) Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were, in fact, intended and understood to be included. This defect, however, in the original authority, would be cured by a subsequent

ratification of their acts by the Legislature of Nova Scotia." Question.—"Assuming the power of Parliament to be absolute, would not the hasty and arbitrary exercise of that power, without respect to the wishes of the people, where they had neither forfeited rights nor surrendered them, be unusual, if not unconstitutional?" Answer.—"In our opinion, the Imperial Legislature did not assume to extinguish the existing constitution of Nova Scotia, or to impose upon it a new form of government without its consent. To have done so would, in our judgment, have been an extreme exercise of its legal powers. The preamble of the Act 30 Vic. cap. 3 shows that in fact the English Legislature proceeded on the assumption of a real and substantial consent by the Province of Nova Scotia."

4.—But the Nova Scotia delegates were not easily discouraged, and although the Government refused to entertain the Petition for repeal rejected in England. petition for repeal, and their own counsel told them, in effect, that they had no case, and that the Union could not be dissolved, still they succeeded in having the matter again submitted to the Imperial Parliament. On the seventeenth of June, 1868, Mr. John Bright moved that a Commission be appointed to enquire into the cause of the discontent in Nova Scotia in regard to the operation of the Act of Confederation. The motion was seconded by Mr. Baxter, member for Montrose, and replied to by the Right Honorable C. B. Adderley, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies; and on a division, the motion was rejected by a vote of 183 to 96.

5.—The debate on the motion belongs properly to the history of the Dominion, and we give a brief synopsis thereof. Mr. Debate in the Imperial Parliament over Repeal. Bright called attention to a petition presented to the House on the 15th of May signed by 36 out of 38 members of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, and by 18 out of 19 members elected by that Colony to the House of Commons at Ottawa. He said that great dissatisfaction prevailed in Nova Scotia with the Act passed on the previous

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session, entitled An Act, for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and moved that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying that she will be graciously pleased to appoint a Commissioner, or Commissioners, to proceed to Nova Scotia, for the purpose of examining into the causes of the alleged discontent, with a view to their consideration and removal. He remarked that the Act of the previous session overthrew the constitution of the Colony of Nova Scotia, and destroyed the reality of independence which had existed in that colony for nearly one hundred years. It handed over the government and the destiny of the colony to another colony—namely that of Canada—and transferred the collection and expenditure of its own revenues to a parliament sitting in Ottawa, a distance of eight hundred miles from Nova Scotia; and the House of Commons of the United Kingdom did all this not only without the consent of the colonists, but directly in the face of their pronounced disapproval. In point of fact the Act if not a fraud upon the Imperial Parliament, was based upon representations that were extravagantly colored, if they were not absolutely untrue. The question of Confederation had been raised for some time, but at the last general election in Nova Scotia, in 1863, it was not one of the questions referred to the constituencies. In 1864, when the new Parliament met, delegates were appointed to consider the question of the Confederation of the Maritime Provinces, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and out of the discussions of these delegates arose a larger scheme, called the Quebec Scheme, for the Union of all the Provinces, which formed the basis of the bill of the previous year. The Nova Scotians had been greatly attached all along to the scheme for the union of the Maritime Provinces, but they had never for a moment been in favor of the plan to unite with or submerge them in the Canadian power. The result of the Confederation was already manifesting itself in Nova Scotia. The militia were not to be called out for drill this year, because they declined to do anything that would

place them in submission to, or dependent upon, the government of Canada. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies would tell the House that he hoped the affair would blow over; but it was not a very statesmanlike mode of proceeding, after committing a grave error or wrong, to sit down and refuse a remedy in the hope that the matter would soon blow over. The Imperial Parliament had bound Nova Scotia to Canada, and it was unfair to tell them that they had no remedy in the Parliament which did them the injustice, but that they must lay their case before the Parliament at Ottawa, where they would find themselves in a minority of one to six. He believed that equity would be productive of much advantage—at any rate it would show whether an alternative course could not be taken—whether there could not be a confederation of all the Provinces with certain modifications to meet the views of the Nova Scotians, or a confederation of the Maritime Provinces only, or the application of the Federal principle to the two Canadas with a central parliament. If enquiry was refused, the people of Nova Scotia would feel that they had been made the victims of Canadian ambition, and of an Imperial policy in which they did not in the least sympathize. Mr. Baxter seconded the motion, and urged that if England declined to pay deference to the wishes and feelings of the people of Nova Scotia, consequences most disastrous and humiliating to the Empire might ensue. Mr. Adderley said that he did not dispute that dissatisfaction existed in Nova Scotia at the Act of Union passed last year, and it was greatly to be deplored that such was the fact; but he denied that the people of Nova Scotia had been drawn into Confederation by a surprise, or that any fraud had been committed upon the Imperial Parliament. On the contrary, the Act itself had been drawn up and passed by the Provinces before it was submitted to the Imperial Parliament, and it was only passed in England because Imperial sanction was necessary to give effect to it. The absence of this question as a party cry at the general election in Nova Scotia in 1863 was not in consequence

of the subject being purposely kept in the background, but because at that time all parties were agreed upon the matter. He reminded the House that Nova Scotia had no constitution before this Act of Confederation was passed, but rested upon the position given by commission to the Governor of the colony, and he also pointed out that no great confederation had ever taken place in which some alarm was not experienced by the smaller States included in the confederation. He contended further, that if the allegations contained in the petition and in Mr. Bright's speech were true, the enquiry now asked for would be the worst thing that could happen. England had for thirty years given up her right to enquire into the local arrangements of the the North American Provinces, and had recognized their right to self-government, and to send out a commission of enquiry would be regarded as an insult to the new confederation, and the people of the Confederated States. There were modes of meeting the fears and alarm of the people of Nova Scotia without sending out a commission, and those modes were being resorted to. In addition, the Acts of the Confederated Parliament had so far met the approval of Nova Scotia, and there was now no fear that the Confederation would result in increased taxation and excessive expenditure.

6.—And Mr. Adderley was quite right, and fortunately the right prevailed. The Commission was refused, and this action

*The end of repeal.*

of the Imperial Parliament had the effect of showing Mr. Howe that he had gone about as far as he could be allowed to go with his anti-union and annexationist ideas; and from this point we find him much more moderate in his tone and more willing to heartily and thoroughly accept Confederation. But he would not rest his case, at least, until he had modified the terms of union in favor of Nova Scotia.

7.—When the delegates returned to Nova Scotia, Mr. Howe and his followers were found to be less violent in their opposition to Confederation. Public meetings were held, but the

*Visit of Sir John Macdonald to Halifax.*

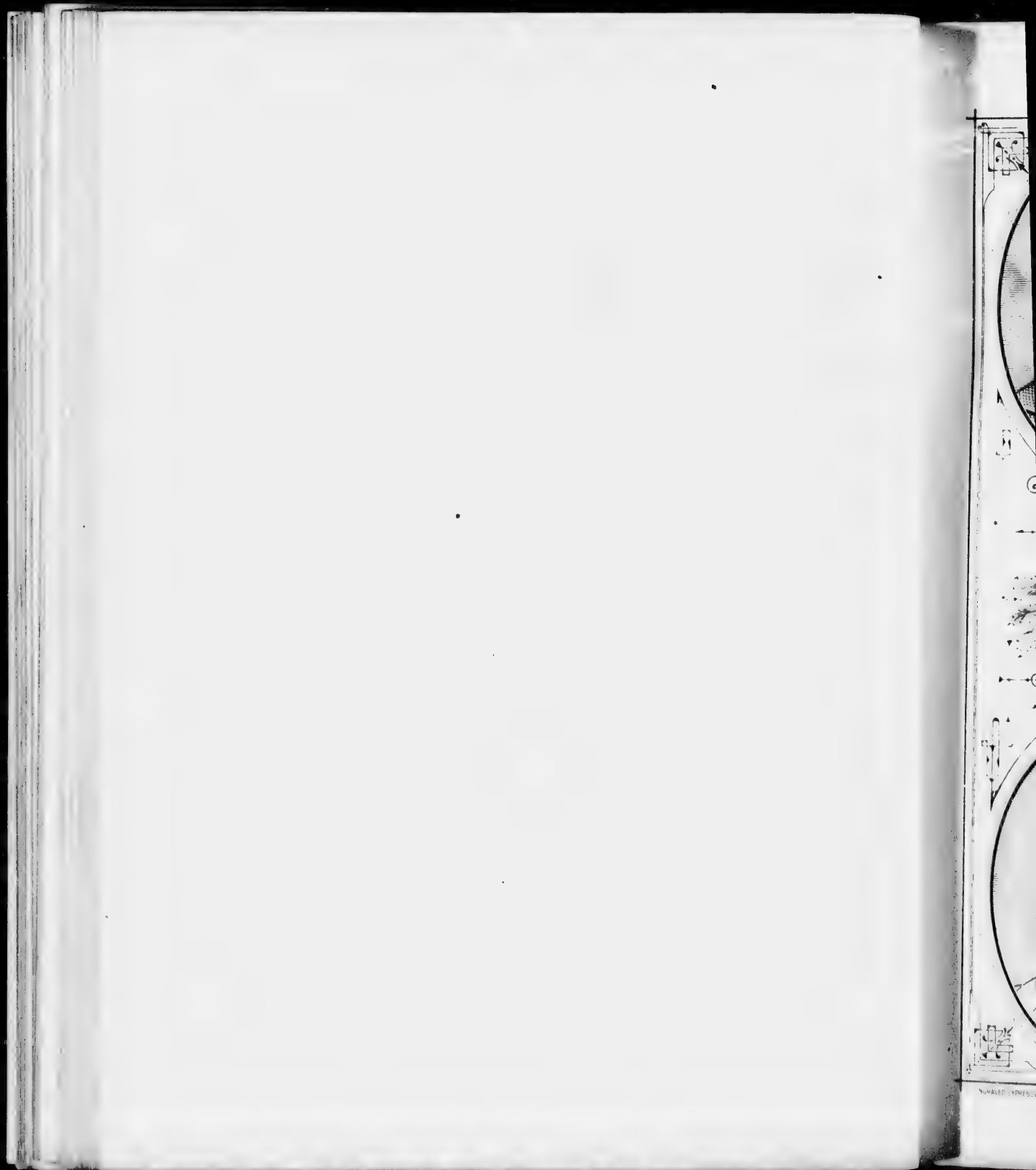
language of the principal speakers, though profuse, was less harsh or of a milder tone: public opinion began to be more in favor of a union of all the Provinces than it had been for years. In August, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George E. Cartier, Hon. W. Macdougall and Hon. J. Sandfield Macdonald attended a Convention held at Halifax, but nothing in the way of reconciliation to the Confederation was accomplished. The extreme party, led by Attorney-General Wilkins, still continued to oppose Confederation, and another address to the Queen was adopted by the Local Legislature; but the man who had been chiefly instrumental in raising the cry of opposition (Hon. Mr. Howe) began to see the evil of his course if further pursued, and, in a speech delivered in the early part of November, frankly acknowledged that the cry for repeal gained no sympathy from the governing classes in England, and that Nova Scotia had to make the best terms she could with the other Provinces. With the close of 1868 may be considered the close of the strenuous opposition to Confederation by Nova Scotia, and, in the following year, we find the chief opponent of Confederation a member of the Privy Council of Canada! Mr. Howe's conduct, it was thought by many, could not be considered consistent, but he had enough wit and wisdom to know when he had pursued an erroneous course long enough, and to seize the opportunity of making the best terms he could for his Province. We believe him to have been sincere in his opposition, and are not inclined to the opinion that his withdrawal from it, and his acceptance of a position in the Privy Council, and afterwards in the Cabinet Council are at variance with principle. The failure of his cause was not a sufficient reason that he should retire from public life, nor even abstain from working with a government from which coalition had not yet wholly departed.

8.—Aside from the Nova Scotia repeal agitation, the most important event of the year was the appointment of Sir Geo. E. Cartier and Hon. William Macdougall as a deputation to England to arrange

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the terms for the transfer of the North-West territories to Canada—a subject we shall more fully deal with in a future chapter. In August a Convention was held in Portland, Me., at which some 200 delegates from various parts of the United States, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were present, and resolutions favoring a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States were passed, but neither government took any steps towards renewing the treaty that year. On the 14th November, Lord Monk sailed from Quebec, and was succeeded in the Governor-Generalship of Canada by Sir John Young, who arrived in Ottawa on 27th November, and was sworn in by Chief Justice Hagarty on 1st December.

#### CHAPTER VII.

##### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG—NOVA SCOTIA'S BETTER TERMS.

1. NEGOTIATIONS FOR "BETTER TERMS" OPENED WITH MR. HOWE.—2. NOVA SCOTIA'S STATEMENT OF THE GRIEVANCES UNDER WHICH SHE SUFFERED.—3. THE TERMS GRANTED NOVA SCOTIA.—4. MR. HOWE ENTERS THE CABINET.—5. MR. HOWE'S CONTEST IN HANTS. HIS ELECTION.—6. NEWFOUNDLAND DECLARES AGAINST CONFEDERATION.

1.—The most absorbing question during the latter part of 1868, and early part of 1869, was the pacification of Nova Scotia by an effort to reconcile the people to Confederation, and an endeavor to convince them that they would be benefitted rather than injured by a Union with the other Provinces. The mission of Sir John A. Macdonald and his colleagues to Halifax was a failure, so far as immediate results were concerned, but negotiations were shortly afterwards opened which eventuated in a settlement of the difficulty existing between Nova Scotia and the

other Provinces with regard to Confederation. The Duke of Buckingham in his despatch to Lord Monk, under date 10th June, 1868, rejecting the petition of the Nova Scotia Legislature for a repeal of the Union, had expressed the hope that the Dominion Government would consider the complaints of that Province with regard to the inequality of taxation, &c., and meet them in a liberal spirit: this Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier had proposed to do at the Halifax Conference in August, and, failing then, Sir John renewed the subject on the 6th October by a letter to the Hon. Joseph Howe. In this communication he expressed the willingness of the Dominion Government to consider the questions of taxation, &c., and to use every means possible to remove any cause of complaint, suggesting that the Provincial Finance Minister, Mr. Annand, should make a statement of any inequality of taxation, which should receive attention. He also urged on Mr. Howe that he should enter the Cabinet, so that Nova Scotia might be fairly represented therein. To this Mr. Howe replied, under date of 21st October, to the effect that although he still preferred a repeal, he had very little hope of its being granted by the Gladstone Ministry any more than by the Disraeli Government, although the Local Government had addressed another petition to England. Under these circumstances he was disposed to enter into negotiations, with a view to modifying the terms on which Nova Scotia entered the Union, and for this purpose submitted a number of statements in support of the position that Nova Scotia was unfairly dealt with by the terms of the Union.

2.—The grievances under which Nova Scotia claimed to suffer may be thus summarized: 1st. It was claimed that the principle of allowing each Province so much per head debt, and so much per head subsidy, without taking the tax-paying element into account, operated unjustly towards Nova Scotia in the peculiar circumstances in which she was placed: and also that that principle had been unfairly applied. 2nd. That in the appropriation by the Dominion of

Nova Scotia's share of the Union Tax, and the subsidy which she suffered.

Nova Scotia's share of the Union Tax, and the subsidy which she suffered.

public works situated in Nova Scotia, as well as of her local assets, and the reservation to Ontario and Quebec of revenue yielding properties and works, injustice was done to Nova Scotia. 3rd. That Nova Scotia was not only subjected to increased taxation, but that the principles on which that taxation was imposed operated with special injustice to her. 4th. That if there had been no Union, and Nova Scotia had raised her tariff to the extent afterwards done by the Dominion Parliament, it would have been sufficient to have met her increased liabilities, provided for her local services, and left a surplus beyond: whereas, notwithstanding the increase of tariff, the revenues left at her disposal had proved inadequate to meet the expenses she had ordinarily provided for. The documents submitted were carefully and most fairly examined by the Dominion Ministry, and a very able report on the alleged grievances was made by Sir John Rose, Minister of Finance, in which he compared the relative amounts derived from the Customs' duties in Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, giving the amount collected per capita, and entered very exhaustively into the comparative positions of the three Provinces at the time of Confederation, as well as what changes had taken place afterwards, admitting the justness of some of the claims of Nova Scotia and contesting others. The reports of the Finance Minister and Auditor-General are too voluminous for insertion here, and we will content ourselves with quoting the conclusion of Sir John Rose's report, which gives the gist of the matter. He says: "From the statements thus adverted to, it would seem to follow: 1st. That the principle on which the debts were arranged by the Union Act operates with some unfairness to Nova Scotia. 2nd. That in the division of the property, local assets and revenues, or because the assets possessed by her were not of a character to be available, Nova Scotia is less favorably situated than the other Provinces in respect to local revenues. 3rd. That the increase of customs presses more directly on Nova Scotia than the other Provinces, but this apparent increase and the consequent

pressure, it is believed, will be mitigated every year as goods which she formerly imported from abroad, and which were chargeable with duty, are produced in other portions of the Dominion, and will now be available to her for consumption free of duty. 4th. That she must have raised about \$400,000 annually by way of additional taxation if she were out of the Union. 5. That the amount raised by the Dominion from revenue from Customs and otherwise is about adequate, if the results of last year continue in future the same, to meet all the current expenditure the Dominion is called on to make on her account, but less by \$100,563 if Nova Scotia is to be charged a per capita contribution to the cost of the Civil Government and legislation of the Dominion. 6th. That the local sources of revenue at present possessed by Nova Scotia are inadequate to carry on the services devolving on the Province."

3.—The principle being admitted that Nova Scotia was fairly entitled to "Better terms," the next question to determine <sup>The terms granted Nova Scotia.</sup> was how much she was entitled to, and after a good deal of negotiation it was agreed that the terms on which Nova Scotia was admitted to the Union should be amended by increasing the amount of debt to which she would be entitled, and allowing her a *pro rata* additional subsidy for ten years, as had been done in the case of New Brunswick. On the 25th January, 1869, the following Order in Council was passed: "1st. That the debt of Nova Scotia, on entering the Union be placed at \$9,186,756, and that the Province be relieved from any charge of interest, unless her debt exceed that sum; and 2nd. That for ten years from the 1st of July, 1867, an annual subsidy of \$82,698 be paid to that Province. The Committee further report their concurrence in the recommendation of the Finance Minister that Nova Scotia be debited, after the completion of the Province building, with interest on the cost of that building, until it shall have been placed at the disposal of the Dominion.

4.—It was agreed that a bill embodying these amendments to the terms of the Union should

Hon. Mr. Howe enters the Cabinet. be submitted to Parliament, and as it was part of the agreement that Mr. Howe should enter the Cabinet, he was sworn of the Privy Council on the 30th January, and accepted office as President of the Council, in place of the late Hon. Fergusson Blair. The entire abandonment of all his opposition by Mr. Howe, and his acceptance, not only of the Union he had striven so hard to dissolve, but of office in the Government of the Dominion, opened him to the accusation of his enemies that he had allowed personal preferment to influence him in his change of views, and that he could not resist the temptation of a seat on the Treasury Benches. Certainly Mr. Howe's rapid changes of opinion—first favoring Union, then opposing it violently, then favoring it again and accepting office under it—do lay him open to the suspicion that his actions were not always prompted by the purest and most dis-interested motives: but we must take into consideration the facts that the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos had in June, 1868, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, emphatically declared that the Imperial Government would not repeal the Union Act, and that Nova Scotia must make the best arrangements she could with Canada, and that Earl Granville, who, under Mr. Gladstone's administration, succeeded the Duke of Buckingham, and also expressed his opinion to the effect that the policy of his predecessor would be adhered to. As it was quite evident, therefore, that Nova Scotia could not get out of the Union without a rebellion, Mr. Howe perhaps thought that the wisest course for him to pursue was to do the best he could for his Province, and accept the responsibility of his action by entering the Ministry. The course of Mr. Howe, we think, was unduly criticised at the time by the press. He acted in a peculiar manner, and somewhat out of the usual order of statesmen; but an impartial, candid contemplation of the whole matter, will find nothing in his action which, under the light of the complicated circumstances in which he was placed, is antagonistic with honesty of purpose. In many things Mr. Howe displayed

poor judgment, but in nothing a want of principle.

5.—On the first of February Sir John Young paid an official visit to Montreal, and on the second was sworn in as Governor-General of the Dominion, the oath being administered by Judge Hagerty, Judges Monk, McKay, Mondelet, Torrance and Beaudry being also present, together with a number of Ministers, the Mayor of Montreal, and other officials. In the evening a grand banquet was given in his honor at the St. Lawrence Hall, and it was expected that Mr. Howe would have been present and made some explanation of his reasons for accepting office, but that gentleman thought it more important that he should get amongst his constituents as speedily as possible and prepare for his election: he, therefore, took the train that evening for Halifax, where he arrived on the 8th inst., and issued his address to the electors of Hants on the 11th. In this he reviewed his own conduct, said that he had become convinced that further agitation for Repeal was useless, as the British Government would never consent to it, and that the only course left for Nova Scotia was to make the best terms she could with Canada, and this he claimed he had done. He explained the nature and extent of the concessions the Dominion Government was disposed to make, and said that the presence of a representative Nova Scotian was required in the Cabinet as an evidence that the terms would be accepted by Nova Scotia in good faith. He concluded by putting the money aspect of the case very strongly before the electors, and said: "You have got now to decide whether Nova Scotia shall raise £40,000 a year by direct taxation, or whether by this negotiation, ratified by the Canadian Parliament, our roads and bridges and other public services shall be amply provided for without such necessity." He proceeded at once into Hants and threw himself with his accustomed energy into the contest. The Repeal Association saw clearly that its very existence was at stake. The election of Mr. Howe for Hants

Mr. Howe's contest in Hants. His election.

meant the death of the Repeal agitation, and the defeat ere long of the Local Ministry, which had nothing but its Anti-Union cry to recommend it to the public; and, therefore, every effort was put forth to defeat Mr. Howe. The chances of success were very uncertain. True, Mr. Howe had been elected in 1867 by a majority of over six hundred, but then he had been elected as an "out and out" Anti-Unionist—willing not only to go out of the Union, but out of British control altogether sooner than consent to Confederation, and it was a very close question whether his sudden change of opinion could convert a sufficient number of his friends to change theirs also. The Repeal Association held a convention at Brooklyn, Hants County, on 10th February, at which Mr. Howe was soundly abused for the course he had pursued, and Mr. Marson D. Goudge, of Windsor, was nominated to oppose him. Mr. Goudge was undoubtedly the strongest candidate that the Repealers could bring out. He was an old member of the Liberal party and staunch supporter of Mr. Howe in his Anti-Union campaign, and was, besides, personally very popular, so that Mr. Howe had no mean antagonist to contend with. However, the people of Hants County became convinced that Mr. Howe was right and still supported him. As they had believed and followed him two years before when he told them that a union with Canada was a bad thing for Nova Scotia and they must get the Act repealed, so they believed and followed him now when he told them that it being impossible to get the British Government to repeal the Act of Union, they must put up with it and make the best terms they could. The canvass was an exceedingly active and vigorous one for the first three weeks, but on the second of March Mr. Howe's health gave way, and he was confined to his house for a month. His antagonist generously abstained from holding any public meetings during his illness; but the private canvass was vigorously pushed, and the want of Mr. Howe's personal influence was so severely felt that his friends began to despair

of success. On the sixth of April he was sufficiently recovered to resume the campaign, but was still very weak and could not speak much. Nominations took place on the 13th April, and the election on 20th, and at the close of the poll Mr. Howe stood 383 ahead of Mr. Goudge, to the utter discomfiture of the Repeal party, and rather to the surprise of Mr. Howe and his friends, who had not anticipated so magnificent a triumph. This was a most remarkable change of opinion by a whole community in a very brief space of time, and shows not only Mr. Howe's great personal popularity, but that the people of Nova Scotia were returning to a condition of reason and common sense, and finding that they would not be allowed to disrupt the Union, were beginning to understand that they must content themselves with the best terms they could make.

6.—Amongst the prominent events which occurred after the prorogation of the first Parliament, was the appointment on 14th July, 1868, of the Hon. <sup>Newfoundland declares against Confederation.</sup> W. P. Howland as Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. This left two portfolios vacant—that of President of the Privy Council, caused by the death of the Hon. Mr. Blair, and that of Minister of Inland Revenue, consequent on the appointment of Mr. Howland. Both these gentlemen belonged to the Reform party, and both were from the Province of Ontario, so that the equalization of parties and Provinces aimed at in the formation of the Cabinet in 1867, was destroyed by the death of one and the retirement of the other. These vacancies were not immediately filled, the portfolio of President of the Council remaining unoccupied until the appointment of Mr. Howe, 30th January, 1869, and that of Minister of Inland Revenue not being filled until a general reconstruction of the Cabinet took place in November, 1869. Early in 1869 the contracts for portions of the Intercolonial were given out, and work was commenced during the summer. One of the subjects which attracted considerable attention in the early part of '69 was the admission

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of Newfoundland to the Union. On the opening of the Island Parliament, on 17th February, the Governor, Earl Musgrave, spoke very strongly in favor of a Union with the Dominion, and the address in reply was adopted by a vote of 18 to 8. On the seventh of March, resolutions in favor of Union were adopted in both Houses, and subsequently Hon. Mr. Shea and Hon. Mr. Carter visited Ottawa and arranged with the Dominion Government the terms on which Newfoundland was to be admitted to the Union—which did not differ materially from those offered the other provinces. But the people of the Island were afraid to join their fortunes with the Dominion, the Union party was defeated at the polls, and Newfoundland still remains out of the Union. Very little else of general interest occurred until the meeting of Parliament on 15th April, 1869.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG—1869.

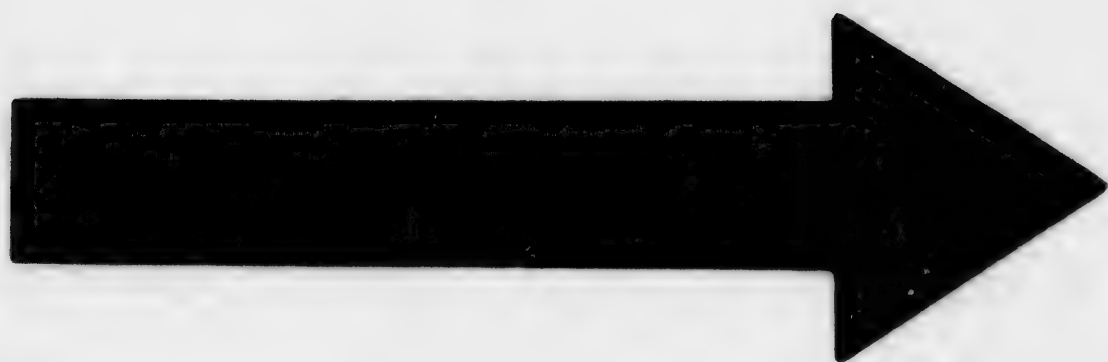
1. EXPLANATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO VACANCIES IN THE CABINET.—2. SENATOR CHANDLER'S MOTION THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE CANADA IN PAYMENT OF ALABAMA CLAIMS.—3. DUAL REPRESENTATION.—4. ENCROACHMENTS OF AMERICANS ON CANADIAN FISHERIES.—5. THE SALARY OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—6. HON. MR. ROSE'S PROPOSED BANKING ACT.—7. OPPOSITION TO THE MEASURE.—8. DEBATE ON THE ROUTE OF THE INTERCOLONIAL.—9. DEBATE ON THE NOVA SCOTIA BILL.—10. FURTHER AMENDMENTS AND OBJECTIONS.—11. THE SILVER NUISANCE.—12. PROROGATION. EXTENDING THE INDIANS.—13. SUMMARY TRIALS AND OTHER ACTS. SUPPLY AND PRIVATE BILLS.—14. RESIGNATION OF HON. JOHN ROSE. SIR FRANCIS HINCKS APPOINTED MINISTER OF FINANCE. RECONSTRUCTION OF CABINET.—15. REVIEW OF THE CHANGES IN THE CABINET.—16. TOUR OF THE GOVERNOR

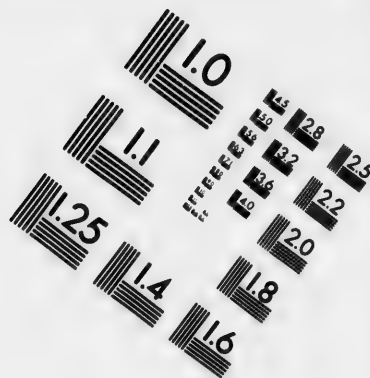
GENERAL THROUGH THE LOWER PROVINCES.—17. VISIT OF PRINCE ARTHUR.—18. THE PECULIAR SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRINCE'S VISIT.—19. GENERAL REVIEW OF THE YEAR.

1.—The second session of the first Parliament of Canada was opened by His Excellency, Sir John Young, on the fifteenth of April, 1869, with the usual ceremonies. The Houses were called

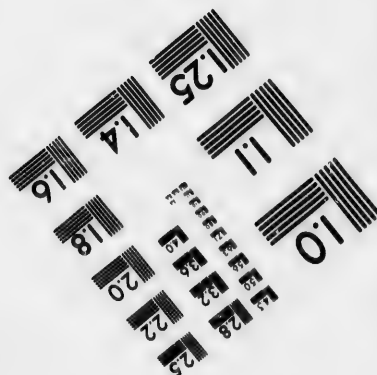
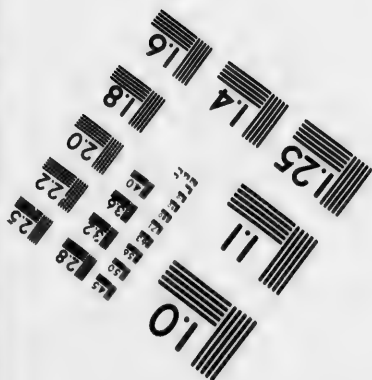
*Explanations with reference to vacancies in the Cabinet.*

together at an unusually late period; but the change in the manner of keeping the Public Accounts consequent on Confederation, had caused considerable delay in preparing the financial statement for the first year, and the estimates were not quite ready when the House met; beside this, two of the Ministers, Sir George E. Cartier and Hon. Mr. Macdougall, were in England completing the arrangements for the transfer of the North-West Territory from the Hudson's Bay Company, and their task was barely finished in time to meet Parliament. The speech from the Throne was short and briefly referred to the completion of the arrangements for the transfer of the North-West Territory; to the action of the Legislature of Newfoundland in passing resolutions in favor of Union, and the probability of that Colony soon entering the Dominion; to the dissatisfaction which had existed in Nova Scotia, and the steps which had been taken to remove it; foreshadowed the introduction of Acts for the assimilation of the Criminal laws of the Provinces; for the holding of elections; a new Bankrupt and Insolvency Act; a new Patent law, and an Act relating to Banking and Currency. On the 16th, previous to the address being moved, 35 m. Mr. Holton asked for information with regard to Mr. Howe's appointment, and also whether any steps had been taken to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of the Hon. Mr. Howland to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ontario. Sir John A. Macdonald, in reply, explained the circumstances under which Mr. Howe had entered the Cabinet, and said that the vacancy caused by Mr. Howland's appointment would





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soon be filled. Such, however, was not the case, for it was November before the Cabinet was reconstructed, and December before all the portfolios were filled. The address was moved and adopted in both Houses on 16th. In the Senate it was moved by Hon. Dr. Lacoste, seconded by Hon. David Wark; and in the Commons by Mr. W. M. Simpson, seconded by Mr. J. Bolton.

2.—The first debate of any importance which occurred was on the twenty-sixth of April, on a motion of Hon. A. T. Galt, that all papers and correspondence relating to the protection of the frontier in 1863-64, and also with reference to the Fenian raid of 1866, be laid before the House. This motion arose, incidentally, out of the Alabama claims. All through the American rebellion, and long after it, there was a certain amount of irritation and ill-feeling existing between Great Britain and the United States, on account of injuries inflicted on the commerce of the latter by Confederate cruisers, fitted out in British ports. An immense quantity of correspondence took place between the two countries, and great diplomatic efforts were made to reach a settlement of what had got to be known as "the Alabama claims." At last the American Minister at London, Mr. Reverdy Johnson, and Lord Clarendon agreed on a treaty which, it was hoped, would settle the difficulty. The treaty, however, had to be submitted to Congress for ratification, and on the eighth of March, it was rejected by the United States Senate, and the difficulty remained as unsolved as ever. But this was not all; on the seventeenth, Senator Chandler, of Michigan, made a filibustering speech, in which he advocated a policy of coercion towards England to compel a settlement, and ended by a motion to the effect that, as the Dominion desired annexation, the United States would be content to take the British North American Colonies in settlement of the Alabama claims. The motion itself was ridiculous, but it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; and Mr. Galt thought it

Senator Chandler's motion that the U.S. should take Canada in payment of Alabama claims.

proper to bring the matter formally before the Dominion Parliament. His object in moving for this correspondence was to show that if the United States had any claims against Great Britain, for injuries done to her during the war, Canada had very heavy counter claims against the United States for loss and expense to repel the Fenian invasion after the war, besides being at a very heavy outlay to protect her frontier in 1863-4. He spoke very temperately and moderately, stating that if such a proposal could be entertained in England, he was certain the people of the Dominion would never consent to it, as they had no desire for annexation—a sentiment which was warmly applauded by the House. He clearly reviewed the conduct of Canada during the American war, showing how every precaution had been taken, at considerable trouble and great expense, to preserve a strict neutrality, and to prevent our soil being used by the Southerners as a base of operations against the Northern States; and how, in the case of the St. Alban's raid, the money improperly returned to the raiders on their first release, was promptly made good to the sufferers by the Canadian Government. He then contrasted our conduct with that of the United States, and showed how Fenianism had been fostered and nourished there, and great injury inflicted on Canada without the United States making any attempt to prevent it. The motion was carried. Later in the session the papers were brought down and published, making a pamphlet of one hundred and seventy-five pages, which gave a very complete account of the precautions taken by Canada in 1863-4; and of the Fenian raid of 1866.

3.—The second debate of interest was on the second reading of a bill introduced by Mr. David Mills (Bothwell) for the abolition of Dual Representation, which came up on 20th April. At the first session of Parliament Mr. Mills had introduced a similar bill, but withdrew it; he now pressed the matter to a vote. His bill was to render members of local Legislative Councils or Legislative Assemblies, ineligible for election to the

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House of Commons. He said in substance, that the effect of the British North America Act was intended to render the Local Legislatures entirely independent of the Dominion House; but a member of the Local House who was also a member of the Commons, was like a man who belonged to two firms, one of which could not gain except at the expense of the other. He held that Dual Representation was immoral, because it led to the possibility of an alliance being formed between the members of the Local House, who were also members of the Commons, whereby they could agree to support the Ministry of the day in the Commons, provided they obtained special advantages for their own Province. He referred to the peculiar position in which it placed a Lieutenant-Governor to find members of the Dominion Ministry which had appointed him, sitting in the Local House in opposition to the Local Ministry, and pointed out that it may lead to the exercise of undue influence against that Ministry. He said that it had been urged, in defence of Dual Representation, that to abolish it would be to interfere with the liberty of the people to elect whom they please to represent them; but he contended that it was competent for Parliament, under the Independence of Parliament Act, to declare that certain persons were not eligible; and, furthermore, he claimed that the great bulk of the people were opposed to Dual Representation, as was evidenced by the very small number of gentlemen who had been elected to both Houses. Mr. Dufresne stated, in defence of his system, that if the people were opposed to Dual Representation they had a remedy in their own hands by declining to vote for the same candidate for both Houses. Sir Geo. E. Cartier also defended the system, contending that it was not within the power of the House to say who should be eligible and who not; the law said that, and the House ought not to interfere with the right of the people to elect whom they pleased. After a long and animated discussion, the six months' hoist was moved and carried by a vote of 82 to 57.

4.—On the third of May quite a lively debate

occurred on the fisheries question on a motion of Hon. Pierre Fortin for a Committee of Inquiry. Doctor Fortin <sup>Encroachments of Americans on Canadian fisheries.</sup> complained of the encroachments of the Americans on the fisheries of the Dominion; more especially on the Gulf fisheries, which were of importance not to one or two Provinces only, but to the whole Dominion; and no adequate protection was given to Canadian fishermen, as there was only one schooner to watch some two hundred or more vessels. Mr. Savary said that the licensing system was not enforced, and the consequence was, practically, that the Americans had free fishing in our waters. He claimed that the three-mile limit was entirely disregarded, and that American vessels were consequently fishing a mile, or less, from the Canadian shores. Mr. Anglin thought the license system had proved a failure, as it was impossible to tell a licensed from an unlicensed vessel without overhauling them, and as soon as the Americans saw a British vessel coming they ran away. He gave an instance where some three hundred American vessels had been fishing in a small bay, quite close in shore, but, seeing the smoke of a British steamer, they had all got beyond the required distance before she came up. Sir John A. Macdonald said that when the Reciprocity Treaty terminated, in 1866, the question of the fisheries reverted to the position it had held previous to that treaty, and that the three-mile limit was clearly laid down by the treaty of 1818. Application had been made by the Canadian Government to Great Britain for protection to the fisheries. The Canadian Government had also, in 1866, placed a license fee of fifty cents per ton on American vessels fishing in Canadian waters, more as an assertion of our right to the fisheries than for any other purpose. This fee had been raised to one dollar a ton in 1867, and two dollars a ton in 1868; but he confessed that the law had not been very rigidly enforced, the reason being that, under a rule of the British Admiralty, three warnings had to be given to American vessels before they could be seized. This rule had now been amended, so that only twenty-

four hours' notice was necessary, and four British gun-boats were on duty, besides the Dominion steamers *Druid* and *La Canadienne*, and he had no doubt but that the service would be more effectively performed. He thought it would be premature to charge the licensing system while there was a chance of a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty; and he thought the present prospects of its renewal were very good, as a large portion of the American press was pointing out that the United States needed such a treaty quite as much as the Dominion. The motion was carried.

5.—On the twelfth of May, Mr. Oliver moved that the House go into Committee for the purpose of reducing the salary of the Governor-General from £10,000 sterling, which he considered excessive, to £8,000 currency (\$32,000). Sir John A. Macdonald said that as the bill on this subject, which had passed the previous session, had been disallowed by the Imperial authorities, he considered it unseemly to bring up the question again, and moved in amendment that in view of the opinion expressed by the Imperial authorities on this question, it was inexpedient to take any action in the matter. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie severely criticized the Government for not treating the subject fairly; it was the duty of the Government to introduce a bill definitely fixing the salary of the Governor-General, and not subject that gentleman to the indignity of having this matter constantly brought up in Parliament. Mr. Mackenzie was forced to suspend his remarks on account of indisposition, and the debate was continued on the following day. Mr. Mackenzie objected to any action of the House, involving a money expenditure, being taken on orders from England; he considered any attempt to fix the salary of the Governor-General by a despatch from England an infringement on the liberties of the people, and their right to control their own expenditures. He concluded by moving in amendment, "That it is the undoubted privilege of Parliament to fix and determine the amounts of all salaries and expenditures charge-

able on the public funds of the Dominion, and that the salary of the Governor-General should, therefore, be fixed by an Act of this Parliament." Sir John A. Macdonald explained that in 1841, when the Imperial Revenues were surrendered to the Province, it was stipulated then that the Province should provide for the payment of the Civil List, and the salary of the Governor-General had been definitely fixed; but at Confederation it was not thought necessary to fix any amount, and no sum had been specified at the Quebec Convention; subsequently a verbal agreement had been made in England that the amount should be £10,000 sterling. The debate lasted the whole evening, and, on a division being taken, 137 voted for Mr. Mackenzie's amendment, and only one, Mr. Smith, against it. On the twentieth Sir John A. Macdonald moved the House into Committee on a resolution to fix the Governor's salary at £10,000 stg. Mr. Oliver moved, in amendment, that it be fixed at £7,500 stg.; and Mr. Jones, in amendment to the amendment, that it be fixed at \$32,000. A long debate ensued, and on a vote being taken, both the amendments were lost, and the motion of Sir John A. Macdonald carried by 89 to 60. The resolution was then read and adopted.

6.—One of the most important measures introduced during the session was the Banking Act of the Finance Minister, Hon. Mr. Rose, which was laid before the House on 14th of May, and attracted the general attention of the country as it involved some very radical changes in the whole Banking system. The charters of a majority of the Banks were near expiry, and applications were being made for renewals. A very large meeting of Presidents and Cashiers of Banks was held in Ottawa on the first of May, and the delegates were unanimous in their determination to resist any further interference by the Government with the Bank circulation, believing that it would result disastrously to the commerce of the country as well as to the Banks. At the same time they expressed a willingness to accept modified charters which

The salary of the Governor-General.

Hon. Mr. Rose's proposed Banking Act.

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would give additional security to note holders and depositors, by making the shareholders responsible for double the amount of their stock, or by having any serious impairment of capital made good by assessment on the shareholders. A committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Rose, but could not succeed in inducing him to change his scheme. In explaining his Act to the House he spoke of the necessity of having uniformity in the currency, and in the modes of issuing and redeeming it. As the charters existed, the Banking Act differed in each Province as to the amount of circulation. In New Brunswick, Banks could issue notes to the amount of three times their capital, in Nova Scotia to twice the amount, and in Ontario and Quebec to the amount of capital and any surplus of gold or Dominion securities they held. The notes were subject to discount in the different Provinces, and he desired to substitute one uniform currency which would have the same value in all parts of the Dominion. To accomplish this he proposed to introduce a system somewhat similar to the National Bank Act in the United States. All the existing circulation of the Banks was to be withdrawn within five years, and its place taken by Dominion notes to be issued by the various Banks on their depositing Dominion bonds to the amount required, these notes to be payable at the respective Banks, and a reserve of twenty per cent, in gold to be always kept on hand, while a more careful supervision in the way of returns and examinations was to be had. He pointed out some of the evils under the existing system by which a Bank could be started without any actual capital, and issue large amounts of notes which may prove worthless.

7.—The scheme did not meet with general favor either in the House or in the country, a large portion of the press condemning so great a change, and numerous petitions being sent in against it from various commercial bodies. On the first of June, Hon. Mr. Rose moved that the House go into Committee on the resolutions, when Mr. Holton moved in amendment that so

radical a change in the long established Banking system of the country should not be hastily made, and that as the Bill would not take effect until 1871, the matter be postponed until next session. He argued that the existing system was not so bad as had been represented, that it had for a long time served the purposes of commerce and had worked better, and with less loss, than the Banking systems of many other countries. He thought time ought to be taken to consider so important an Act, and that if it was intended to press the measure during the present session, it ought to have been laid before the House forty-eight hours after the address, and not left until so late. Mr. Mackenzie, in seconding the motion, said that the proposed change was very distasteful to the whole country, and especially to Ontario, which needed a large amount of the circulating medium to move her crops, and this Bill would have the effect of withdrawing a vast sum from circulation and locking it up. He thought that the disasters which had occurred to some Banking institutions were largely attributable to the interference of the Government with the Banking system by the Act of 1866, and considered that any such further interference, as that proposed, would cripple the Banks, by causing so great a reduction of the circulation, and bring disaster on trade and commerce. Mr. Cartwright said that Mr. Holton's motion tried to make the question a party one, inasmuch as it involved a censure on the Government, but he thought it a matter of too great general importance to be restricted to the limits of parties. He admitted the seductiveness of the idea of an uniform currency, but thought it might be attained at too great a cost, and it would be at too great a cost if it destroyed the best feature of a paper circulation, which was its elasticity. Mr. Tilley dwelt on the benefits of an uniform currency, such as would be given by the Bill, and quoted figures to show that the Banks would actually make larger profits under the system proposed than under the existing one. Hon. Mr. Rose said that none of the opponents of the Bill had claimed that the existing system was a good one, and that most of the popular

Opposition to the measure. It is withdrawn. The Currency Bill.

opposition to it had been worked up by the Banks themselves. He said that the Banks would not be compelled to withdraw all their circulation at once but allowed five years to do it in. Hon. J. H. Cameron thought it would be better to take more time to consider the matter, and moved, in amendment to Mr. Holton's amendment: "That this House recognizes the great importance of an uniform system of currency, but, inasmuch as immediate uniformity cannot be obtained, it is expedient that the several Bank charters about to expire be extended to such period as Parliament shall determine." The debate was a lengthy one, and Messrs. Galt, Morris, Gibbs and others who usually supported the Government, spoke against the resolution and the debate was adjourned. On the fifteenth Hon. Mr. Rose announced that it was not the intention of the Government to press the Banking Act during the present session; the charters which were about to expire would be extended to the 30th June, 1870, and to the end of the next session of Parliament, which would practically extend them to 1871, and there would be an intermediate session of Parliament when measures definitely settling the matter would be laid before the House. Another financial question which occupied much of the attention of the House was fixing the legal rate of interest, and several Bills were introduced during the session but abandoned, and a Government Bill on the same subject only had a majority of one on its first reading and was subsequently withdrawn.

8.—An interesting debate took place on a motion made by Mr. Mackenzie on the seventeenth of May, to go into Committee on the following resolutions: "1. That in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, it is of the highest importance for commercial and economical reasons, to have the shortest and cheapest line selected, which, in addition to the main object, will afford access to the best and nearest port on the Bay of Fundy. 2. That the Bay of Chaleurs route, selected by the Govern-

ment is not one which will best promote the commercial interests of the Dominion, or best secure the settlement of the remote portions of the Provinces through which the road will pass, and that, while it gives the smallest commercial advantages, it will entail the largest expenditure in its construction, and afterwards in its maintenance and working expenses. 3. That in view of the serious effect to the finances of the Dominion, and the permanent and continuous loss to the commerce of the country, consequent on the adoption of a long and expensive route to the sea, it is desirable not to proceed with work on those portions of the line not common to the Central or Southern routes, with a view to the adoption of a route which will give access to the shortest and cheapest line, without interfering with the distance to Halifax as the ultimate terminus." He very ably and severely criticised the action of the Government in selecting the longest and most expensive route and the one least likely to prove remunerative commercially. Mr. Cartwright moved a long amendment, in which he recited some of the provisions of Imperial and Dominion Acts with regard to the guarantee, and which ended: "That under these circumstances the House considers that any discussion as to the route of the Intercolonial Railway would not answer any good purpose, and would greatly prejudice the credit of the Dominion at home and abroad." Hon. Dr. Tupper seconded Mr. Cartwright's amendment, and said that to pass Mr. Mackenzie's motion would be a breach of faith with the Imperial Government, which had guaranteed the loan on the express condition that it should locate the line, and it had done so. The route was not so much longer, nor so much more expensive as had been represented, and it afforded the shortest route to Europe by way of Shippegan and across Newfoundland. He argued that in all the negotiations about the Intercolonial since 1858, it had always been agreed that the Imperial Government should select the route, and it preferred the one best suited for military purposes. After a long debate Mr. Cartwright's

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amendment was carried by a vote of 114 to 28.

9.—The most important debate of the session was on the "Better terms" to be given to Nova

*Debate on the Nova Scotia Bill.  
Mr. Blake's Constitutional amendment.*

Scotia. On the eleventh of June, Hon. Joseph Howe moved that the House go into Committee on those resolutions which provided for the debt of Nova Scotia being taken as \$9,186,000 at Confederation, and an extra subsidy of \$82,698 annually being allowed her for ten years. Mr. Blake moved in amendment that the British North America Act of 1867 had fixed and settled the mutual liabilities of Canada and of each Province in respect of the public debt, and the amount payable by Canada to each Province for the support of its Government and Legislature. That the Act did not empower the Parliament of Canada to change the basis of the Union, thereby fixed and settled; that the unauthorized assumption of such power by the Parliament of Canada would injure the interests of the several Provinces, weaken the Union, and shake the stability of the Constitution; that the proposed resolutions on the subject of Nova Scotia involved the assumption of such power; and that, therefore, the House, while ready to give its best consideration to any proposal to procure in a constitutional way any needed changes in the basis of Union, deemed it inexpedient to go into Committee on the resolutions. He supported his motion by an able argument on the unconstitutionality of the resolutions, claiming that the British North America Act clearly laid down what powers the Local Legislatures should have, and what amounts the individual Provinces should receive from the general treasury; and that the Federal Parliament had no more right to change the monetary part of the contract than it had to deprive the Local Legislatures of any of the powers vested in them. The motion was seconded by Mr. A. Mackenzie, who took a similar line of argument. Hon. J. H. Cameron said it was no argument to say that because the Federal Parliament had not the power to take away anything guaranteed by the Act, it had not the power to give more, if it pleased,

than the Act required. The question was not one of constitutionality, but of convenience. To say that the Dominion Parliament had not the right to increase a subsidy if it liked to, because the Imperial Parliament had named a certain sum, was to admit the right of the latter to control the expenditure of our revenue. Mr. Harrison raised the legal point that the 118th section of the British North America Act said:—"Such grants shall be in full settlement of all future demands on Canada." Hon. Dr. Tupper differed from both views, and thought that the difficulty should be settled by the appointment of Commissioners, one by the Dominion, one by the Local Government, and a third one to be mutually agreed on. Hon. Mr. Gray held that the sum mentioned in the Act was the minimum that could be granted, but saw no reason why a larger sum could not be paid. Mr. Smith thought that the Dominion Parliament had no power to change the Imperial Act, and inquired whether the rate of eighty cents per head could be altered to ninety? Hon. Mr. Cartier considered that it could, although the amount could not be reduced. These resolutions were not to alter the Imperial Act, they were simply to grant an increase on what that Act allowed. Mr. Howe was quite satisfied that Parliament had the right to legislate as the resolutions proposed. He did not believe in a "cast-iron Constitution" which had no flexibility in it. On a vote being taken, Mr. Blake's motion was lost, 57 voting for it and 96 against. The resolutions were then carried and reported.

10.—On the following day, on the motion to concur in the resolutions, Mr. Wood offered an amendment to the effect that it was inexpedient to disturb the financial arrangement with Nova Scotia unless the other Provinces were put on the same footing as that Province would be by such change. The debate was continued until nearly midnight on Saturday, and the division was not quite concluded before twelve. Mr. Wood's amendment was lost by a vote of 46 for to 88 against, and the Bill was read a first time. On the motion for the second reading of the bill

*Further amendments and objections. The bill passed.*



on 16th, Hon. Mr. Holton moved in amendment "That in the opinion of this House, any disturbance of the financial arrangements respecting the several Provinces provided for in the British North America Act, unless assented to by all the Provinces, would be subversive of the system of Government under which this Dominion was constituted; and if effected as proposed by this Bill, in favor of one Province, without at the same time providing for a general revision and re-adjustment of these arrangements, would be manifestly injurious to the other Provinces." After a lengthy debate, in which the same arguments already given were repeated, the amendment was lost on division by a vote of 52 for, 97 against. The bill was then adopted clause by clause until the fifth was reached, when Mr. Blake moved to add to it, "That the grants and provisions made by this Act, and the British North America Act of 1867, shall be in full settlement of all demands on Canada by Nova Scotia." The amendment was accepted by the Government, and the clause as amended adopted. On the sixth clause Mr. Mills moved in amendment that the words be added, "That this Act shall not take effect until ratified by the Imperial Parliament." The amendment was lost without division, and the Bill adopted.

11.—The great loss and inconvenience which was being felt in Canada, growing out of the excessive amount of depreciated American Silver which was in circulation, and which had been attracted to Canada since the suspension of specie payments in the United States, occupied the attention of the House during the session; and, on the twenty-sixth of May, Mr. Oliver moved for a Committee, to consist of Messrs. Carling, Ryan, (Montreal), McConkey, McGill, Harrison, Tremblay and the mover, to consider any correspondence that had taken place on the subject of purchasing and exporting American silver, and to report as to the best means of abating the nuisance. He said that the Government had made some purchases and exported the silver, but it had not been enough. Mr. McDonald (Antigonish) said that in Nova Scotia the mer-

chants had avoided any loss or trouble by agreeing together not to take American silver except at twenty per cent. discount, and the consequence was that you could not find an American quarter in Nova Scotia. He thought the whole trouble would be removed by passing an Act of five lines making American silver a legal tender for only eighty per cent. of its face value. The Committee reported, on the fourteenth of June, to the effect that the Government had purchased about one million of dollars' worth of silver and exported it, but that it had not had any great effect; and suggested that the intervention of the Government had become a necessity to abate the nuisance.

12.—The House was prorogued by His Excellency the Governor-General in person on the twenty-third of June, after having given assent to forty-one Public and thirty-two Local and Private Bills. Amongst the Public Bills the one deserving most attention on account of its humanitarian and civilizing tendencies, was an Act,\* introduced by Hon Mr. Langevin, for

Prorogation.  
Enfranchising the  
Indians.

\* The Bill is in substance, as follows: Any Indian, or person claiming Indian blood, or intermarried with an Indian family, shall not be deemed to be lawfully in possession of any land in a reserve divided into lots, unless he has a location ticket from the Superintendent-General, but may be ejected like any other person, under 31 V. c. 42, s. 18. Persons selling or giving intoxicating liquor to an Indian, or opening a bar or tavern to sell it on a reserve, or the commander of a steamer or other vessel, from which it is given or sold, are liable, on conviction, to a penalty. No person less than one fourth Indian blood is entitled to share in annuities, &c., to his tribe: nor is any Indian convicted of crime, while in prison therefor, and the cost of his prosecution may be taken from the monies of his tribe. An Indian woman marrying anyone not an Indian, ceases to be so herself, as do her children; and marrying out of her tribe, herself and children become members of the husband's tribe. The Superintendent-General may stop the annuity of an Indian who has deserted wife or child, and employ it for her or his support. He may also use the funds of a tribe for the support of aged and infirm members who are neglected. Land held by an Indian, under a location ticket, is not transferable or liable to seizure for debt. It descends to his children with the obligation to support their mother if living. Failing direct heirs it reverts to the Crown, for the benefit of the tribe. Any band or tribe of Indians numbering thirty may elect one Chief. Larger tribes may have one Chief and two Second Chiefs for each two hundred. The present life-Chiefs remain in office unless removed by the Governor-General for dishonesty, intemperance or immorality. They are to be replaced by others elected every three years, by all males of twenty-one years. The Chief or Chiefs must see roads and bridges kept up, or the Superintendent may cause it to be done at the expense of the tribe, or an Indian in default. They may frame rules respecting public health, decorum in Council, the repression of intemperance and profligacy, the prevention of trespass by cattle, roads, &c., school houses, Council houses, and other public buildings, pounds and pound-keepers. The Governor in Council may, by letters patent, grant a life estate to an Indian deemed competent in land allotted to him, which he may devise to his children, who, in case of his death intestate, succeed to the fee simple, under the

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extending the franchise to Indians, under certain conditions, giving them to some extent municipal powers, and for generally regulating Indian affairs.

13.—A new Insolvency Act was passed, amending and assimilating the Acts in existence in the various Provinces: an Act regulating patents of inventions and discoveries, and an Act for the management of immigration. A number of Criminal Acts were passed regulating the punishments for murder, arson, coinage or counterfeiting, forgery, larceny, perjury, malicious injury to property, vagrants, &c.; and also several Acts for procedure in criminal cases, duties of Justices of the Peace, &c. Two very necessary and useful Acts passed, were for "Summary trials by consent," and for the "Speedy trial of offences." The former provides for the summary trial of prisoners, with their own consent, by any officer or Court having the power of a Recorder, instead of merely holding an examination and sending the case to a higher Court. The offences which may be so tried are—simple larceny, larceny from the person, embezzlement, or obtaining money under false pretences, receiving stolen property not valued at more than \$10, attempts at larceny, aggravated assault, inflicting grievous bodily harm, or cutting wounding, or stabbing, obstructing officers of the peace or customs in discharge of their duties, keeping or being an inmate or habitual frequenter of a house of ill-repute, &c. The prisoner must be asked by the Magistrate

law of the Province in which he resided. It is not liable to seizure during his possession. If he die childless it escheats to the Crown for the tribe, but the widow has the usufruct until death or by re-marriage. If a widow or unmarried daughters are deprived of benefit from the land, they will receive a double share of tribal annuity instead. Before letters patent issue, the Indian must furnish a name and surname, by which he is registered and to be known. Thereupon he and his family are enfranchised and are not subject to the laws relating to Indians, except ss. 12, 13 and 14 of the 31 V., c. 42 relating to the sale of liquor, taking of persons and seizure of presents, &c., for debts. They continue to receive tribal annuities. The land so allocated shall bear the same proportion to the whole reserve as the locatees bear to the heads of families, and males above fourteen, thereon. The Superintendent-General appoints tutors to the minor children, and the widow receives their share of Indian monies and lives on the land so long as she lives respectably. Any Indian falsely representing himself as enfranchised is liable to three months' imprisonment, on conviction before a Justice of the Peace. Indians not enfranchised may sue for debts, or for wrong inflicted, or to compel fulfilment of an obligation.

whether he will be tried summarily before him, or be sent before a jury. If he selects the former he is tried at once; if the latter, he is examined, and, if the evidence is sufficient, committed for trial. In cases tried under this Act sentences may be as much as six months' imprisonment, or fine to the amount of \$100, or both, with six months additional if fine is not paid. Under the Act for "Speedy trials of offences," any person in Ontario or Quebec committed for trial for an offence which may be tried at General Sessions may, by his own consent, be tried by the Judge out of Session. The Sheriff, within twenty-four hours, must notify the Judge who orders the prisoner before him immediately, when he reads the charge to him and asks him whether he elects to be tried by him or by a jury; if the prisoner consents and pleads guilty he is sentenced at once; if he pleads not guilty, an early day is fixed and the trial takes place. These two Acts were a great relief to the overcrowded Criminal Courts, the dockets of which were filled with petty cases which could much better be settled in this way. Besides, they allow the prisoner to get his term of punishment fixed at once, so that he may begin to serve it out immediately instead of having to wait months for a trial as used to be the case. Another very excellent Act passed at this session was that relating to the execution and sentence of death, by which it is provided that the execution shall take place within the prison, and no person be permitted admission except the necessary officers, and other persons admitted by special order of the Sheriff. The terribly disgusting scenes which had been witnessed at public hangings, and the evil effect which they had, led to the adoption of this system of private executions in England, and the good results arising from it there fully warranted its introduction into Canada, where its effects have, so far, proved very satisfactory.\* An Act was also passed for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which inflicts fines of from \$1 to \$10, or thirty days in default of payment, for

\* The last public execution which took place in Canada was that of P. J. Whelan at Ottawa, on 11th February, 1869, for the murder of Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee.

wantonly, cruelly or unnecessarily beating, binding or ill-treating, abusing or torturing any horse, cattle, poultry, dog or domestic animal or bird, or causing them mischief by negligence or ill-usage. Acts were also passed relating to contagious diseases of animals, investigation into shipwrecks, steamboat inspection, improvement of harbors, pilotage, &c. The Supply Bill granted \$380,904 for the financial year 1868-9, and \$14,205,016 for the year 1869-70; and authorized a loan of \$1,460,000 for the purchase of the North-West Territory from the Hudson's Bay Company, and a further loan of \$1,460,000 for other expenses relative to that Territory. The borrowing powers of the Government were reduced from \$8,380,000 to \$7,000,000, exclusive of the balance of the Intercolonial and Fortification loans, the issue of Dominion stock to Insurance Companies, and the unissued Dominion notes. Amongst the most important Local and Private Bills was one to give effect to an agreement between the Great Western Railway Company and the Government, the latter receiving \$2,768,234 in full of all claims in four per cent. bonds, secured on the road, property and revenue of the Company; one to amend the Act relating to the Trinity House, Quebec; one to amend the Charter of the Toronto Board of Trade, enlarging the limit of membership; one to incorporate the St. Thomas Board of Trade, and Acts to incorporate the Merchants' Bank, of Halifax with \$1,000,000 capital; the Dominion Bank, Toronto, with \$1,000,000 capital; the Dominion Mutual Life Guarantee Insurance Company, with \$1,000,000, and the Canada Marine Insurance Company, with \$2,000,000 capital. During the session an Election Bill and a Bill providing for a Supreme Court of the Dominion were introduced by Sir John A. Macdonald, but allowed to lie over.

14.—Shortly after the prorogation of Parliament Hon. Mr. Rose visited Washington with a view to a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, but nothing came of the negotiations, and it soon began to be rumoured that he

was about to retire from the Cabinet and accept a partnership in an American Banking house doing business in London. These rumours were confirmed during the summer, but it was not until October that he resigned his portfolio, and sailed shortly after for England. Rumour had for some time been busy with the name of his successor, and Sir A. T. Galt had been freely spoken of as likely to resume his old position in the Cabinet, but although he was offered the seat, and urged to accept it, he declined, preferring to remain a private member, and the position was finally filled by the appointment of Sir Francis Hincks, on the ninth of October. Sir Francis had been absent from Canada fourteen years, during half of which period he had been Governor of Barbadoes and the Windward Islands, and for the remainder Governor of British Guiana. He returned to Canada on the expiration of his last term of office, with the intention of only paying a visit and then accepting another Governorship which had been offered him; but becoming desirous of remaining in his native country, he determined on re-entering public life, and accepted the portfolio of Minister of Finance. His appointment was well received by the supporters of the Government and the country generally, but he was bitterly attacked by the Opposition press and his former public career severely criticised. Mr. Rankin, the member for North Renfrew, having resigned his seat, Sir Francis offered himself for the constituency—which he had represented in the old Parliament of Canada just previous to his temporary retirement from public life. He was opposed by Mr. J. Findlay, and the contest was very keen, but Sir Francis was elected by 120 majority. In the following month all the vacancies were filled by the admission of Messrs. Christopher Dunkin, J. C. Aikins and Alex. Morris, and the Cabinet was reconstructed, many of the members changing their portfolios. The Cabinet as finally arranged stood as follows:

HON. SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD, K.C.B., D.C.L., Q.C.  
Conservative, Ontario, M.P., Premier and Minister of Justice.

Resignation of Hon.  
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#### 15.—The Cabinet

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 HON. SIR FRANCIS HINCKS, K.C.M.G., C.B., Liberal, Ontario, M.P., Minister of Finance.  
 HON. SIR EDWARD KENNY, Kt., Nova Scotia, Senator, President Privy Council.  
 HON. SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY, Liberal, New Brunswick, M.P., Minister of Customs.  
 HON. HECTOR LOUIS LANGEVIN, Conservative, Quebec, M.P., Minister of Public Works.  
 HON. ALEXANDER MORRIS, D.C.L., Conservative, Ontario, M.P., Minister of Inland Revenue.  
 HON. JOSEPH HOWE, Liberal, Nova Scotia, M.P., Secretary of State for the Province.  
 HON. PETER MITCHELL, Liberal, New Brunswick, Senator, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.  
 HON. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Conservative, Ontario, Senator, Postmaster-General.  
 HON. CHRISTOPHER DUNKIN, D.C.L., Q.C., Conservative, Quebec, M.P., Minister of Agriculture.  
 HON. JEAN CHARLES CHAPLAIN, Conservative, Quebec, Senator, Receiver-General.  
 HON. JAMES COX AIKENS, Liberal, Ontario, Senator, Secretary of State and Registrar-General.

15.—It will be seen, by a comparison with the Cabinet as originally formed, that although Sir John A. Macdonald still kept to his plan of having all the Provinces, both Houses, and

Review of the changes in the Cabinet.

both parties represented in his Cabinet according to their relative strength and importance, he had somewhat modified it, for although the Provinces had still their same number of representatives each, neither the Houses nor the parties retained their relative proportions, there being five members of the Senate in the Ministry now in place of four, and three Conservatives from Ontario instead of two. The addition of another Senator seems to have been made on account of the difficulty which any Liberal member of the House who had accepted office would have had in gaining his re-election; and the adding of one Conservative to the number from Ontario appears to have been partly caused by the gains made by that party at the general election, and partly by the inclination, now that Confederation was fully accomplished and the Government well established, to gradually abandon Coalition and form a party Administration. Coalition had served its purpose, and there were now enough

questions of great national importance arising on which to divide two great parties, so that from this time forward we see Sir John abandoning the idea of having "all shades of political opinion" represented in his Cabinet, and recruiting his strength from the ranks of his own party. Indeed the *Globe* claimed, after the reconstruction of the Cabinet, that there was not a member of the Reform party in it, and that, as far at least as Ontario was concerned, all traces of Coalition had disappeared. Sir Francis Hincks, it claimed, had joined the Conservative party in 1854, and had, also, been out of political life for fourteen years; and it disputed his title to be called a representative of Ontario, as he had lived in Quebec, or out of the country since 1843. Mr. Aikens, it asserted, no longer belonged to the Reform party, had not appealed to a constituency for years, and could not get elected in any part of Western Ontario. As for Mr. Morris, it designated him as "a servile partisan of Sir John A. Macdonald." The change was, however, pleasing to the *Globe*, as it carried out Mr. Brown's idea of party government.

16.—Turning from political to social events, we find that, in July, His Excellency the Governor-General took a tour through Quebec the Lower Provinces, and everywhere

Tour of the Governor-General through the Lower Provinces.

enthusiastically welcomed, except in Nova Scotia, where the Repealers had the bad taste to endeavour to prevent his being accorded any public welcome, but were overruled by the majority of the people. At Quebec he was entertained at a banquet and civic ball, and sailed for the Lower Provinces on the second of August, in the Government steamer *Napoleon III.*, visiting New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island where he was cordially received. The people of Pictou, N. S., decided by a vote of 68 to 41 not to present him with an address of welcome, and an attempt was made to pass a similar resolution at a public meeting at Halifax, held on the tenth of August, but failed, and on his arrival, on sixteenth, he was presented with a cordial address. On the eighteenth he formally

opened the Windsor and Annapolis Railway, and on the nineteenth was entertained at a grand banquet, from which, however, the members of the Local Government carefully kept away, in order to show their anti-union proclivities. On leaving Halifax he went to St. John, N.B., where he was loyally entertained, and returned to Quebec where he remained for a considerable time.

17.—The great social event of the year however was the visit of Prince Arthur, who had been gazetted to the Rifle Brigade on 19th June, 1868, and was now ordered to join his corps, which at that time was stationed in Canada. He arrived at Halifax in the steamer *City of Paris*, on the 22nd of August, and was received by His Excellency the Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governor and a guard of honor on his landing. Halifax put on its most holiday attire and held high carnival during his stay, entertaining him at a grand banquet on the twenty-fourth, and a ball on the thirtieth. From Halifax he visited other parts of the Province and paid visits to Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, receiving everywhere a most enthusiastic reception. On the fifteenth of September he reached Quebec and spent four days there which were made one continued round of gaiety, a grand ball being given by the Lieutenant-Governor, and other entertainments. On the nineteenth he started for London, Ont., where he was to open the Provincial Exhibition. All along the route he was met with tokens of love and affection, and such displays of loyalty as the brief time would permit. At London he received a perfect ovation, about 35,000 people attending the opening, and a grand ball being held in the evening. After visiting Niagara Falls and Buffalo he reached Toronto on the second of October, and the "Queen City" fairly excelled herself in her efforts to do honor to the son of England's Queen; the ball held on the fourth being the grandest affair given in the city since the visit of Prince of Wales. On the fifth he went from Toronto to Weston, and there turned the first sod of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce

Railway, this being the only occasion in Canada when the first sod of a railway has been turned by a Prince of the Royal Blood. On the sixth he visited Kingston, where a grand ball was given in his honor, and on the eighth arrived in Montreal. There a house had been taken and furnished for him, as it was intended that he should pass the winter there with his regiment. His reception was quite as cordial as at other points. After a brief rest at Montreal, H. R. H. paid a visit to Ottawa, where he received an enthusiastic welcome, and afterwards enjoyed a hunting trip to the Upper Ottawa, taking a view at the lumbering shanties by the way, returning to Montreal on the twenty-first of October.

18.—The visit of Prince Arthur at this particular time had more than ordinary significance. The accomplishment of Confederation had disturbed two small classes of the community, in different ways, but tending towards the same result—a severance of connection with the British Empire. One class was so much elated at the consolidation of the Dominion, that it thought we might venture to ask to be allowed to go one step further, and become an entirely Independent Nation, preserving friendly relations with Great Britain, but forming no part of the Empire, and entirely free from British control; another small class—daily growing smaller—was dissatisfied with Confederation, and desired annexation to the United States, thinking that that course would promote the prosperity of the country more than any Union of the Provinces and connection with the Empire. Both these small classes received a severe shock from the visit of the Prince; for everywhere was his reception so enthusiastic, the love and devotion of the great mass to the people of the Crown so manifest, so deep and so loyal, that Annexationists and Independents had to hide their heads for very shame, and those foreigners who had been misled by these false cries into the belief that the people of Canada had any desire to change their relations towards the Mother Country, were quickly convinced of their mistake and

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compelled to admit that Canada was never more loyal, never more devoted, never more proud of forming a portion of the Empire than at this time; and that their most fervent wish was that the bond of love and duty might be made firmer. The *Globe* in commenting on this visit very justly said: "At the present moment it bears a significance which it would be unwise to disregard. It is asserted by many abroad who are ignorant of our position, and by an insignificant clique in our own Dominion, actuated by selfish motives, that our welfare and advancement depend on our renouncing allegiance to Great Britain, and starting in some, as yet undefined direction on our own responsibility. That such statements are untrue we have before now shown, and the bearing of the people towards Prince Arthur makes manifest how little effect they have had upon the public mind of Canada. Our sentiments towards the Mother Country cannot be mistaken by those who seek to know the truth, and it is undeniable that in whatever form the future connection between Great Britain and her colonies may be resolved upon by those competent to decide, Canada will be found foremost amongst those who desire to strengthen the ties that natural affection, natural assistance, similarity of ideas and identity of sympathy may select as best calculated to cement the union of the British Empire."

19.—Then, as a whole, the year eighteen hundred and sixty-nine was a prosperous and satisfactory one for the New Dominion. The crops, although not unusually large, were abundant; prices for necessities of life ruled at moderate rates; and trade, without being very large, was sufficient to show a sound, healthy tone, and gave evidence of a fair average prosperity. There were no large financial failures, and the only Bank difficulty of any kind was the temporary suspension of the Royal Canadian Bank, which caused some little inconvenience, but involved no loss to depositors or note-holders, except to such of the latter who were nervous at the moment of suspension and hastily disposed of their bills at a

discount before the real condition of the Bank had been ascertained. Rumors of the Bank having sustained heavy losses caused a run to be made on it, and, on the twenty-second day of May, the Directors thought it most prudent to suspend payments until the affairs of the Bank could be fully examined. This was done by Mr. Yarker, Manager of the Toronto branch of the Bank of Montreal, who made a report on the seventeenth of August, showing that by defalcations and bad debts the capital of the Bank had been impaired to the extent of about twenty per cent. A change of Directors was made and an effort made to amalgamate with another Bank, but, after some negotiation with the Merchants' Bank, the proposed arrangement fell through, and the Bank resumed business on the 13th of October under its own officers, and so continued until its amalgamation with the City Bank, of Montreal, when the name was changed to the Consolidated Bank, under which it now exists. Amongst the minor events of the year were the execution of Patrick Whelan at Ottawa, on the eleventh of February, for the murder of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, which we have already referred to, and the acquittal of Patrick Buckley and others accused of complicity in that crime. During the summer Father McMahon, who had been condemned to death and afterwards had his sentence commuted to imprisonment for life for taking part in the Fenian raids of 1866, was released from Kingston Penitentiary, where he had served out more than three years of his term. He showed his appreciation of the clemency extended to him by going to New York and violently attacking Great Britain and Canada. Another "Fenian scare" was raised in October, but beyond causing a little activity among the volunteers, had no result. In July, Her Majesty was pleased to bestow the honor of knighthood on the Hon. A. T. Galt, in recognition of his services in accomplishing Confederation, thus completing the list of those on whom honors were bestowed for their share in that noble work. There was one, however, who had strongly and zealously advocated

General review of the  
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Confederation, but who derived no honors from its accomplishment, however much he may have deserved them, and that was the Hon. George Brown, who had left the Government he had joined for the purpose of carrying Confederation before the work was accomplished, and so lost recognition of his services. It would have been a graceful act of the Government to have shown some appreciation of Mr. Brown's services, although he did happen to be in opposition to the Local Administration at the time the work was completed. On this subject the *Quebec Chronicle*—a strong Conservative organ—under date 19th July, said: "We deem this a proper occasion to endorse cordially the opinion of some of our contemporaries, that in recognition of the services of those most prominently concerned in Confederation, the Hon. George Brown should not be passed over. Much as we have differed from him in opinion at times, and strongly as we have condemned some of his courses, truth and justice compel us to say that he has, both in opposition and in office, rendered Canada good service, and particularly in promoting Colonial Union. In the latter work he made greater sacrifices than many of his colleagues, and had to face difficulties they never experienced."

## CHAPTER IX.

### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG—THE NORTH-WEST.

1. FEELING IN THE NORTH-WEST AGAINST UNION WITH CANADA.—2. REASONS WHY THE FRENCH HALF-BREEDS FEARED UNION.—3. BISHOP TACHÉ'S NON-PROGRESSIVE POLICY.—4. THE ELEMENTS OF WHICH THE POPULATION OF THE NORTH-WEST WAS COMPOSED.—5. A GOVERNMENT INDEPENDENT OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ATTEMPTED AT PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.—6. THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE A TRANSFER UNTIL ARRANGE-

MENTS ARE MADE WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.—7. TERMS FINALLY AGREED TO FOR THE TRANSFER.—8. A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT PROVIDED FOR THE NORTH-WEST.—9. SURVEYS ORDERED PREPARATORY TO LAYING OUT TOWNSHIPS.—10. HON. W. MACDOUGALL APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY. HIS INSTRUCTIONS.—11. VISIT OF HON JOSEPH HOWE TO RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.—12. HON. MR. MACDOUGALL RECEIVES WARNING NOT TO ENTER THE TERRITORY.—13. FRENCH HALF-BREEDS DETERMINED TO OPPOSE ENTRANCE OF THE GOVERNOR.—14. HON. MR. MACDOUGALL DRIVEN OUT OF THE TERRITORY.

1.—We return again to affairs in the North-West. It will be remembered that on the 23rd of December, 1867, an address <sup>Feeling in the North-West against Union with the Dominion.</sup> was passed in Parliament praying Her Majesty for the annexation of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory to the Dominion. The proposition to transfer this vast territory from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company to that of Canada by no means met with general approval from all the inhabitants of the country, the objections coming chiefly from the French Half-breeds, led by the Catholic priests—and at a later period than that of which we are now writing, from the resident officers and employés of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1868 Bishop (now Archbishop) Taché published a very interesting little book entitled "A Sketch of the North-West of America," one of the main purposes of which was to show that the country was not nearly so fertile as it had been represented; that the winters were very long and cold, and the summers very short and hot, and that it was not an attractive place for settlers. The worthy Bishop evidently thought that the Red River Settlement was well enough as it was, and did not advocate any change. After giving a brief sketch of the Colony,\* and

\* The following account of the extent, mode of government, &c., of the Colony in 1868, is taken from Archbishop Taché's work:

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alluding to the proposed annexation of Rupert's Land to the Dominion he says: "Offspring of Rupert's Land, it will follow its mother and be ruled by the influences which affect her. Yet although not quite free, the child has acquired certain rights; it possesses or occupies lands for which it has not always paid; it has cultivated them with its labor. True—the labor has not

with a radius of only sixty miles, about a point at the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The colony has then the advantage of extending all round the compass. Although under the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company, the Red River settlement has a distinct political existence, time has developed a constitution for it, which, in theory, is the same as in the days of the Company's monopoly, but in practice now very different. The affairs of the settlement are managed by a Governor, who is not always the Governor of Rupert's Land—who has not even been invariably a member of the Company. The Honorable Judge F. Johnson was once Governor here; Colonel Coldwell, who was Governor before him was not only not a member of the Company, but was appointed by the Crown. To assist the Governor of Assiniboia there is a Council of an indefinite number of members. The members are also nominated by the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company, but justice requires that we should say that—without introducing the principle of public election—the Company during the past twelve years, at any rate within my personal knowledge, has been guided in its selection of Councillors, rather by the public voice than by its own interests, at least its mercantile interest. It has selected several Councillors from amongst those who have been most warmly opposed to its trading. It is true that on two occasions it refused to appoint citizens who presented numerous signed petitions in their favor; but it must be remembered—and I have official proof of the fact—that these gentlemen anticipating a refusal which otherwise they would not have experienced, publicly loaded the Company and Council of the Colony with so much gratuitous abuse that their appointment became an impossibility, as much for the sake of the honor of the Company itself as for the honor of the Council, of which many members would have resigned had men thus disposed been forced upon them as colleagues. However, the Executive Council—which is also legislative—is not chosen by suffrage. It is composed of various elements selected from people of fair intelligence amongst the different classes of society in the colony.

"If the selection of Councillors does not meet with universal approval, it is, I think, at all events, as good as could be expected were it entrusted to others than the Governor. Although I am myself a member of Council, conscientious conviction obliges me to declare that it conducts public business most faithfully. The Governor does not exercise any influence over it other than that which is lawful and reasonable, and limited by the interests of the members, of whom only one belongs to the Company.

"Law is administered by a chief judge called 'Recorder,' assisted by Justices of the Peace. Councillors and Justices *ex officio*. This tribunal is our Supreme Court, and sits quarterly. In addition, small courts to enquire into civil causes of secondary importance, sit monthly in the central district, and bi-monthly in all the others.

"A justice of the peace, assisted by several magistrates, presides in these courts. The magistrates are appointed by the Colonial Council.

"The Governor and Recorder, the only officers whose salaries are of importance, are paid by the Company. The salaries of the other officers are so small as to be drawn from the Colonial Treasury. This treasury is not the main resources of the Company—far from it.

"The public revenue is derived from an import duty of four per cent. on the cost price of articles. Many articles—amongst others, agricultural implements—are not subjected to this charge. Licenses and fines are the other sources of revenue. The Company is on the same footing as individuals with reference to the import duties.

"The public accounts of the Colony of Assiniboia have an advantage which many governments—even elective ones—might envy, they always show an excess of receipts. The Councillors, not being elected by the people, dare not tax them, much less draw large salaries from them."

The little settlement has a population of about 10,000, speaking French, English, Gaelic, Saulteux, Cree, &c.

always been great; but we speak of a child of the desert. It commands indulgence; it presumes to hope that here the foreigner shall not be preferred; that in the great and wise plans matured by the Mother Country, and Canada, its eldest brother, its past history may not be entirely disregarded. In the colony itself there is nervousness and uneasiness about the future. Some who hope to gain by any change, are clamorous for one; others dwelling more upon the system of government than upon its application, would like to try a change, certain that they would never return to the primitive state from which they desired to escape; a greater number—the majority—dread that change. Many are very reasonable; the country might gain by the change, and it would certainly obtain many advantages which it now lacks; but the existing population would certainly be losers. As we love the people more than the land in which they live, as we prefer the well-being of the former to the splendor of the latter, we now repeat that, for our population we very much dread some of the promised changes." It is only just to the Bishop to explain that when he speaks of "our population" he refers more particularly to the Roman Catholics and French Half-breeds.

2.—The fears of the worthy Bishop, and of his flock, were very similar to those entertained by the French Canadians in Quebec. They dreaded English emigration, from the fear that it would sweep away their peculiar institutions, supplant their language and interfere with their religion. This has always been the fear of French Catholics, and the experience of nearly a century and a quarter, in Quebec, has failed to entirely persuade them that the English have no designs on either their language or religion, other than that which the regular course of events must produce. The French language is, to a great extent, falling into disuse in the large cities, and will, probably, continue to do so as their trade and commerce increase, for the great bulk of the immigrant settling in the towns and

Reasons why the French Half-breeds feared Union.



cities are English speaking, and, of course, the language is gradually superseding French in the business centres, the French Canadians finding that it is more necessary for them to understand and speak English—which may be called the language of trade and commerce—than it is for the English to understand and speak French; but in the country French still holds its own, and probably will do so for centuries yet to come, and there is no reason to fear that any effort will ever be made to deprive the *habitants* of their native tongue. So, too, with religion; the Roman Catholics have to-day as full and free exercise of their religion as they ever had under French rule, and there is no real reason to fear that that right will ever be tampered with; still the fear—unjust though it be—remains, and we see it cropping up whenever English energy and English enterprise open up new fields in Canada, which the French Catholics fancy might be turned to their disadvantage.

3.—The fundamental cause for this fear is, of course, to be found in the difference between the Roman Catholic and Protestant faith, the former of which is essentially conservative in all things, believing in no change in the Church and very little in anything else, while the latter is eminently progressive and constantly changing everything—itsself included. The objection on the part of the French Half-breeds of Red River, in the first instance, to the transfer of the territory to Canada was confined to this dread of change, and the Archbishop—who speaks for the whole French element—frankly confesses that he is quite content with things as they are and does not desire any alteration, although he admits that it might be to the advantage of the country. So fearful, indeed, is he of innovations that he is almost comically earnest in his endeavors to persuade outsiders that the Red River territory is a good place for them to keep out of; and even so important an event as the appearance of a steamer on the river is regarded distrustfully by him, and after sketching the fortunes of the first steamer, the

Bishop Taché's non-progressive policy.  
First Steamer on Red River.

*Anson Northup*, which arrived from St. Peters in June, 1859, and her successor, the *International*, launched at Georgetown in 1862, up to the season of 1868, seems rather pleased than otherwise that up to that time the undertaking had not been successful, and concludes his account as follows: "Such has been the experience of eight years; the steamer (*International*) could not ply during half the time, and during the other half she was a complete failure. The result has slightly disappointed bright hopes and money making schemes. Now the idea of a steamer on Red River does not cause the enthusiasm which it excited at first. Wealthy people and merchants, taught by experience and disappointment, fear uncertainty. Poor people are decidedly against steam navigation for the following three reasons: 1st. The Red River abounds in fish and supports a great number of the necessitous. It is well known that steamboats are not skilful in the art of pisciculture. 2nd. Wood is very scarce on the banks of Red River, yet it is very much wanted there, and the *fire canoes* make war against the fuel on the banks, as well as against the food swimming in the water. 3rd. Land carriage from the United States hither, is an abundant source of profit to the land owners of the colony, who thus employ their horses and oxen; but the running of the steamer deprives them of this advantage, and all the money paid for cartage from St. Cloud to Georgetown goes into American pockets." Such objections sound puerile enough in our ears, but they are gravely urged by the Archbishop, in his conservative desire to have things remain as they were, as reasons why "Poor people are decidedly against steam navigation."

4.—But if the Archbishop and the French Half-breeds were content with their isolated position, content with the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, content with the miserable apology for government, and content to be allowed no voice in the management of their own affairs, there were other elements in the population which desired to be freed from the

The elements of which the population of the North-West was composed.

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incubus of the Company, and to assert their right to a voice in the government of themselves. These elements were the English Half-breeds and the Canadians (mostly from Ontario) and the Americans who had found their way into the settlement. Small as was the population of this vast country ten years ago, there was considerable variety about it. Archbishop Taché says: "Fourteen civilized nations and twenty-two Indian tribes, with Half-breeds—the offspring of intermarriage between these different races—have scattered over the immense territory, about which I am writing, the extremely small population inhabiting it." The English Half-breeds, as they are called, although they are mostly of Scotch origin, are the descendants of the settlers brought out by Lord Selkirk and of employes of the Hudson's Bay Company by intermarriages with the Indians, just as the French Half-breeds are descended from the old French *voyageurs* who roamed the woods and associated with the Indians before the English conquered Canada. Of the two races the English are by far the most intelligent, are more industrious and mainly devoted to agriculture, while the French are for the most part hunters and trappers, and still preserve much of the old *voyageur* stamp about them, being rather disposed to be lazy, very fond of pleasure and much addicted to drunkenness. These distinctions of French and English Half-breeds refer to the language spoken by them rather than to the stock from whence they sprung, for many Scotch names are found amongst the French Half-breeds, and *vice versa*. Archbishop Taché admits "the so-called English population occupies a more important place in our midst than does that in which the French element predominates," and goes on to state as a reason "for the greater prosperity of the English that they include a great majority of the women who come from abroad," and also that they were better educated, and so gave superior training to their children.

5.—The English element had long been chafing under the restraint of the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany, and in June, 1867, a memorial was addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by a number of settlers near Lake Manitoba, praying for the establishment of a responsible government. No attention being paid to this request, early in 1868 an attempt was made to establish an independent Republic under the protectorate of Great Britain, and Provisional Officers were elected, and an address presented to the Colonial Secretary.\* It will be observed by reference to the boundaries laid down in the address, that this miniature Republic "of settlers who number over four hundred," was not part of Assinibonia, or Red River, but was intended to cover a small tract of adjoining territory, which now, together with the Red River Settlement, forms part of the Province of Manitoba. These "four hun-

\* LA PRAIRIE, MANITOBA, *via* Red River Settlement, February 19th, 1868.

My LORD.—As President elect by the people of the newly organized Government and Council of Manitoba, in British territory, I have the dutiful honor of laying before your Lordship, for the consideration of Her Most Gracious Majesty, our beloved Queen, the circumstances attending the creation of this self-supporting petty government in this isolated portion of Her Majesty's Dominions, and as loyal British subjects we humbly and sincerely trust that Her Most Gracious Majesty and her advisers will be pleased forthwith to give this government favorable recognition, it being simply our aim to develop our resources, improve the condition of the people, and generally advance and preserve British interests in this rising Far-West.

An humble address from the people of this settlement to Her Majesty the Queen was forwarded through the Governor-General of Canada in June last, briefly setting forth the superior attractions of this portion of the British dominions, the growing population and gradual influx of emigrants, and humbly praying for a recognition, law and protection, to which no reply or acknowledgment has yet reached this people.

Early in January last, at a public meeting of settlers, who number over four hundred, it was unanimously declared to at once proceed to the election and construction of a government, which has accordingly been duly carried out, a revenue imposed, public buildings commenced to carry out the laws, provision made for Indian tribes, construction of roads, and other public works tending to promote the interests and welfare of the people. The boundaries of the jurisdiction being for the time proclaimed as follows:

*North*.—From a point running due north, from the boundary line of Assinibonia until it strikes Lake Manitoba; thence from the point struck a straight line across the said lake to Manitoba port; thence by latitudinal line 51, till it intersects line of longitude 100.

*West*.—By line of longitude 100, to the boundary of the United States and British America.

*East*.—The boundary line of the jurisdiction of the Council of Assinibonia.

*South*.—The boundary line between British North America and the United States.

I have the honor to remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant.

T. SPENCE, President of the Council.

To the Secretary of State  
for Colonial Affairs,  
London, England.

A Government independent of the Hudson's Bay Company attempted at Portage La Prairie.



dred settlers" were English Half-breeds and a few settlers from Canada, who desired to form a government independent of Hudson's Bay Company, under which they could enjoy the same privileges and political rights that they had been accustomed to in Canada. They must not be considered as being antagonistic to the cession of the Territory to the Dominion, for at the time of their taking action it was not known that application for permission to annex the Territory would be so soon made by the Dominion Parliament, and as soon as the President was informed that his action was illegal and that steps were being taken to annex the Territory to the Dominion, all attempt to establish an independent government was abandoned.\*

6.—The desire of the Dominion Government to have Rupert's Land and the North-West

The Imperial Government refuses to negotiate a transfer until arrangements are made with the H. B. Co.

Territories transferred, in accordance with the provisions of the British North America Act, and after that to settle the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, was not to be so easily attained as had been hoped, nor was it to be attained at all on the terms at first proposed. The Hudson's Bay Company was not at all disposed to allow the transfer to be made until the Dominion Government had agreed as to the terms on which it was to relinquish its title, and had no intention of seeking redress in the Canadian Courts—with the right of appeal to the Privy Council—but preferred to have it all stipulated beforehand how much was to be paid, and how it was to be paid, and the Hudson's Bay Company having more influence with the British Ministry than the Canadian Government, of course had its way, and eventually forced the Government of the Dominion to make

\* Mr. Thomas Spence, in his evidence before the Select Committee of Parliament, in May, 1874, gave the following account of this, the first attempt to form an Independent Government in the North-West:

"I had organized a Provisional Government in 1867, over a part of the territory which was occupied by about four hundred people. I had communicated this organization to the Imperial Government, and upon hearing from the Imperial Authorities that our proceedings were illegal, the organization was broken up. This matter had nothing whatever to do with the outbreak or disturbances in 1869 or 1870. This organization was made simply as a matter of protection for ourselves, as we were outside the government of the Council of Assiniboia, as Governor MacTavish informed me himself."

terms. On the fifteenth of May, 1868, Lord Monck sent down to the Dominion Parliament a despatch from the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which he acknowledges receipt of the despatch of 21st December, 1867, forwarding the address, and states in effect that Her Majesty's Government considered that the Hudson's Bay Company had a good title to *something*, and that that something and its value ought to be determined and ascertained before any change in the existing state of affairs took place. This despatch, so disappointing to the hopes of Canadians, was accompanied by letters from Sir Edmund Head—ex-Governor-General of the old Province of Canada, and President of the Hudson's Bay Company—to the Colonial Secretary, in which he strongly urged the claims of the Company and that they should be fully acknowledged before any transfer was made to Canada, a view which the Colonial Secretary coincided in by stating in his despatch to Lord Monck that a bill based on the propositions of the Hudson's Bay Company would be presented to the Imperial Parliament.

7.—This despatch was received so late in the session that no action was taken on it; but later in the year Sir George E. Cartier and Hon. William Macdougall Terms finally agreed to for the transfer. were appointed by an order in Council, a delegation to proceed to England to settle the terms for the acquisition by Canada of Rupert's Land, and to arrange for the admission of the North-West Territory, with or without Rupert's Land. These gentlemen sailed on the third of October, 1868, and on their arrival in England, immediately put themselves in communication with the Duke of Buckingham, who had already opened negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company with a view to transferring the territory. Some time was spent in negotiating; the Company, at first, demanding terms which the Commissioners could not entertain; but subsequently modifying their demands so that they could be agreed to. The original proposition of the Company was to the effect that the Company should relinquish its right of government,

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A Territorial Government provided for the North-West.

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claim to the land, &c., but retain a royalty interest in the land and mines, as well as a certain reservation for hunting and some trading privileges. This proposition the Commissioners declined, maintaining that whatever arrangement was made must be conclusive, and that all right or title to the land must be absolutely relinquished by the Company. While the negotiations were in progress, the Government of Mr. D'Israeli was defeated, and Earl Granville became Secretary of State for the Colonies. This caused some delay, and it was not until 18th January, 1869, that negotiations were resumed, and were concluded, as far as the Commissioners were concerned, on the 9th March, and the terms afterwards agreed to by the Hudson's Bay Company. These terms were, substantially, that the Dominion Government should pay the Hudson's Bay Company £300,000 on the surrender of their rights to the Imperial Government, and that the Imperial Government should, within one month of such transfer, re-transfer the same to Canada. The Company retained small reservations of land in the vicinity of their forts and trading posts, which were under cultivation, and some sections of land in the North-West, but relinquished all further title in the land, and all exclusive trading, fishing, or other privileges, Government agreeing to respect the rights of the Indians and Half-breeds. The Imperial Government agreed to guarantee the loan of £300,000 necessary to pay the Hudson's Bay Company, and a Bill was passed to that effect, on condition of certain requirements being complied with by the Dominion Government. The preliminaries being, apparently, all amicably settled, there seemed to be nothing to do but to pay over the money and transfer the property—the date of such transfer being fixed for the first of October, 1869.

8.—During the session of 1869, an Act was passed by the Dominion Parliament providing a Territorial Government for the country to be acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company; and in the Supply Bill provision was made for the Government borrowing \$1,460,000, under Im-

perial guarantee, to complete the purchase of the Territory from the Company, and also for an additional loan, without guarantee, of such sums as may be needed for improvements in the Territory. These Acts were passed in anticipation of the actual transfer, so that the machinery of government might be ready when that event occurred. The Act provided for the temporary government of the country to be acquired, and which was to be known as "The North-West Territories," by a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General in Council, who, under direction of the Governor in Council, was to provide for the administration of justice, the peace, order and good government of Her Majesty's subjects and others. The Governor in Council was also authorized to appoint a Council of not less than seven and not more than fifteen members to assist the Lieutenant-Governor. All laws in force in the territory at the time of the passage of the Act, not inconsistent with the British North America Act, or the terms of admission, were to remain in force until amended or repealed; and all public officers, except the Chief, were to continue in office until others were appointed.

9.—The preliminaries being thus all arranged the Dominion Government lost no time in preparing for the actual transfer, and wishing to take advantage of the summer for surveying the lines of the townships into which it was proposed to divide the Red River Settlement, Colonel J. S. Dennis, P.L.S., was, on 10th July, 1869, directed by Hon. William Macdougall, Minister of Public Works, to repair to the Red River and prepare a plan for laying out said townships. Col. Dennis at once proceeded with his work, and, after consulting with the Crown Land Departments of Canada and the United States, submitted a report to Mr. Macdougall, in which he not only suggested a plan of survey, but intimated that it was possible that there would be objection on the part of the French Half-breeds to any survey in their section of the country, until their claims had been investigated and definitely settled by the Dominion Govern-

Surveys ordered  
preparatory to  
laying out townships.

A Territorial  
Government  
provided for the  
North-West.

ment.\* Mr. Macdougall, however, seems not to have been impressed by Colonel Dennis' fears of trouble with the Half-breeds, and, on the twenty-second of September, submitted a memorandum to the Privy Council, recommending Col. Dennis' plan of surveys. The memorandum was approved in Council, and an order issued, on the fourth of October, to Col. Dennis to proceed with his surveys. Mr. Macdougall does not appear to have considered seriously the probability of trouble referred to by Colonel Dennis, and did not submit his letters on the subject to the Council with any recommendation. The plan submitted by Colonel Dennis, and approved by the Council, on recommendation of Mr. Macdougall, was as follows: 1. The system to be rectangular. All townships and sections to be East and West, or North and South. 2. The townships to number northerly from the 49th parallel, and the ranges of townships to

number East and West from a given meridian. This meridian to be drawn from the 49th parallel, at a point, say ten miles West of Pembina, and to be called the Winnipeg Meridian. 3. The townships to consist of 64 squares of 800 acres each, and to contain a section 40 acres, or five per cent in area in each section, as an allowance for public highways. 4. The townships on the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where the same have had ranges of farm lots laid out by the Company, to be surveyed, the broken sections butting against the rear limits of such ranges, so as to leave the same intact as independent grants.

10.—Owing to a difficulty with the Home Government with regard to the paying over of the £300,000 agreed on to the Hudson's Bay Company, the date of the transfer of the territory was postponed from the first of October to the first of December; but the Dominion Government still proceeded with its preparations for taking possession, and, on the twenty-eighth of September, an Order in Council was passed appointing the Honorable William Macdougall Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, at a salary of \$7,000 per annum. The Commission which was subsequently issued to Mr. Macdougall was to take effect after the transfer of the Territory, and the other Commissions for taking oaths, &c., were issued in the same manner. Mr. Macdougall was directed to proceed to Fort Garry with as little delay as possible, and on his arrival place himself in communication with Mr. McTavish, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, as set forth in the preliminary instructions addressed to him from the office of the Secretary of State for the Provinces. By perusing these instructions it will be seen that the Canadian Government desired to deal fairly and justly by all classes, respect all rights, and, gradually, to prepare the way for introducing the Judicial, Educational and other systems adopted in the older Provinces; but, unfortunately, the inhabitants of the settlement were not made fully aware of the intentions of the Government, and, the

\* The following extract from a letter addressed to Hon. William Macdougall by Colonel Dennis, dated 21st August, 1869, will clearly show his views, as gained by actual intercourse with the people of the settlement:

"I find that a considerable degree of irritation exists among the native population in view of surveys and settlements being made without the Indian title having been first extinguished. You will, no doubt, have become aware that the Half-breeds lately, in a public meeting, called the Company here to account in the matter of the money paid for the transfer to Canada. Whatever may have been the views of the Government as to the character of the title to be conveyed by the deed of transfer, whether the expenses may or may not be chargeable to the Company, I am satisfied that the Government will, in the first place, have to undertake and effect the extinction of the Indian title. This question must be regarded as of the very greatest importance. In connection therewith, I would reiterate to you my conviction, as expressed while at Ottawa, that no time should be lost. The necessity for prompt action is more apparent to me now than it seemed even then. Supposing the transfer from the Company to have been complete, it is possible that the object may be carried out yet this fall. There can be no question as to the prejudicial effects in retarding the settlement of the country, should the Half-breeds and Indians assume a position of hostility to any extent whatever, towards the incoming settlers, or towards the Government. The difficulties of the position may be much enhanced by giving the discontented parties the winter to brood over, and to concert measures in opposition to the views of the Government. In the meantime, the French half-breeds, who constitute about one-fourth or one-fifth (say 3,000 souls) of the settlement, are likely to prove a turbulent element. This class has gone so far as to threaten violence should surveys be attempted to be made."

In another letter, dated 28th August, Colonel Dennis wrote: "I have again to remark the uneasy feeling which exists in the Half-breeds and Indian element with regard to what they conceive to be premature action taken by the Government in proceeding to effect a survey of lands, without having first extinguished the Indian title, and I beg permission to reiterate the conviction expressed on a former occasion, that this must be the first question of importance dealt with by the Government. I have, of course, taken every opportunity to assure this element as to the intention of the Government to deal honorably and fairly in the matter in question, and shall go on quietly with my work. Should, however, this feeling be likely to result in any opposition of a character likely to prejudice a settlement fraught with importance to the immediate future of this country, I shall at once cease operations, and await your further orders."

Hon. W. Macdougall  
appointed Governor  
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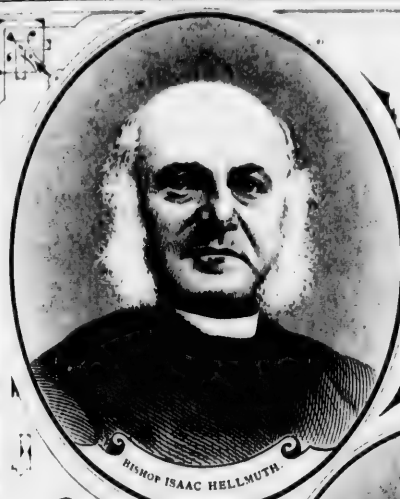
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French portion especially, viewed with alarm and distrust the appointment of a new style of government in the selection and composition of which they had not been in any way consulted. They had no confidence in the Canadian Government, and would much have preferred to be left as they were, or, if they had any desire for change, the inclination certainly lay more in the way of annexation to the United States, on which they so closely bordered, than to Canada which was so far away and could—at that time—only be reached through American Territory. The Canadians also, while satisfied with Territorial Government for the present, desired responsible government as soon as possible, such as they had been accustomed to in Ontario, while a few Americans were entirely opposed to a union with Canada, and advocated an annexation to the United States. Added to this the resident officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were very lukewarm in their support of the proposed transfer, and while not openly disaffected, were certainly indifferent as to the success of the undertaking. They felt that their joint and individual interests had not been provided for by the Directors of the Company in London, who cared very little for anything except getting as much money as possible out of Canada, and they took no trouble to explain to the people the intentions of the Dominion Government after the transfer was completed. To understand their feelings in the matter it is necessary to explain that the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs in the North-West were managed by superior officers known as Chief Factors and Chief Traders, who had a certain share of the profits of the Company in lieu of salary; and that from various causes, such as increased competition, bad management after the death of Sir Geo. Simpson, and low prices, these profits had been reduced to a mere nominal amount. To the dissatisfaction consequent upon this was added a rumour that in the negotiations pending, the stockholders in England did not propose to recognise their right in any division of profit made by the Company, except that accruing to the Fur Trade, and consequently in the division

of any monies received from Canada, proposed to ignore them entirely. These inland officers, as they were called, felt this to be a great act of injustice, and sent delegates home to remonstrate with the Directors. Their remonstrances were however unheeded, and the officers in question felt that not only were they to be excluded from participation in any portion of their purchase money, but the sale itself, by opening up the country for settlement, removing its isolation, and leaving it open for the free exercise of Canadian energy and capital in the fur trade, was certain to bring to an end the practical monopoly they had so long enjoyed, and to end entirely their hope of getting any share of the profits which had hitherto served them in lieu of salary,—causes of this kind led to the action which they took in encouraging the party of resistance. It will thus be seen that Mr. Macdougall had a very difficult and delicate task to perform in trying to unite these conflicting interests, and satisfy all parties, and his task was not rendered more easy by—to use the mildest phrase—the injudicious conduct of some of his subordinates, and his own misconception of the depth and extent to which the dissatisfaction had spread.

11.—The Hon. Mr. Macdougall started for his new post early in October, but did not reach Pembina until the thirtieth of that month. He was accompanied by his family and several gentlemen who expected to become members of the new Council, among whom were Messrs. A. N. Richards (Attorney-General), J. A. N. Provencher, (Territorial Secretary) and Captain Cameron. Mr. Macdougall also took with him three hundred rifles and plenty of ammunition, the Government being apparently impressed with the idea that the slightest show of force would be sufficient to check any discontent or prevent any trouble. In this, however, they showed the same want of wisdom displayed throughout the whole negotiations for the transfer, and instead of Mr. Macdougall's three hundred rifles frightening the French Half-breeds, they only made them more determined not to

Visit of Hon. Joseph  
Howe to Red River  
Settlement.

permit the Canadians to enter Assiniboia and set up a new government until they (the Half-breeds) had been consulted in the matter and guarantees given them that their rights would be respected. Previous to the arrival of Mr. Macdougall a visit had been paid to the newly acquired Territory by the Hon. Joseph Howe, who has then President of the Council, and was shortly after to assume the portfolio of Secretary of State for the Provinces. Mr. Howe did not anticipate any outbreak at the time of his visit, and urged upon the parties whom he saw, the fact that the Territorial Government was to be only temporary, and that a government similar to that of the other Provinces would be established as soon as possible. Mr. Howe has been freely charged with encouraging resistance to Dominion authority, during his visit, which lasted from 9th October to about 18th, but this he most emphatically denied; and there is no evidence to show that he said or did anything which could be construed into encouragement of opposition to the peaceful transfer of the Territory to the Dominion. Still, Mr. Howe's mission was an unfortunate one, and may be considered as another blunder on the part of the Administration, for he had been himself so nearly on the verge of actual rebellion in Nova Scotia, and had succeeded so well in forcing "Better Terms" for that Province from the Dominion Government, that any chance expressions of his with regard to the people of the North-West obtaining "their rights," would be construed as meaning more than was intended to be conveyed.

12.—Rumours of hostile movement on the part of the French Half-breeds reached Mr.

Macdougall at several points on his way from St. Paul to Pembina, but he paid little attention to them until his arrival at the latter place, where he was met by a Half-breed, who had been waiting some days for his arrival, and served with a formal notice not to enter the Territory. Disregarding this warning Mr. Macdougall pushed on to the Hudson's Bay Company's post, about two miles from Pembina, and within the

Hon. Mr. Macdougall receives warning not to enter the Territory.

Territory of the North West, from whence he sent a despatch to the Secretary of State, enclosing reports from Colonel J. S. Dennis and others on the condition of the country. Those reports stated that on the 11th October, a surveying party, under Mr. Webb, who were engaged in surveying the base line between Townships 6 and 7, had been stopped in their work by about twenty French Half-breeds, headed by a man named Louis Riel. No violence was used, Riel and some of his followers simply stepping on the chain, and ordering Mr. Webb and his party to desist, the leader claiming that the property being surveyed belonged to French Half-breeds, and that they would not allow it to be surveyed by the Canadian Government; the surveyors being also notified that they must leave the south side of the Assiniboine. No arms were seen on any of the party and only threats were used, but Mr. Webb thought it most prudent to retire as he was ordered. Colonel Dennis applied to the Hudson's Bay authorities and Governor MacTavish, and Dr. Cowan had interviews with Riel and pointed out the impropriety of his conduct, but without avail, his only answer being that the Canadian Government had no right to proceed with the surveys without the consent of the Half-breeds. The influence of the Church was then invoked, and an appeal made to the Father Superior Lestanc who was in charge of the Diocese during the absence of Bishop Taché, then on his way to Rome to attend the Oecumenical Council. The priest declined to interfere, stating that he was afraid of lessening the influence of the Church over the people.

13.—The reports also stated that on the 20th a meeting of disaffected French Half-breeds was held at the house of one John Bruce, at which it was determined to resist the entrance of Mr. Macdougall into the Territory, by force if necessary; and on the 22nd an affidavit was made before Dr. Cowan by Walton Hyman, of St. Norbert, that an armed party of about forty French Half-breeds had assembled at the crossing of the River Sale, on the road between Fort Garry and Pembina, with the

French Half-breeds determined to oppose the entrance of the Governor. Attitude of the English Half-breeds.

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avowed intention of turning Mr. Macdougall back if he attempted to proceed to Fort Garry, and that another party of twenty men, under Louis Riel, was nearer the border at Scratching River, for the same purpose. The reports of Colonel Dennis went on to show that while the English-speaking portion of the community was not opposed to the entrance of the Governor, it was not enthusiastic, and was not disposed to take up arms against the French Half-breeds; as Colonel Dennis says: "The attitude of the English-speaking portion of the Colony may, I think, be fairly stated as follows: They say: We feel a disposition to extend a sincere welcome to the Hon. Mr. Macdougall, as a gentleman who has been selected for our future Governor. We regret exceedingly that the good name of the Colony should be prejudiced by any such action as that we are told is contemplated by the French Half-breeds. We consider it a most outrageous proceeding on their part and one that we would be glad to see, if possible, put a stop to. At the same time, should an appeal to arms be necessary, we could hardly justify ourselves in engaging in a conflict, which would be, in our opinion, certain to revolve itself into one of nationalities and religions, and of which we could hardly, at present, see the termination. We feel this way: We feel confidence in the future administration of the Government of this country under Canadian rule; at the same time we have not been consulted in any way as a people, in entering into the Dominion. The character of the new Government has been settled in Canada, without our being consulted. We are prepared to accept it respectfully, to obey the laws, and to become good subjects; but when you present to us the issue of a conflict with the French party, with whom we have hitherto lived in friendship, backed up, as they would be, by the Roman Catholic Church, which appears probable by the course at present being taken by the priests, in which conflict it is almost certain the aid of the Indians would be invoked, and perhaps obtained by that party, we feel disinclined to enter upon it, and think that the Dominion should assume the responsi-

bility of establishing amongst us what it, and it alone, has decided on. At the same time, we are ready—should the Council make an appeal to the Settlement, to prevent the gross outrage contemplated—by a large mounted deputation, unarmed, to meet and escort the Honorable William Macdougall to Winnipeg, and thus show to the French party, now in arms, that the English-speaking portion of the colony is entirely opposed to the present threatening movement by a portion of the French Half-breeds,—we will cheerfully and promptly respond to the call."

14.—This being the condition of affairs in the Colony, Mr. Macdougall determined to remain at the Hudson's Bay post for a few days until he could communi-  
Mr. Macdougall driven out of the Territory and obliged to retire to the United States.  
 cate with Governor MacTavish; and accordingly sent Mr. Provencher forward with a message to the Governor, and instructions to confer with the leaders of the Half-breeds, ascertain what they demanded, and assure them of the intention of the Government to deal fairly and justly by all parties. On the first of November Colonel Dennis and Mr. W. Hallett reached the Hudson's Bay post from Fort Garry, having made a detour across the prairie to avoid the French stationed at Scratching River, and reported that the French were still very much excited and opposed to the entrance of Mr. Macdougall, and that the Governor and Council of Assiniboia seemed disinclined, or powerless to take any steps to secure that gentleman's entrance into Fort Garry. Mr. Provencher was sent back from the barricade under an escort and warned that none of his party would be allowed to proceed to Red River. On the second, a party of fourteen men approached the post and ordered Mr. Macdougall to leave, and on the following morning they became so threatening in their demonstrations that he thought it most prudent to retire to United States territory. We cannot do better than give Mr. Macdougall's own account of this proceeding, taken from his report to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, dated 5th November: "The next day

(Tuesday), about five o'clock in the afternoon, fourteen horsemen were seen approaching as from the direction of Fort Garry. It was soon evident that they were armed, and moving rapidly forward. As they approached, they slackened their pace, and dismounted at the gate of the stockade which surrounds the post, with their guns cocked and in military order. In a few minutes two of their number demanded an interview with me. They left their arms with their comrades at the gate, and were at once admitted. I invited them to a seat, and asked them what they wished to say to me. They replied that they had been sent to tell me that I must leave the North-West Territory—I must go back before nine o'clock to-morrow morning. I asked them who had sent them with this message? They said, 'The Committee—the Government.' I asked, what Government? They said, 'The Government we have made.' I asked what they were instructed to do if I declined to go back? They said 'they did not know, they had no order.' I told them I was sent to assume the government of the country under the Queen of England, and by her authority, and I could not obey the orders of their Committee. I, at the same time, produced my Commission under the Great Seal, and handed it to the Captain for his perusal. He evidently could not read it, but the parchment and the seal seemed to convince him that it was what I described it to be. He handed it back, saying, that if his leaders had seen that, he thought they would not have opposed me—they did not wish to take up arms against the Queen. He added that I ought to have come on as far as the barricade, which I might have done without molestation. I told him, in reply, that I was going on as fast as I could when I was stopped by a written order from his Committee, which I handed him to read. He read it, and remarked that he was not present when it was written, but admitted that it came from the National Committee, whose orders he obeyed. His Companion having left the room, he seemed impatient to end the conversation,

and rose to retire. I had asked their names, which they gave without hesitation as Lepine and Lavallée. They were very respectful in their bearing, and seemed ashamed of the business they had in hand. I sent out to ask them if they would eat, which they said they would be glad to do, and I accordingly ordered some pork and bread and tea to be given to them. Hearing of their remarks to one another that if they had known I was coming to represent the Queen as well as the Government of Canada, and that I was not sent to interfere with their religious or private rights, they would not have joined the insurgent party, and having observed the effect of the Great Seal upon the Captain of the Band, I resolved to send for the whole party, and explain my position and authority to them in the same manner as I had done to the two leaders. They replied to my invitation, that they were tired, and that some of their party had gone to the village and could not see me until the morning. About six o'clock the same evening Mr. Provencher and Captain Cameron made their appearance at the post, escorted by six horsemen, who had conducted them all the way from River Sale. These gentlemen had not been allowed to go beyond the barricade, or to hold any communication with the authorities at Fort Garry. Mr. Provencher's report of his mission and its result is enclosed herewith. About eight o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the third instant, loud talking was heard at the gateway, and on going out I found the rebel party, with their arms in their hands, drawn up in a half-circle, gesticulating fiercely, and threatening that, if we were not off by nine o'clock, they would not answer for our lives. I found that they had made a prisoner of Mr. Hallett, who went out to repeat my invitation of the evening before, and that he was then tied to a cart, and not allowed to speak to any of my party. Seeing their temper, and thinking it would not be prudent to give them an excuse for any further outrage, I ordered the horses to be harnessed, and we drove away from the Hudson's Bay Company's post towards Pembina,

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escorted by a party on foot. When I reached the post which had been set up to mark the 49th parallel, the Captain of the Band stopped and addressing me in French, said, 'You must not return beyond this line,' pointing to the boundary monument. He further remarked that he did not know me as Governor, but only as Mr. Macdougall. As three or four persons had joined us on the way, but had no other connection with us, I asked if they also were interdicted from going on. He shrugged his shoulders, and said he did not know; he would not prevent them, but perhaps they would be stopped at the River Sale. I then drove on, and my escort returned to the Hudson's Bay Company's post."

## CHAPTER X.

### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG—THE RED RIVER TROUBLES.

1. AFFAIRS IN THE SETTLEMENT. FIRST MEETING OF THE METIS.—2. APATHY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S OFFICERS. CURIOUS CONDUCT OF GOVERNOR MAC TAVISH.—3. THE MAILS STOPPED. DIFFICULTIES OF COMMUNICATION.—4. THE CAPTURE OF FORT GARRY BY THE INSURGENTS.—5. FORMIDABLE ASPECT OF THE INSURRECTION. GOVERNOR MAC TAVISH'S LAME EXPLANATION.—6. PROCLAMATION ASKING ENGLISH HALF-BREEDS TO SEND DELEGATES TO CONVENTION.—7. GOVERNOR MAC TAVISH AT LAST ISSUES A PROCLAMATION, ORDERING THE INSURGENTS TO DISPERSE.—8. MEETING OF THE CONVENTION ON 16TH NOVEMBER.—9. RIEL DECLARES HIS INTENTION OF FORMING A PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.—10. SEIZURE OF THE BOOKS, CASH, &C., OF THE COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.—11. EXCLUSION OF CANADIAN VOTES IN ORDER TO PACK THE CONVENTION.—12. BILL OF RIGHTS PASSED.

1.—While these events were occurring at the boundary line, Council meetings were being

held daily near the barricade which had been erected across the Fort Garry and Pembina Road. This "Council" was created by resolutions passed at a meeting of the French Half-breeds held in the vicinity of the River Sale Church shortly after Mr. Howe's departure, and had for its first President a French Half-breed, of Scotch descent,\* named John Bruce, with Louis Riel as Secretary. It is under the direction of the Council that the barricade was thrown across the Pembina Road and guarded, at first, by a force of about a dozen men, which was increased in the course of a fortnight to about one hundred. Being only nine miles from Fort Garry, these proceedings were well known, and gave much alarm to the Canadian residents there and in its vicinity, who were amazed at the utter apathy shown by the Hudson's Bay authorities; and one Walton Hyman, a tanner, whose tannery was only a short distance from this barricade, made an affidavit, on the 22nd October, 1869, before Dr. Cowan, stating the facts that had come to his knowledge, in the hope that this official information would arouse Governor MacTavish to the gravity of the situation, and induce him to take some action to prevent any opposition to the entrance of Governor Macdougall.

2.—Although this information was positive and circumstantial enough—even supposing, which would be supposing a great deal, that the authorities had no previous knowledge of what was going on so near the Fort—still Governor MacTavish and his Council remained inactive, and allowed the insurgents to perfect their schemes without interruption. Nor can the plea of want of power to put down the rising at this time be urged, for Riel had less than one hundred men, poorly armed, while the authorities had, in addition to the ordinary constabulary of the country, numbering about forty

Affairs of the Settlements. First meeting in the Metis.

Apathy of the Hudson's Bay Company's Officers. Curious conduct of Governor MacTavish.

\* It must be remembered that the terms "French" and "English" Half-breeds are used not to designate the nationality of the parties intermarrying with the Indians, but the language spoken.



men, thirty or forty pensioners of the Royal Canadian Rifles, liable to do special service, and a force of 300 special constables sworn in a short time before. The only things, apparently, wanting to enable this incipient rebellion to be nipped in the bud were, a display of superior force, and the *desire* to do so, but these Governor MacTavish and his advisers never showed until the rebellion had gained such headway that it was beyond his power to control it, without appealing to arms, a course which would in all probability, have led to much bloodshed and serious loss of life. This doubtful neutrality has laid the resident officers of the Hudson's Bay Company open to the very grave suspicion that they secretly encouraged the insurgents in their unlawful acts, in the hope that an armed opposition to the acquirements of the territory by Canada would lead either to an abandonment of the scheme, or to an offer of "Better terms" in which some provision would be made for them for what they would lose by the transfer of the country. To say that Governor MacTavish and his advisers openly encouraged the insurgents is perhaps going a little too far, but that they did receive great encouragement from their inactivity is simply stating a fact. This inactivity seems all the more inexcusable and inexplicable when it is remembered that when the Governor returned from England in the summer, after an unsuccessful attempt to induce the Directors in London to allow the resident officers a share in the £300,000 paid by the Canadian Government, he passed through Ottawa, and had several interviews with Ministers, who asked him if he was in a position to transfer the Territory *peacefully*, as stipulated in the contract, offering to send up three hundred of the Canadian Rifles, then available, if he anticipated any trouble. To this the Governor replied most positively that he was quite able to carry out the terms of the contract without assistance, and yet when fifty determined men could have prevented any trouble, and he had about five hundred at his command, we find him unable to do anything but advise Governor Macdougall to remain at Pembina, and make

himself and the Government he represented, look ridiculous.

3.—About this time the mails which had to pass over the Pembina Road were stopped and examined, and all letters giving any true account of the condition the country was in were suppressed, while all letters intended for parties in the Settlement suspected of being favorable to Canada were also stopped. This was mostly done at Rivière Sale by the insurgents, but it was also suspected that letters were opened and examined in the Post Office at Pembina, of which a strong annexionist and great friend of the insurgents was Postmaster. On account of this tampering with the mails great inconvenience was experienced in obtaining anything like correct information as to what was occurring in the Settlement, and Governor Macdougall was forced to resort to all sorts of expedients, and employ only the most trustworthy persons he could find, to get any letters from himself to Governor MacTavish, or any other person, taken into Fort Garry, while even greater difficulty was experienced in getting any information conveyed to Governor Macdougall.

The mails stopped  
Difficulties of  
communication.

4.—About the same time that Governor Macdougall was driven back to Pembina by Riel and his followers, it began to be rumoured that the insurgents intended to take possession of the Fort, and the authorities were duly informed of the fact in ample time to have made preparations for its defence, had they felt so disposed, but they paid no attention to the warning. Sergeant James Mulligan, at that time Chief of Police at Fort Garry, states in an affidavit taken subsequently, that "he urged upon Dr. Cowan, the Chief Factor in charge of Fort Garry, the danger in which the Fort stood, from the intention of the insurgents to seize it; and requested him to call upon a portion of the 300 special constables and the pensioners to defend it." Fort Garry was a strong stone fort,\* bastioned

The capture of Fort  
Garry by the insur-  
gents.

\* "The Upper Fort, or 'Fort Garry' proper, is a rectangular building, about 200 yards by 85 yards. The original Fort was built about the year

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and defended by thirteen six-pounder guns, was amply supplied with ammunition and provisions, and had in it also 390 Enfield rifles, so that if Governor MacTavish had only closed the gates, he could, at least, have held the place against any force that the insurgents could possibly have brought against him, if he was afraid to do more; but even this he failed to do, although he and Dr. Cowan were warned by other parties than Mulligan that the place would be taken possession of. Not the slightest precaution was taken, the gates were not closed, cannon not in position, and yet the Governor and Chief Factor knew that a body of armed men had been in possession of the Pembina Road for ten days, and had threatened to occupy the Fort! On the afternoon of the second of November, Riel, with about 100 men, came down the road from Rivière Sale, entered the open gates, and immediately proceeded to billet themselves in the various houses within. Dr. Cowan, the officer in charge of the fort, saying, "What do you want here with all these armed men?" Riel replied, "We have come to guard the Fort." "Against whom?" asked Dr. Cowan. "Against a danger," Riel answered. This was all the explanation given and seemed to satisfy the Chief Factor, and Riel and his followers were left in undisturbed possession.

5.—The force being housed, next fed, and proceeded to arm themselves with Enfield rifles in place of their own shot guns, closed the gates, set a guard, placed the cannon in position, and for the first time since its inception the rebellion became formidable. The insurgents had now possession of nearly all the cannon in the settlement; were abundantly supplied with small arms and ammunition; had all the provisions and other stores of the Hudson's Bay Company, more than enough to last them all the winter, and it became evident that if they

pleased to hold possession of the Fort until spring they could do so, for there was no force in the settlement able to dislodge them, and it would be summer, or perhaps later, before any force could arrive from Canada. In short, the insurgents were now "masters of the situation," and held the position which ought to have been occupied by the loyal party, and which they would have occupied but for the supineness—to use no harsher term—of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. Governor MacTavish's explanation of the capture of Fort Garry, as conveyed to the Hon. Mr. Macdougall in a letter dated 9th November, is certainly a remarkable production when we consider that the Hudson's Bay Company was still the *de facto* government, and that he, as the Chief officer, was supposed to protect the property of the Company, if nothing more. He says: "Excepting in one respect—but that, I am sorry to say, a serious if not in a formidable sense—little change, as far as we can learn, has, since my last, come over the arrangements or the spirit of these people \* \* \*. The occurrence to which I have alluded in the preceding paragraph as being serious, is this, that on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 2nd inst., a number of these daring people, suddenly, and without the least intimation of their intention to make such a move, took possession of the gates of Fort Garry, where they placed themselves inside at outside the gates, to the number in all of about one hundred and twenty, and where, night and day, they have constantly kept a pretty strong armed guard. On being asked what they meant by such a movement upon the Fort, they said their object was to protect it. Protect it from what? they were asked. Their answer was—from danger. Against what danger? they were asked. To this question, they replied that they could not now specify the danger, but that they would do so hereafter, and obstinately took up the positions they have since kept in spite of all our protests and remonstrances at such a bold and high-handed proceeding. On coming into the fort, they earnestly disclaimed all intention of injuring either person or property within it,

1810, and was then 100 yards by 85 yards; it has a stone wall about 10 feet high all round, with circular bastions pierced for guns. About the year 1850 a second portion was added to it—100 yards by 85 yards—but surrounded only by a wooden palisade on a stone foundation."—Colonel Wolseley's Official Journal of the Red River Expedition, 25th August, 1870.

and it must be allowed that in that respect they have kept their word; but it is an inconvenience and a danger next to intolerable, to have a body of armed men, even with professions of peace towards ourselves, forcibly billeted upon an establishment such as this. Their intentions in coming to the Fort they have never definitely expressed, nor have they yet specified the danger from which their presence was meant to protect the place. We are, therefore, left in some measure to conjectures, and by these we are strongly led to believe that you were expected to come to the Fort, and that by thus having previous possession of the gates, they felt that they would be sure of keeping you out."

6.—Headquarters being thus removed from Rivière Sale to more comfortable quarters, the

Proclamation asking English Half-breeds to send delegates to Convention.

Councils were resumed, and on the sixth of November Riel proceeded to the village and directed Walter Robert Bown, proprietor of the *Nor'-Wester*, to print him a proclamation, and, on his refusing to do so, immediately made him a prisoner, placed a guard over the office, and caused the proclamation to be printed under the supervision of Mr. James Ross.\* The possession of Fort Garry gave such confidence to the insurgents that they assumed the inspection of goods coming from the United States, and seized all guns and ammunition, thus obtaining a number of double and single buffalo hunting

guns, the loss of which was severely felt when the settlers attempted resistance. At this time W. B. O'Donohue joined the movement and assumed the duties of Treasurer, collecting the four per cent. imposed on all merchandise which had been always levied by the Hudson's Bay Company. O'Donohue was a very valuable accession to the insurgent ranks, as he had been educated for the priesthood, possessed considerable intelligence, and at that time occupied the responsible positions of teacher in the Roman Catholic School at St. Boniface, and private tutor to the children of Governor MacTavish, whom O'Donohue did not hesitate to charge with being the instigator of the rebellion. \*

\* When the general Amnesty Act was passed during the session of 1871, granting amnesty to all parties concerned in the Red River troubles, except O'Donohue, the latter addressed a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, which we reproduce below as giving his version of the insurrection. O'Donohue was subsequently pardoned in 1877, but died at St. Paul, Minnesota, almost immediately after.

To the Honorable

The Speaker of the House of Commons,  
Ottawa City.

SIR,—I beg to state to you and the honorable body over which you preside, that a great injustice has been done me by the late action of Parliament in excluding me from the amnesty granted to all others who participated in the insurrection of 1869 and 1870 in Manitoba. As this action of Parliament would seem to throw the whole responsibility of the "Insurrection," the "Execution of Scott" and so-called "Fenian raid" on me, I do not propose shouldering all of them, that those who were responsible may go forth spotless at my expense, purified by a resolution of Parliament.

I accordingly make the following statement of facts, which I can prove most conclusively:

1st. The insurrection was advised by Governor William MacTavish who, with other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, also aided and abetted it from its inception, up to the very hour it ceased to exist. That Riel was in constant communication with Governor MacTavish, and on many occasions under his instructions. That he, Governor MacTavish, fully recognised the Provisional Government. That Donald A. Smith, on arriving at Fort Garry, recognised the Government also in my own hearing, and with Governor MacTavish, was Riel's adviser during his stay in the Fort, and after the departure of both of these from the country, Riel continued to hold counsel with John MacTavish, who then represented the Hudson's Bay Company.

2nd. That others, whose names I now forbear mentioning, and who are very "loyal" subjects, advised recourse to arms.

3rd. That I was not a party to the insurrection till the 15th November, 1869, about four weeks after its inauguration, and two weeks after possession was taken of Fort Garry.

4th. That the case of Thomas Scott was never brought before the Provisional Government, either before or after the execution or "murder," as it is properly termed, of Thomas Scott; that I am entirely clear of this charge, and should no other alternative be left me to remove the stigma of murder from my character, I am determined to do so at some future day at any hazard. From this I state without fear of contradiction, that the Provisional Government did not order the trial or execution of Scott, and that neither as a member of that Government, nor as a private individual, had I any part, directly or indirectly, in the execution of Thomas Scott. Neither was I brought, at any time, before the Privy Council composed of the French members of the Legislature. Further

\* PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERT'S LAND.

The President and Representatives of the French speaking population of Rupert's Land in Council (the invaders of our rights being now expelled), already aware of your sympathy, do extend the hand of friendship to you, our friendly fellow inhabitants; and in so doing, do hereby invite you to send twelve representatives from the following places viz:—

St. John's.....	1	St. Margaret.....	1
Headingley.....	1	St. James.....	1
St. Mary's.....	1	Kildonan.....	1
St. Clement's.....	1	St. Andrew's.....	1
St. Paul's.....	1	St. Peter's.....	1
Town of Winnipeg.....	2		

in order to form one body with the above Council, consisting of twelve members, to consider the present political state of this country and to adopt such measures as may be best fitted for the future welfare of the same.

A meeting of the above Council will be held in the Court House at Fort Garry, on Tuesday, the 16th day of November, at which the invited representatives will attend.

By order of the President.

LOUIS RIEL,  
Secretary.

Fort Garry, 6th November, 1869.

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St. Paul, Minn.

7.—On receipt of Governor MacTavish's letter informing him of the capture of Fort Garry, the Hon. Mr. Macdougall wrote to that gentleman, urging on him that until the actual transfer of the territory took place the Hudson's Bay Company was the only government, and that it was his duty, as Governor of that Company, to issue a Proclamation calling on the insurgents to disperse, and to take such other steps as may be necessary to insure the peaceful transfer of the territory, as agreed on in the contract, when the time for that transfer came. To this remonstrance from Mr. Macdougall Governor MacTavish paid no attention, and matters were allowed to remain *in statu quo*, as far as any attempt to put down the insurgents was concerned. The capture of Fort Garry and the seizure of all arms showed plainly to the

Gov. MacTavish at last issues a Proclamation, calling on the insurgents to disperse.

that non member of the Government, and having my residence in Fort Garry, I was entirely ignorant of the fact that a Military Council was to be held, or being held, to try any of the prisoners there confined until I was summoned to give testimony, by Riel and the Council then sitting on Scott's case, which summons I treated with contempt by informing the Council that it was acting without authority, and as such I failed to recognize it, and that I refused to testify in the case. That neither Riel nor any other officer of the Government consulted with me, nor I with either of them, on the trial or execution, and that I am entirely innocent of the blood of Scott, which, were I given an opportunity, I could prove conclusively. And further, that but for my part in the so-called "Fenian raid" of which I will speak hereafter—I would have gone to Manitoba long since and demanded a trial on evidence in my possession.

5.—That the so-called "Fenian raid" is a misnomer, as Fenianism had no line whatever to do with it. That it was simply a continuation of the insurrection inaugurated in 1849, and with the same avowed intention, and by the same parties, a fact which the then existing Government of Manitoba was cognizant of for months previous to the so-called "raid." That my part in it was simply that of an agent of the people, holding a commission authorized by a resolution of the Council held at La Rivière Sale in September, 1870, over which Council L. Riel presided. This commission I hold, signed by the officers, both civil and military, of the late Provisional Government of the French party, and also a copy of the resolution authorizing the commission, as a proof of which I have in my possession the minute book of the Council.

That I am aware persistent efforts have been made by certain parties since I left the country to throw the responsibility of all the unlawful acts committed during the "troubles" upon me. A certain pamphlet was published last winter "to show why an amnesty should be issued by the Canadian Government," in which this effort was repeated; and the "manifesto letter" of Riel aimed also at this point. Had the causes of the "troubles" and the acts committed by them been thoroughly investigated, these innumerate gentlemen would doubtless stand in a different position in the eyes of the public from what they do at present—purified by a resolution of Parliament and amnesty. That I ask no favors now of the Canadian Government, or Parliament, they have meted out to me the full measure of their injustice, but the world shall know in my own good time the whole unvarnished truth.

W. B. O'DONOHUE,

Secretary and Treasurer, &c., &c., of the late Provisional Government of Rupert's Land, N. W.

St. Paul, Minn., February 28th, 1875.

Canadians that the insurgents meant to establish a government by force, and they, therefore, drew up an address to Governor MacTavish, which was largely signed, calling upon him to issue a proclamation calling upon the insurgents to lay down their arms. This address was presented on the 12th November, but it was not until four days after—the very day of the meeting of the Convention called by Riel—that the Governor at last issued his tardy Proclamation, reciting the unlawful acts which had been committed, and charging all those engaged "immediately to disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations or their lawful business, under the pains and penalties of the law." The proclamation was a very weak production, not worth insertion here, and seems to have been purposely held back by Governor MacTavish until the day of the meeting of the Convention, in order that the English portion of the people might partly commit themselves to the movement by electing delegates to attend. The English were unwilling to appear in any way to sanction the acts of Riel and his associates; and were only induced to send members to the Convention, by the circulation of a rumor that the result of the meeting would be an abandonment of this position by the insurgents, and the extension of an invitation to Governor Macdougall to enter the settlement in peace.

8.—The English speaking portion of the community was extremely loth to pay any attention to the proclamation of "The President and Representatives of the

Meeting of the Convention on the 16th November.

French-speaking population of Rupert's Land" issued by Riel, on 6th November, inviting them to send delegates to the Convention to be held at Fort Garry, on 16th; but partly induced by the hope that they might be able to influence the convention to some good purpose, they finally agreed to send delegates, and representatives were chosen. The Convention met in the Court House, which was guarded by 150 armed men, and all the members were present except one English delegate who became so much alarmed at the display of force around the building that he returned

home.\* To this assembly the proclamation of Governor MacTavish was read, the insurgent portion seeming to regard it as a weak show of attempted authority, and the English members regarding it as a farce. The reading of the proclamation, and the protests of the English members against the show of force concluded the first day's business, and nothing beyond talk was accomplished on the following day. The eighteenth and nineteenth being the days appointed for holding the Hudson's Bay's Company's Quarterly Court, the Convention adjourned until the twenty-second, in order that the room might be used for its legitimate purpose. The Court met, disposed of some criminal cases, but, singular to say, no reference was made to the acts of lawlessness committed by the insurgents.

9.—On the 22nd November, the Convention again assembled, and after debating all day on the advantages, or otherwise, of an union with Canada, nothing was arrived at. One English member finally proposed that the French should lay down their arms, and then both sides of the population would be on equal footing to discuss matters; and suggested that Mr. Macdougall should be allowed to enter the Territory, so

that all could place their grievances before him and seek redress. On this Riel rose excitedly and said that Mr. Macdougall should never enter the Territory, either as a private individual or as a Governor. That broke up the meeting for that day. On the 23rd, Riel and party seized the books and records of the Council of Assiniboia, and, on the meeting of the delegates, that day, threw off the mask and declared the intention of the French members to form a Provisional Government. The English delegates declaring that that was a question they could not discuss without consulting their constituents, it was agreed to adjourn the Convention until 1st December.

10.—Up to this period Riel and his followers had made a pretence of respecting the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company as a governing power, and the Hudson's Bay Company took

*Seizure of the books, cash, &c., of the Collector of Customs.*

the equally strange course of assuming that they were overcome by force, without ever having made the slightest attempt to put down that force; but on the 24th, Riel no longer kept up the farce of pretending to respect the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company, but going to the office of Mr. Roger Goulet, Collector of Customs under the Hudson's Bay Company, took possession of all books, papers, cash and due bills. On the same day he attempted to take possession of a quantity of goods belonging to the Canadian Government, which were stored in the premises of Dr. John Schultz, and placed a guard over the store; but the guard was enticed away while Riel was at lunch and the store locked, and although Riel brought out two field pieces and pointed them at Dr. Schultz's house, threatening to knock it down if the stores were not given up, the Doctor remained firm, and Riel, anxious to avoid firing the first shot, was content to let the goods remain where they were for the present.

11.—Shortly after this an effort was made to induce the French to agree to a middle course, that of allowing the Hudson's Bay Company to rule until matters were arranged; and to ap-

*Exclusion of Canadian votes in order to pack the Convention.*

\* The following is a list of the members elected:

#### ENGLISH MEMBERS.

Town of Winnipeg .....	Henry McKenney,
Kildonan .....	H. F. O'Lone.
St. John's .....	James Ross.
St. Paul's .....	Maurice Lowman.
St. Andrew's .....	Dr. Bird.
St. Clement's .....	Donald Gunn.
St. Peter's .....	Thomas Bunn.
St. James' .....	Henry Prince,
Headingley .....	Indian Chief of the Saulteux.
St. Ann's .....	Robert Tait.
Portage-la-Prairie .....	William Tait.
	Geo. Gunn.
	John Garrioch.

#### FRENCH MEMBERS.

St. François Xavier .....	François Dauphinais,
St. Boniface .....	Pierre Poitras.
St. Vital .....	Pierre Laviellier.
St. Norbert .....	W. B. O'Donohue.
St. Anne's .....	André Beauchemin.
	Pierre Parantenu, Sr.
	Baptiste Townou.
	Louis la Serte.
	Charles Nolin.
	Jean Baptiste Perrenault.
	John Bruce, President.
	Louis Riel, Secretary.

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point a Committee which should represent all shades of opinion, to confer with Mr. Macdougall at Pembina. As Riel was anxious to induce the English delegates to attend the adjourned Convention on 1st December, so as to give a color of unanimity to his contemplated assumption of supreme power, he pretended to agree to this proposal, although, at the same time he was industriously circulating reports among his own party, calculated to still more incense them against Mr. Macdougall and the Canadian party. In order to be sure of a majority in the Convention it was attempted to pack a meeting in the Engine House, but a number of Canadians having got in, and Riel, finding that the peace party was likely to obtain a majority, had the lights put out, and the next day, a special meeting was called by Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, to consider first who were to be entitled to vote, and then discuss other matters. This special meeting decided to exclude most of the Canadian votes, and the insurgent element of the town, composed of the majority of the Americans and those in the Hudson's Bay Company's interest, had things their own way.

12.—On the first of December the adjourned meeting of delegates took place, and the English delegates soon found that their pacific proposals of the interval were to be disregarded, and that the French had prepared a list of matters they wished the English to agree to, and on their dissenting to the principal points in it, the French, who, with the two English delegates from the town of Winnipeg who were in their interest, were in a majority, passed what they called the "Bill of Rights." \* This Bill being passed, the English,

Bill of Rights passed.

#### \* BILL OF RIGHTS.

1. The right to elect our own Legislature.
2. The Legislature to have power to pass all laws local to the Territory, over the veto of the Executive, by a two-thirds vote.
3. No Act of the Dominion Parliament (local to this Territory) to be binding on the people until sanctioned by their representatives.
4. All Sheriffs, Magistrates, Constables, &c., &c., to be elected by the people—a free homestead pre-emption law.
5. A portion of the public lands to be appropriated to the benefit of schools, the building of the roads, bridges and parish buildings.
6. A guarantee to connect Winnipeg by rail with the nearest line of railroad—the land grant for such road or roads to be subject to the Legislature of the Territory.
7. For four years the public expenses of the Territory, civil, military and municipal, to be paid out of the Dominion Treasury.

after making another ineffectual attempt to have a conference with Mr. Macdougall, retired to their homes, feeling that they had only been called together to give a color of unanimity to proceedings which they remonstrated against, and which they, in common with the loyal portion of the French population, saw, might lead to the gravest consequences.

## CHAPTER XI.

### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG.—THE NORTH-WEST.

1.—HON. W. MACDOUGALL'S HUMILIATING POSITION AT PEMBINA.—2. HE CHARGES THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S OFFICIALS WITH COMPLICITY WITH THE INSURGENTS.—3. HE ISSUES A PROCLAMATION ANNOUNCING HIMSELF AS GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.—4. ACTION OF CANADIAN GOVERNMENT. THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION.—5. MR. MACDOUGALL COMMISSIONS A CONSERVATOR OF THE PEACE.—6. FAILURE OF COLONEL DENNIS TO AROUSE THE ENGLISH HALF-BREEDS.—7. CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN WINNIPEG.—8. SURRENDER OF 45 CANADIANS IN DR. SCHULTZ'S HOUSE.—9. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—10. HOISTING THE REBEL FLAG. RIEL BECOMES PRESIDENT.—11. ARRIVAL OF THE CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS.

#### 1.—We will now return to the Hon. William

8. The military to be composed of the people now existing in the Territory.
9. The French and English language to be common in the Legislature and Council, and all public documents and acts of Legislature to be published in both languages.
10. That the Judge of the Superior Court speak both French and English.
11. Treaties to be concluded and ratified between the Government and several tribes of Indians of this Territory, calculated to insure peace in future.
12. That all privileges, customs and usages existing at the time of the transfer be respected.
13. That these rights be guaranteed by Mr. Macdougall before he be admitted into this Territory.
14. If he have not the power himself to grant them, he must get an Act of Parliament passed expressly securing us the rights; and until such Act be obtained, he must stay outside the Territory.
15. That we have full and fair representation in the Dominion Parliament.



Macdougall, who, after being driven out of the Hudson's Bay post near Pembina, retired across the line into United States territory, and took up temporary residence on the farm of a French Canadian named Larose, about two miles south of the Pembina River. Here he remained for six weeks writing despatches to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, to Governor MacTavish, and to Canadian friends in Fort Garry, whenever he could get an opportunity to send letters past the barricade at River Sale, waiting an opportunity of getting quietly into the Settlement, and expecting to hear that the Royal Proclamation had been issued and the Territory duly transferred by the Imperial Government to the Dominion. His position was peculiar and embarrassing; hampered with his own family as well as the members of his staff and proposed new Government, he found himself with about twenty persons in his party, and scarcely accommodation for one-third of that number, with winter coming on, the hope of reaching Fort Garry diminishing, and the dangers and difficulties of returning to St. Paul daily increasing. To this must be added the humiliation of being kept hanging about the borders of the Settlement, while the authorities made no effort to assist him, and Governor MacTavish contented himself with advising him, like Micawber, to wait "for something to turn up."

2.—Becoming convinced at last that he need expect no help from the officials of the Hudson's

He charges the Hudson's Bay Company's officials with complicity with the insurgents.

Bay Company, some of whom, at least, he charges with complicity with the insurgents,\* and be-

\* "I cannot account for this extraordinary reticence and hasty surrender of authority by the legal rulers of the country upon any theory but that of the weakness and imbecility of the Governor, and the complicity of some members of his Council with the insurrection. I have evidence that one of his Councillors, at whose house some of the first meetings of the malecontents were held, is in correspondence with the American plotters at Pembina; and trying to find out through them what my intentions and movements are. This treason within the Council will also account for the stopping of supplies which were ordered by the Hudson's Bay Company's agent here: for our use as well as his own, and which the rebels could have known nothing about unless some of the Hudson's Bay Company's employes had disclosed their destination. The rebels had not previously interfered with the Company's carts or trade operations."—Excerpt from letter of Hon. W. Macdougall to Hon. Joseph Howe, 7th November, 1869.

lieving that the transfer would be made on the first of December, and his commission as Lieutenant-Governor thereby go into effect, he commenced making preparations for that event, with a view to calling on the loyal portion of the population to put down the insurgents, either by a show of force, or by actual strength of arms if necessary. He was kept well advised of the state of affairs in the Settlement, and felt well assured that as soon as he could issue a Proclamation as the representative of Her Majesty, the loyalty of the Canadians and English Half-breeds would assert itself, and the French would hesitate to offer armed resistance to the representative of the Queen, where they did not scruple to attempt to sear the Hon. Mr. Macdougall. Although aware of the surrender of Fort Garry—for it can be called nothing else—by the Hudson's Bay authorities, he still had hopes that the insurgents would lay down their arms when there was any show of force and authority against them. In, this, however, events proved that he was mistaken, and the Settlement very narrowly escaped a most disastrous war of creeds and races.

3.—On the same eventful 1st of December on which the Convention re-assembled at Fort Garry and ultimately passed the "Bill of Rights," Mr. Macdougall, acting on the supposition that the transfer to Canada had been made on that day, issued a Proclamation announcing his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories.\* Mr.

He issues a Proclamation announcing himself as Governor of the North-West Territory.

\* VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c., &c., &c.

WILLIAM MACDOUGALL.

To all whom it may concern—GREETING:

[L. S.]

#### PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, by "The British North America Act, 1867," it was (amongst other things) enacted, that it should be lawful for Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, on Address from the Houses of Parliament of Canada, to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, or either of them, into the Union of the Dominion of Canada, on such terms and conditions as are in the address expressed, and as Her Majesty thinks fit to approve:

And, whereas, for the purpose of carrying into effect the said provisions of "The British North America Act, 1867," "The Rupert's Land Act, 1868," enacted and declared, that it should be competent for "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," to surrender to Her Majesty, and for Her Majesty, by any instrument under Her sign manual, and signet, to accept a surrender of all, or any of the lands, territories, powers, and authorities, whatsoever, granted, or

Macdougall, justice, claim, Territory, was certain, it was for it so, been transferred, more legal, Mr. Riel, had not the, tion and, doubt that, issuing his, straining, when he, was the, although, that the, made by the

purported to be, King Charles, Rupert's Land, by and between, And, whereas, that from the day, of Canada, as a, to make, or in, admitted, as also, constitute such, order, and good, there is:

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And, whereas, most Honorable, of the Parliament, sixth section of, that Rupert's Land, first day of Decem,

hundred and six, Dominion of Cana, said Address, of, and the North-W, become part of th,

And, whereas, for the Temporary, Territory, when, for the Governor, made with the ad, and restrictions, such officer as b,

Macdougall has been blamed, and with some justice, for precipitancy in issuing this Proclamation before receiving information that the Territory had been transferred to Canada, and it was certainly unfortunate that he so far committed himself without sufficient information. For it so happened that the Territory had not been transferred, and Mr. Macdougall had no more legal right to issue a Proclamation than Mr. Riel had, and the insurgents knew that he had not the power and laughed at the Proclamation and its promulgator. There is no reason to doubt that Mr. Macdougall was quite honest in issuing his Proclamation, and believed that, by straining a point, he had the right to do so, for when he left Canada the first of December was the date agreed on for the transfer, and although he had not received official information that the £300,000 had been paid and the transfer made by the Hudson's Bay Company, neither had

he received any intimation that negotiations had been suspended. Still Mr. Macdougall was somewhat to blame for not taking into account the change which had occurred since the first of December was agreed on as the day for the transfer to Canada; then everything was quiet, and Governor MacTavish assured the Canadian Ministers that he was in a position to transfer the Territory peacefully; now there was a large body of armed men in possession of the chief fort in the settlement, the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company was deposed—whether willingly or unwillingly does not matter—and where Mr. Macdougall fell into error was in supposing that the Canadian Government would accept the country in a state of internal commotion when it was specially agreed that the transfer would be a peaceful one.†

Governor of the North-West Territories, to make provision for the administration of justice therein, and generally to make, ordain, and establish all such laws, and institutions and ordinances as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of Her Majesty's subjects and others therein.

*Now know Ye*, that we have seen fit, by Our Royal Letters Patent, bearing date the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, to appoint the Honorable William Macdougall, of the City of Ottawa, in the Province of Ontario, in the Dominion of Canada, and member of Privy Council for Canada, and Companion of Our Most Honorable Order of the Bath, on, from and after the day to be named by Us, for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, aforesaid, into the Union or Dominion of Canada, to wit: or from and after the first day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, to be, during our pleasure, the *Lieutenant Governor* of the North-West Territories:

And we did thereby authorize, and empower, and require and command him, in due manner, to *Do and Execute*, in all things that shall belong to his said command, and the *Trust* we have reposed in him, according to the several provisions and instructions granted, or appointed him, by virtue of our said Commission, and the Act of the Parliament of Canada, heretofore recited, and according to such instructions as have been, or may, from time to time, be given to him, and to such laws as are or shall be enforced within the North-West Territories:

*Of all which* Our Loving Subjects of Our Territories, and all others whom these presents may concern, are hereby required to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly.

In Testimony Whereof, we have caused these Our Letters, to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of Our North-West Territories to be hereunto affixed: Witness Our Trusty and Well Beloved, The Honorable William Macdougall, Member of Our Privy Council for Canada, and Commander of Our Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor of our North-West Territories, &c., &c., at the Red River, in our aforesaid North-West Territories, this first day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the thirty-third year of Our Reign.

By command,

J. A. N. PROVENCER,

Secretary.

† In his letter to Hon. Mr. Howe, reviewing the Red River Rebellion, Mr. Macdougall publishes letters from Sir Curtis Sampson, Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and Sir John A. McDonald, which reached him while he was at Pembina, informing him, that the "transfer will take place on the 1st of December." Pamphlet on Red

purported to be granted, by certain Letters Patent of His Late Majesty King Charles the Second, to the said Governor and Company within Rupert's Land, upon such terms and conditions as should be agreed upon, by and between Her Majesty, and the said Governor and Company:

And, whereas, by "The Rupert's Land Act, 1868," it is further enacted, that from the date of the admission of Rupert's Land into the Dominion of Canada, as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the Parliament of Canada to make, ordain, and establish, within the said land and territory so admitted, as aforesaid, all such laws, institutions, and ordinances, and to constitute such courts and officers as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of Her Majesty's subjects, and others there in:

And, whereas, it is further provided by the said Act that until otherwise enacted by the said Parliament of Canada, all the powers, authorities, and jurisdiction of the several courts of justice, now established in Rupert's Land, and of the several officers thereof, and of all the magistrates and justices, now acting within the said limits, shall continue in full force and effect therein:

And, whereas, the said Governor and Company have surrendered to Her Majesty, and Her Majesty has accepted a surrender of all the lands, territories, rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities granted, or purported to be granted by the said Letters Patent, upon certain terms and conditions agreed upon by and between Her Majesty, and the said Governor and Company:

And, whereas, Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, and on an Address from both the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, in pursuance of the one hundred and forty-sixth section of "The British North America Act, 1867," hath declared that Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, shall, from the first day of December in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, be admitted into, and become part of the Dominion of Canada, upon the terms and conditions expressed in the said Address, of which Her Majesty has approved, and *Rupert's Land*, and the *North-Western Territory*, are admitted into the Union, and have become part of the *Dominion of Canada* accordingly:

And, whereas, the Parliament of Canada, by an Act intituled: "An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, when united with Canada," enacted that it should be lawful for the Governor, by any order, or orders, to be by him, from time to time, made with the advice of the Privy Council (and subject to such conditions and restrictions as to him should seem meet), to authorize and empower such officer as he may, from time to time, appoint, as Lieutenant-

4.—The news of the stopping of Mr. Macdougall at Pembina caused the greatest excitement throughout the Dominion, but especially in Ontario, where the feeling was exceedingly strong. The Government set itself promptly to work to calm the agitation of the Half-breeds and to endeavour to effect a peaceful transfer of the country. Telegraphic communication was opened with the Colonial Office immediately on receipt of Mr. Macdougall's letter of 31st of October, advising the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he had been stopped at Pembina, and the Home Office kept fully advised of events as they occurred. Steps were also taken to send parties who were supposed to have some influence with the French Half-breeds to reason with them, show them the extent of the position they were assuming, and assure them that Canada had no intention of infringing on any of their rights and privileges. For this purpose Vicar-General Thibault, who had spent over thirty years in the North-West, and Col. Desalaberry were invited, and accepted a mission to the North-West to calm and appease the portion of the community which was excited. At the same time overtures were made by the Government to Mr. Donald A. Smith, Chief Agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Montreal, to undertake a Special Commission to the North-West, which he accepted, and left Ottawa on 14th December, 1869. The powers given to Mr. Smith were very large, and he was commissioned to inquire into all causes of grievance and report as to the best means of removing them. His commission ran:—"Now know ye, that having confidence in your honesty, fidelity, and integrity, we do, by these presents, nominate, constitute, and appoint you, the said Donald A. Smith, to be our Special Commis-

River Rebellion," pp. 21, 22. Lord Granville in a despatch dated 30th November, 1869, in answer to the demand of the Canadian Government that Her Majesty's Government should take "the responsibility of putting down the resistance" states that "throughout the negotiations," for the transfer, "it had never been hinted that the Company is to be bound to hand over its Territory in a state of tranquillity." Mr. Macdougall contends that he was bound to assume from all the facts known to him at the time that the transfer had been made on the 1st December as agreed upon by "three Governments."

sioner, to enquire into the cause, nature, and extent of the obstruction offered at the Red River, in the North-West Territories, to the peaceable ingress of the Hon. William Macdougall, and other parties, authorized by our Governor-General of Canada to proceed into the same; and also to enquire into the causes of the discontent and dissatisfaction alleged to exist in respect to the proposed union of the North-West Territories with the Dominion of Canada; and further to explain to the inhabitants of the said country the principles on which the Government of Canada intends to administer the Government of the country, according to such instructions as may be given to you by our Governor in Council in this behalf; and to take steps to remove any misapprehensions which may exist in respect to the mode of Government of the same, and to report to our Governor-General the result of such enquiries; and on the best mode of quieting and removing such discontent and dissatisfaction; and also to report on the most proper and fitting mode for effecting the speedy transfer of the country and Government from the authority of Hudson's Bay Company to the Government of Canada with the general assent of the inhabitants." At the same time that these gentlemen were being despatched, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General, on the authority of the Colonial Office, offering amnesty to all those who immediately dispersed; and as this proclamation was afterwards very freely quoted by those who claimed that a full and general amnesty had been promised, we give it complete, italicising the lines in which the amnesty is promised, so that it may be seen that there is no promise contained in it other than for those who immediately and peaceably dispersed.\* It was

#### • PROCLAMATION.

##### CANADA.

By His Excellency The Right Honorable Sir John Young, Baronet, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor-General of Canada.

To all and every the Loyal Subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, and to all whom those presents shall come,—Greeting:

The Queen has charged me, as Her Representative, to inform you that she has heard with surprise and regret that certain misguided persons in

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hoped that this proclamation and the presence of Mr. Commissioner Smith would have the effect of restoring order, and allowing the transfer to be peaceably made, and that Mr. Macdougall would be allowed to enter the Territory.

5.—While measures looking towards a peaceful solution of the difficulty were being taken at Ottawa, Mr. Macdougall on the frontier was preparing for war, if necessary, and on the first of December, issued a Commission to Col. J. S. Dennis, as his Lieutenant and "Conservator of the Peace," authorizing him to raise, arm and equip troops, &c., very extensive powers being given him, as may be gathered from the following extract from his commission: "Know you, that reposing trust and confidence in your courage, loyalty, fidelity, discretion, and ability, and under, and in virtue of the authority in

Mr. Macdougall commissions a "Conservator of the Peace."

Her settlements on the Red River have banded themselves together to oppose, by force, the entry into Her North-Western Territories of the officer selected to administer, in Her name, the Government when the territories are united to the Dominion of Canada, under the authority of the late Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom; and that those parties have also forcibly and with violence prevented others of Her loyal subjects from ingress into the country.

Her Majesty feels assured that she may rely upon the loyalty of Her subjects in the North-West, and believes that those men who have thus illegally joined together, have done so from some misunderstanding or misrepresentation.

The Queen is convinced that in sanctioning the union of the North-West Territories with Canada, she is promoting the best interests of the residents, and at the same time, strengthening and consolidating Her North American possessions as part of the British Empire. You may notice then of the sorrow and displeasure with which the Queen views the unreasonable and lawless proceedings which have occurred.

Her Majesty commands me to state to you that she will always be ready, through me as Her Representative, to redress all well-founded grievances; and that she has instructed me to hear and consider any complaints that may be made or desires that may be expressed to me as Governor-General.

At the same time she has charged me to exercise all the power and authority with which she has entrusted me, in the support of order and the suppression of unlawful disturbance.

By Her Majesty's authority I do therefore assure you, that on the union with Canada, all your civil and religious rights and privileges will be respected; your properties secured to you, and your country will be governed as in the past under British Laws and in the spirit of British Justice.

I do further, under Her authority, entreat and command those of you who are still assembled and banded together, in defiance of law, peaceably to disperse and return to your homes under the penalties of the law in case of disobedience.

And I do lastly inform you that in case of your immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion I shall order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law.

Given under my hand and seal at Arvus, at Ottawa, this sixth day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the thirty-third year of Her Majesty's Reign.

JOHN YOUNG.

me vested, I have nominated and appointed, and, by these presents, do nominate and appoint you, the said John Stoughton Dennis, to be my Lieutenant and a Conservator of the Peace in and for the North-West territories, and do hereby authorize and empower you as such to raise, organize, arm, equip and provision, a sufficient force within the said Territories, and with the said force, to attack, arrest, disarm, or disperse the said armed men so unlawfully assembled and disturbing the public peace: and for that purpose, and with the force aforesaid, to assault, fire upon, pull down, or break into any fort, house, stronghold, or other place in which the said armed men may be found, and I hereby authorize you, as such Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace, to hire, purchase, impress, and take all necessary clothing, arms, ammunition and supplies, and all cattle, horses, wagons, sleighs, or other vehicles, which may be required for the use of the force to be raised as aforesaid; and I further authorize you to appoint as many officers and deputies under you, and to give them such orders and instructions from time to time, as may be found necessary for the due performance of the services herein required of you, reporting to me the said appointments, and orders as you shall find opportunity, for confirmation or otherwise; and I hereby give you full power and authority to call upon all Magistrates and Peace-officers to aid and assist you, and to order all or any of the inhabitants of the North-West Territories, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, to support and assist you in protecting the lives and properties of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, and in preserving the public peace, and for that purpose to seize, disperse, or overcome by force, the said armed men and all others, who may be found aiding or abetting them in their unlawful acts. And the said persons so called upon in Her Majesty's name, are hereby ordered and enjoined at their peril, to obey your orders and directions in that behalf; and this shall be sufficient warrant for what you or they do in the premises, so long as this Commission remains in force."

6.—Armed with this commission, which

seemed to be ample and sweeping enough, but which was really not worth the paper it was written on, as Mr. Macdougall had no authority to issue it, Colonel Dennis at once made his way to Winnipeg and communicated with some of the "friends of law and order," as the loyal party was sometimes called. He took possession of the Stone Fort, or Lower Fort Garry, appointed a number of officers in the different parishes, and began drilling his men. At first the English Half-breeds were quite enthusiastic, and the Christian Indians, under their Chief "Prince," tendered their services and a force of fifty was retained by Colonel Dennis to guard the Fort. This incautious action gave rise to the report that Governor Macdougall was enrolling the Sioux and other tribes to fight the French, and caused great anxiety in Canada for awhile, as well as a great fear in Minnesota and Dakota that their frontier would be plunged into all the horrors of an Indian war; but the fear was soon allayed by the repudiation by Governor Macdougall of any intention of employing Indians; and the collapse of Colonel Dennis' mission as "Conservator of the Peace" soon dispelled any danger of an actual conflict. The distribution by Riel amongst the Scotch and English Half-breeds of the "Bill of Rights" adopted by the Convention on the first of December, had the effect of making many waver in their opposition to him and rather disposed to think that he was only demanding what was just in requiring some kind of guarantee from the Canadian Government that their rights and property would be respected. Again, many of the Scotch Half-breeds were rich, and they hesitated about engaging in a strife where they saw that the men of property would be the first and most heavy losers; so that although Colonel Dennis in his role of Conservator enrolled some 400 men in the different parishes, they soon grew lukewarm and he became convinced that no rising could be effected. He, however, endeavored to effect a meeting between Riel and Hon. Mr. Macdougall, which Riel promised should take place, but broke his promise as usual. Another

Failure of Colonel  
Dennis to arouse the  
English Half-breeds.

thing which operated very unfavorably against Mr. Macdougall was the doubt which was soon thrown upon his right to the title of Lieutenant-Governor, there being no official notification of the transfer; and Colonel Dennis, finding he could do nothing, and that his authority was doubtful, prudently retired to Pembina, and shortly after returned to Canada with Mr. Macdougall, who left Pembina on 18th December, as soon as he found that his commission was worthless, and that he could do no good by remaining longer.

7.—Coming back to affairs at Fort Garry, we find that on the refusal of the English delegates to the Convention which closed its sittings on the 1st December, to join in the formation of a Provisional Government, Riel determined to carry matters with a high hand. Being informed that the Hon. Mr. Macdougall's Proclamation was being printed at the office of the *Nor-Wester*, he endeavoured to arrest its proprietor, Mr. W. R. Bown, and took possession of the office, but not until the Proclamation had been printed. On the same evening (1st Dec.) an attempt was made to arrest Dr. Schultz, who was the most objectionable of all the "Canadian" party to Riel, but the Doctor was absent at the Stone Fort consulting with Colonel Dennis, and the only result was an alarm to Mrs. Schultz, who was an invalid. The village of Winnipeg was now in a state of great excitement and confusion; armed guards patrolled the streets; the Canadians were placed under surveillance; the Proclamations of Hon. Mr. Macdougall, which had been posted up in conspicuous places, were torn down, and general alarm prevailed. While Colonel Dennis was enrolling all the recruits he could muster at the Stone Fort or other places, the Canadians in Winnipeg, to the number of about fifty, who had been already enrolled, assembled at the house of Dr. Schultz, about eight hundred yards' distance from Fort Garry, to protect the property of the Canadian Government stored there. This small force, which was but imperfectly armed, put the place in as good a state of defense as possible, and soon was in a state of siege

Condition of affairs in  
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by Riel, who had now over three hundred men with him. Several times the parties very nearly came into collision, but each side was anxious to have the other fire the first shot, and they stood very much like a couple of school boys, anxious to fight but each afraid to "strike first."

8.—For three days the Canadian party in Dr. Schultz's house remained in a state of siege, and in the meanwhile the hopes of Colonel Dennis being able to raise any considerable force were dissipated. Fearing that a collision might occur, Colonel Dennis sent an order to the Canadians to leave Winnipeg and go to Kildonan School-house, as he could not come to their assistance, and warning them on no account to be provoked into firing the first shot. The bearer of this order was captured by Riel, and it gave him increased confidence. Cut off from wood and water the little force began to feel the pressure of the investment. Exhausted by the necessity of being at their posts night and day, they decided on the evening of the sixth to attempt to cut their way out on the following day, but on that morning Riel sent in Lépine and Moran, two of his prominent followers, and Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, brother-in-law of Governor MacTavish, under a flag of truce.

Through these persons the Canadians were told that Riel knew that Colonel Dennis had advised them to surrender (which was correct), that he had agreed to have an interview with Hon. Mr. Macdougall, and that if they would march up to Fort Garry they would simply be disarmed and allowed to go where they pleased. Some of the party doubted the sincerity of this promise; but on the assurance of Bannatyne, the only one of the party who spoke English, that the agreement would be faithfully kept, and that he would personally guarantee all private property, the Canadians surrendered, and with Mrs. Schultz, Mrs. Mair, and Mrs. O'Donnell, were taken to Fort Garry, not, however, to be released, for they found when disarmed that the gates were shut, a *feu de*

*joie* fired, and arrangements made for their close imprisonment.\*

9.—Dr. Schultz and the majority of the prisoners were within the walls of the Fort and securely guarded, while Thomas Scott and some others were placed in the prison of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was outside the walls, and withal not a very secure building. Having by his promise to meet Hon. Mr. Macdougall induced Colonel Dennis to discontinue his efforts to enroll men, and, by his duplicity, captured the Canadians who were in arms, there was now no force available to oppose Riel, and the night of the seventh was one of high orgies among the insurgents. Riel and his Court became outrageously drunk on the rum found amongst the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company. The work of capturing the Canadians without firing a shot accomplished, Riel forgot his promise to see Mr. Macdougall, and on the very next day (the eighth of December) issued a proclamation, which was virtually a Declaration of Independence, and which bore such unmistakable signs of American "spread-eagleism" in its composition that its authorship was generally attributed to Stuttsman, the Postmaster of Pembina, who was a rabid Annexationist and a great friend of Riel's.

\* The following is the list of prisoners taken on 7th December:

John Schultz, M. D.	W. J. Davis,
Arthur Hamilton,	J. B. Haines,
G. D. McVicar,	H. Waightman,
R. P. Meade,	L. W. Archibald,
Henry Woodington,	C. E. Palmer,
W. J. Allen,	George Barber,
Thomas Langman,	Matthew Davis,
James Lynch, M.D.	Archibald Wright,
George Fontney,	Peter McArthur,
Wm. Graham,	Robert R. Smith,
Wm. Nimmons,	James C. Kent,
Wm. Kitson,	J. M. Coombs,
John Ferguson,	A. R. Chisholm,
Wm. Spice,	John Eccles,
Thomas Lusted,	John Ivy,
James Stewart,	F. C. Mugridge,
D. A. Campbell,	George Nichol,
John O'Donnell, M.D.	George Miller,
W. F. Hyman,	James H. Ashdown,
James Mulligan,	A. W. Graham,
Charles Garratt,	D. Cameron,
T. Franklin,	J. H. Stocks,

John Hallett.

Thomas Scott and William Hallett were also captured while out as Scouts on a former night.



10.—On the 10th of December the flag of the Provisional Government was unfurled over Fort Garry in place of the Hudson's Bay Company's flag. This new flag was the French *Fleur de lis* on a white ground to which the Shamrock was afterwards added. With reference to the flag, Archbishop Taché in his evidence before the select committee of Parliament on the North-West Territory, 18th April, 1874, said: "There was no British flag used in the country for some time previous to the movement. When the Hudson's Bay Company did use a flag, it was not the British flag proper, it was a 'Union Jack,' with the letters 'H. B. C.' For two years, probably, previous to the movement, there was no British flag hoisted in the country, except the flag of Dr. Schultz, a 'Union Jack,' which had the word 'Canada' upon it, and it was considered a party flag. Mr. Riel considered that if one man in the country had a right to raise a flag of his own, the same right extended to other men. The flag used by the Provisional Government was the French flag with the 'fleur de lis,' to which was afterwards added the Shamrock, so there was never any such thing as taking down the British flag at all, about which so much has been said. On account of the letters 'H. B. C.' on the flag, it was considered the flag of the Company. It used to be the practice to fly this flag on Sundays, but for some months before the troubles this practice had ceased, and as far as I know this flag was not hoisted at all for some months. Schultz's flag was, as I understand, hoisted in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company." The hoisting of the rebel flag by Riel gave great offence throughout Canada, and his real designs began to be suspected,—which was plainly absolute Independence or annexation to the United States. Riel's position now seemed secure. He had in close confinement a body of men who, though few in number, he had feared very much; by misrepresentation he had got rid of Colonel Dennis and Governor Macdougall, and he now turned his attention to the administration of affairs. John Bruce retired from the

The rebel flag—  
Riel President.

Presidency which Riel assumed; O'Donohue was continued in his office of Treasurer; Lépine was made Adjutant-General and Bannatyne was given charge of the Post-office Department. Councillors were appointed who were in daily session, and a large stock of trading and other goods belonging to Dr. Schultz was taken possession of, under a formal edict of confiscation passed by the "Council." Guards were continued in the village of Winnipeg, but, apparently fearing the slumbering feeling of the English natives—or, perhaps, still hoping to gain them over to the support of his Government—Riel did not interfere at this time with the English Parishes. Strong efforts were made also at this time to get the neighboring Indians to join the insurgents, but this totally failed, principally because the foresight of Governor Macdougall had caused him to authorize Joseph Monkman, an English Half-breed of great influence among the tribes, to visit their camps, explain the position, and urge them to remain loyal to the Queen. This task Monkman so faithfully performed that not one single Indian joined Riel's standard.

11.—Riel was now at the head of a Government and began to feel the need of an organ in which to expound his views, and on the 22nd of December, purchased from William Caldwell, the proprietor, *The Red River Pioneer*, a journal which had hitherto been published in the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. Of course Riel needed funds with which to make this purchase, and on the same afternoon he seized a sufficient sum from the accountant of the Hudson's Bay Company. On Christmas Day John Bruce retired from the Presidency but still remained a member of the Council. On the twenty-sixth Vicar-General Thibault arrived at the Fort, the other Commissioner from Canada, Colonel DeSalaberry having decided to remain a few days at Pembina; and on the twenty-seventh Mr. Donald A. Smith, Special Commissioner, reached the Fort, having left his papers at Pembina until he was sure of what kind of a reception he would meet with. His

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reception does not appear to have been an enthusiastic one, judging from his report to the Secretary of State for the Province, dated 12th April, 1870. He says: "The gate of the Fort we found open, but guarded by several armed men, who, on my desiring to be shown to Governor MacTavish's house, requested me to wait till they could communicate with their Chief. In a short time Mr. Louis Riel appeared. I announced my name; he said he had heard of my arrival at Pembina, and was about to send off a party to bring me in. I then accompanied him to a room occupied by ten or a dozen men, whom he introduced to me as members of the 'Provisional Government.' He requested to know the purport of my visit to which I replied in substance that I was connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, but also held a commission from the Canadian Government to the people of Red River, and would be prepared to produce my credentials so soon as they, the people, were willing to receive me. I was then asked to take an oath not to attempt to leave the Fort that night, nor to upset this government, legally established. This request I peremptorily refused to comply with, but said that, being very tired, I had no desire to go outside the gate that night, and promised to take no immediate steps forcibly to upset the so-called 'Provisional Government,' 'legal or illegal, as it might be,' without first announcing my intention to do so: Mr. Riel taking exception to the word illegal, while I insisted on retaining it. Mr. O'Donohue, to get over the difficulty, remarked 'That is as he (meaning myself) understands it,' to which I rejoined, 'Precisely so.' The above explanation, I am more particular in giving, as it has been reported that I at once acknowledged the Provisional Government to be legal. Neither then nor afterwards did I do so. I took up my quarters in one of the houses occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, and from that date until towards the close of February, was virtually a prisoner within the Fort, although with permission to go outside the walls for exercise, accompanied by two armed guards, a privilege of which I never availed myself. The

state of matters at this time in and around Fort Garry, was most unsatisfactory and truly humiliating. Upwards of sixty British subjects were held in close confinement as 'political prisoners;' security for persons or property, there was none; the Fort, with its large supplies of ammunition, provisions, and stores of all kinds, was in the possession of a few hundred French Half-breeds, whose leaders had declared their determination to use every effort for the purpose of annexing the Territory to the United States; and the Governor and Council of Assiniboia were powerless to enforce the law." So closed the year, darkly enough for the solitary little settlement in the wilderness, but ere another year elapsed it was to experience great changes and the foundations laid for that marvellous growth which has characterized it for the past eight years, and which is fast making it one of the most flourishing portions of the Dominion.

## CHAPTER XII.

### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG.—THE RED RIVER TROUBLES.

1. INACTIVITY OF THE CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS.—2. BISHOP TACHÉ AGREES TO RETURN TO RED RIVER. ESCAPE OF FIVE PRISONERS.—3. COMMISSIONER SMITH ADDRESSES A MASS MEETING. APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES.—4. ESCAPE OF DR. SCHULTZ.—5. MEETING OF CONVENTION. THE "LIST OF RIGHTS."—6. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT."—7. APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES TO CANADA.—8. THE RISING AT KILDONAN. RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS.—9. CAPTURE OF THE PORTAGE DETACHMENT.—10. THE FIRST BLOOD SPILLED. DEATH OF SUTHERLAND.—11. MAJOR BOULTON CONDEMNED TO DEATH. DUPLICITY OF RIEL.—12. DR. SCHULTZ'S TRAMP OF 500 MILES ON SNOW SHOES.

1.—The first event of importance which occurred in the settlement in the new year was the arrival of Colonel DeSalaberry at Fort Garry on the 5th January; but even then, although all the Commissioners had arrived, no steps were taken to further the object of their mission. Mr. Smith in his report says: "On the 6th January, I saw Mr. Riel, and soon came to the conclusion that no good could arise from entering into any negotiations with his 'Council,' even were we to admit their authority, which I am not prepared to do;" the Commissioner, therefore, contented himself with biding his time to get an opportunity to address the people, and meanwhile, as Mr. Smith says, they "had frequent visits in the Fort from some of the most influential and most reliable men in the settlement, who gladly made known to the people generally, the liberal intentions of the Canadian Government, and in consequence one after another of Riel's Councillors seceded from him, and being joined by their friends and by many of their compatriots and co-religionists who had throughout remained aloof from the insurgents, they determined no longer to submit to his dictation." This took some days to accomplish, and it is noticeable that *The New Nation*, the official organ of the Provisional Government, the first number of which appeared on 7th January, 1870, made no mention of Mr. Smith as a Commissioner, but merely announced his arrival as that of an employé of the Hudson's Bay Company.\* It may be as well to state here that this paper, the *New Nation* was edited by an American named Robinson, and openly and avowedly urged annexation to the United States as the future of the Red River settlement, a policy which it continued to advocate until after the arrival of Bishop Taché, when it was suppressed for two weeks; and when it reappeared it was much milder in tone, and counselled a union with

Inactivity of the  
Canadian  
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\* The first number of the *New Nation* does not refer to the arrival of Messrs. Thibault and DeSalaberry at all, and has only the following brief notice of Mr. Smith's arrival: "D. A. Smith, Esq., General manager for the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, arrived at Fort Garry last week. He comes to assist Governor MacTavish during his illness in the management of the Company's affairs."

Canada, if favorable terms could be obtained.\*

2.—On this same seventh of January, arrangements were made for the return to Red River of Bishop Taché, who was in Rome attending the Œcumenical Council. When it was known in Ottawa that the troubles in the settlement were likely to prove of a serious nature, it was felt by the members of the Government that the Bishop was the one man who had most influence over the French Half-breeds, amongst whom he had labored most faithfully for over twenty years, and an enquiry was made by the Hon. Mr. Langevin, Minister of Public Works, through his brother the Bishop of Rimouski, who was also in Rome, to know whether Bishop Taché would be willing to return. To this enquiry His Grace replied in the affirmative, and on the seventh a telegram was sent from Ottawa gladly accepting his services, and the Bishop left Rome as speedily as possible. Of his mission and its results we will speak further on. On the ninth of January a number of the prisoners who had been captured at Dr. Schultz's house escaped from the Hudson's Bay prison, which was outside of the Fort Garry walls. Amongst these, were Thomas Scott, Charles Mair and W. T. Hyman. Although the night was intensely cold and stormy, Scott and Mair succeeded in making good their escape to Portage la Prairie, but Hyman lost his way, and wandering on until his feet were frozen, took refuge in a house whose owners informed Riel, and he was

Bishop Taché agrees  
to return to Red  
River. Escape of five  
prisoners.

\* The leading article which appeared in the first issue was headed "Our policy" and ran as follows: "Something as to our policy will be expected from us in this number, and we proceed briefly to define our position. In common with the majority of this settlement we regard the Hudson's Bay Company's Government as obsolete, and never to be reconstituted. The Dominion Government by its criminal blunders and gross injustice to this people have for ever alienated them; and by their forfeiture of all right to our respect, will prevent us in future from either seeking or permitting its protection. The Imperial Government we consider to be too far distant to intelligently administer our affairs. The question arises then, what form of Government is best adopted for the development of this country? And we reply, unhesitatingly, that the United States Republic offers us to-day that system of Government which would best promote order and progress in our midst, and open up rapidly a country of magnificent resources. But in our present dependent position, we cannot obtain what we need in that direction, and hence we will hold it to be our duty to advocate Independence for the people of Red River as a present cure for public ills. Our annexation to the States will follow in time, and bring with it the advantages this land so much requires."

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speedily recaptured and brought back to the more secure prison inside the Fort Garry walls, where Dr. Schultz and others were confined. Seven of those who attempted to escape were recaptured.\*

3.—To return to Mr. Smith: After he had been nearly three weeks in Fort Garry, Riel approached him on the subject of his mission, and requested to see his Commission, as he wanted to see whether he had authority to offer or accept any terms from the French Half-breeds. Mr. Smith informed him that his Commission had been left at Pembina, but offered to send a friend for it, and other papers, provided he was given an opportunity of speaking to the people. To this Riel consented, and the messenger was despatched; but Riel endeavored to get possession of the papers before they reached Mr. Smith, who was kept a close prisoner, and not allowed to speak to any one while his messenger was away for his papers.†

On the arrival of the papers it was, after some difficulty, agreed that a public meeting should be held on the nineteenth, at which the papers should be produced and read.‡ At the hour appointed upwards of one thousand persons had

\* On Sunday night last, twelve of the political prisoners confined in Upper Fort Garry, made their escape. The night was very cold—twenty-one degrees below zero—and most of the unfortunate men wore English shoes and were without mittens, mufflers or overcoats. Nearly all were, of course, frost bitten during their run, two or three very badly so. Within four days most of them, we believe, were recaptured by the French guards. *New Nation*, 14th January, 1870.

† Mr. Smith, in his report, says:—

"The well-affected French party became aware of what had happened, and, not believing in Riel's good faith, determined to prevent the papers from falling into his hands. They got together some sixty or eighty men, who met my friend on his way back, and were escorting him, when on the eighteenth, about ten miles from the Fort, they were accosted by Riel and some of his party, and by the Rev. Mr. Richot. An altercation took place. Riel attempted to use his pistol, saying 'he would not be taken alive in his own country,' on which a revolver was levelled at his head; and Mr. Richot, having interposed, he was unceremoniously told to stand aside and 'not to interfere any further with matters unconnected with his spiritual duties.' It may be well to note that all those who took part in the affair were Catholics, and, with one or two exceptions, French Half-breeds. Nothing more serious happened at this time, and the party proceeded together to Fort Garry, where they arrived in the afternoon. A few minutes before they entered the house, the Very Rev. Mr. Thibault, Pere Lestane, and Colonel de Salaberry, called upon me, and, with the exception of my guard, they were the first individuals with whom I was permitted to converse since the 14th."

‡ "Mr. Riel came to me saying, 'Your Commission is here—but in the hands of men who have no right to have it.' I expressed satisfaction that it had been brought in, and said, 'Being now in possession of it, I must be relieved from all restraint, and be permitted freely to com-

municate with the people.' He at once removed the guard, and we went up to the party who had just arrived. Messrs. Riel and O'Donohue, with a few of their friends, were present, and vehemently protested against the action now being taken, while the ex-Councillors accused them of treason to the Imperial Crown, and of using every effort to bring about the annexation of the country to the United States. Riel replied, 'That was only supposing the people desired it, but that he was willing the question should be submitted to them.' Pere Lestane spoke warmly in favour of the 'President,' who, he said, had acted so as to merit the gratitude of his countrymen, and begged them still to place confidence in him. This evidently had no effect, and ultimately, after a good deal of recrimination, it was arranged that a meeting of the inhabitants, from all parts of the Settlement, should be called for the morrow, the 19th, at which the papers bearing on the subject should be read, a guard of forty men remaining in the house to ensure the safe-keeping of the documents.

"Riel's men were now falling away from him, while the loyal party expressed their determination no longer to be guided in the matter either by him or by Pere Lestane and his associates. They were full of hope, and confident that the following day would bring with it complete success to the cause of Canada.

"Late that night Pere Lestane paid them another visit, which was prolonged for several hours beyond midnight, and next morning it was found that a majority of those who had seceded from Riel were again on friendly terms with him."—*Extract from Report of Donald A. Smith, Esq.*

On the documents all being read, Riel moved, seconded by Mr. Bannatyne, "That twenty representatives shall be elected by the English population of Red River, to meet twenty other representatives of the French population, on Tuesday the 25th inst., at noon, in the Court House, with the object of considering the subject of Mr. Smith's Commission, and to decide what would be best for the welfare of the country." After some slight objection to the motion as implying a doubt of Mr. Smith's Commission, the motion was carried. Many of those who had attended the meeting were puzzled at the Commissioners not insisting on an answer from Riel and his Council, as they alone represented the insurgent element; and many thought they saw in Riel's proposition—seconded as it was by Governor MacTavish's brother-in-law (Bannatyne)—only a desire to gain time, and win over the English Half-breeds if possible.

4.—Riel's attention was momentarily diverted from the proposed meeting of the convention by the escape from prison, on the night of Sunday, 23rd, of Dr. Schultz, the man of all his political prisoners whom he most cordially hated, and whose liberty he most feared. A short time after the capture of the Doctor and his party, so great was Riel's fear of his making a dash on the guards with the rest of the prisoners, that he ordered Dr. Schultz to be placed in solitary confinement, and strongly guarded. The prisoners had all waited through weeks of weary confinement for the arrival of the Commissioners, believing that their first act would be the request for the liberty of British subjects confined without cause; and when the mass meeting was held under the very walls of this prison, without the slightest indication of interest on the part of the Commissioners for their release, all hopes ceased, and Dr. Schultz—who had for some time suspected, from the whispering of the guards, that the fate afterwards meted out to Scott was determined upon for him—resolved to attempt escape. Sunday night being intensely cold, with drifting snow, was chosen as likely to enable him to elude pursuit if once his prison

could be breached. A small gimlet and pen-knife—which had been conveyed to him by a clever stratagem of his wife's and carefully secreted for weeks—enabled the prisoner, after eight hours of labor, to make an opening through the fastenings, sufficiently large to squeeze his body through, and his Buffalo robe bed, cut into strips, was to afford safe descent into the inner court of the Fort. Unfortunately, the Buffalo robe broke, injuring the prisoner's leg by his too hasty descent to the icy path beneath, and making the task of scaling the Fort Garry wall, which he had still to accomplish, a matter of much difficulty. Throwing himself, however, from the top of the outer wall, near one of the bastions, he was fortunate enough to be received in the kindly but cold embrace of a snow drift, formed by the angle of wall and bastion. Very lame from his fall from the prison, he proceeded with halting steps through the village of Winnipeg to the friendly Half-breed settlements to the North. Fortunately the intense cold kept Riel's Winnipeg guard indoors, and the frosted windows showed them no sign of the lame refugee whose footsteps were almost instantly covered by the drifting snow, and who safely made his way to the Parish of Kildonan, and, about day-light found help and shelter under the friendly roof of Mr. Robert McBeath. The morning revealing the escape of his principal prisoner, Riel immediately sent parties of horsemen in every direction to effect his recapture; and, after curiously scanning the opening made and the Buffalo robe, proceeded to relieve his pent up wrath on the other prisoners, who, judging from the hubbub that Dr. Schultz's attempt had been successful, were venting their satisfaction in joyous songs. To this Riel put a hasty stop, and, with many a malediction on the whole of them, made an example of a much respected Half-breed, named William Hallett, by ironing him, hand and foot, and placing him in the part of the prison from which Dr. Schultz had escaped. \*

\* The *New Nation* of 29th January, gives the following account of the escape of Dr. Schultz: "The political prisoner, Dr. Schultz, made his

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St. Charles.....

St. Boniface.....

St. Vidal.....

St. Norbert.....

Point Coupée.....

Oak Point.....

Pt. A. Grondette...



5.—The Convention of English and French delegates met in Fort Garry Court House on 25th January, and remained in session, with an adjournment of two days, until 10th February. No business was transacted on the first day on account of the absence of three of the French members, but on the second all the delegates were present, and the election of officers took place.† Judge Black was unanimously called to the Chair, and Messrs. W. Coldwell and Louis Schmidt appointed Secretaries; Messrs. Louis Reil and James Ross agreeing to act as interpreters. On the third day a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Thomas Bunn, James Ross, Dr. Bird, Louis Riel, Louis Schmidt, and Charles Nolin, was appointed to draft a "Bill of Rights," which was to be submitted to Mr. Smith, he having agreed to examine it, and state how far, in his opinion, the Government of Canada would be disposed to grant the demands made. The Committee reported the Bill of Rights on the 29th, and it was taken up, clause by clause, and

escape from Fort Garry on Sunday night last. It appears the Doctor was confined in an upper room of one of the buildings at the Fort, closely attended by a guard. On the evening in question he requested the guard to retire from the room whilst he changed his clothes. The guard being gone the Doctor cut his robe into strips, and having by some means procured a large gimlet which he inserted in the wall below the window sill, he fastened the line to it and let himself down to the ground. Two strange cutters were seen about the Fort late in the night, which lead to the supposition that his escape was effected with the knowledge of some outside parties. Be this as it may, certain it is that the redoubtable Doctor is once more enjoying his daily rations, without having his potatoes probed by a bayonet, and is permitted the luxury of a clean shirt-collar without the ceremony of an examination for letters in cipher."

† The following is a list of the members of the Convention:—

FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES.	ENGLISH REPRESENTATIVES.
St. Paul's..... { M. Thibert. Alex. Pigeon. Maquerey-Briston.	St. Peter's..... { R. v. H. Cochrane. Thos. Spence.
St. Francois Xavier { Xavier Pigeon. Pierre Poitras.	St. Clement's..... { Thomas Bunn. Alex. McKenzie.
St. Charles..... { A. McKay. J. F. Grant. W. B. O'Donohue.	St. Andrew's..... { Judge Black. D. Gunn Sr. Alfred Boyd.
St. Boniface..... { A. Laroche. Joe Genton. Louis Schmidt.	St. Paul's..... { Dr. Bird. Kildonan..... { John Frazer. Jno Sutherland.
St. Vidal..... { Louis Riel. A. Beauchemin.	St. John's..... { James Ross. St. James'..... { Geo. Flett. Robt. Taylor.
St. Norbert..... { P. Paronreau. N. Larouche. B. Towron.	Hebbling's..... { W. Lonsdale. St. Mary's..... { K. McKenzie. St. Margaret's..... { W. Cummings.
Point Coupee..... { P. Delorme.	St. Ann's..... { Geo. Gunn. D. Spence.
Oak Point..... { Frs. Nolin. C. Nolin.	Winnipeg..... { Alfred H. Scott.
Pt. A. Grouette..... { Geo. Klyne.	

discussed with great elaborateness until the fifth, when it was finally adopted, and the Convention adjourned until one o'clock on Monday 7th, when Mr. Smith was expected to give his answers to the demands of the Bill, the Secretaries having been instructed to furnish him with a copy by eleven o'clock on Monday morning.\* At the time appointed Mr. Smith

\* The following is a copy of the Bill of Rights, together with Mr. Smith's replies, as given by him in his report:

#### "LIST OF RIGHTS."

1. That in view of the present exceptional position of the North-West, duties upon goods imported into the country shall continue as at present (except in the case of spirituous liquors) for three years, and for such further time as may elapse until there be uninterrupted railroad communication between Red River Settlement and St. Paul, and also steam communication between Red River Settlement and Lake Superior.
2. As long as this country remains a Territory in the Dominion of Canada, there shall be no direct taxation except such as may be imposed by the Local Legislature for Municipal or other Local purposes.
3. During the time this country remains a Territory in the Dominion of Canada, all military, civil, and other public expenses in connection with the general government of the country,—or that have hitherto been borne by the public funds of the Settlement, beyond the receipt of the above mentioned duties, shall be met by the Dominion of Canada.
4. That while the burden of public expense in this country is borne by Canada, the country be governed under a Lieutenant-Governor from Canada, and a Legislature, three members of whom being heads of departments of the Government, shall be nominated by the Governor General of Canada.
5. That after the expiration of this exceptional period, the country shall be governed, as regards its local affairs, as the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec are now governed, by a Legislature elected by the people, and a Ministry responsible to it, under a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor General of Canada.
6. That there shall be no interference by the Dominion Parliament in the Local affairs of this Territory other than is allowed in any of the Provinces in the Confederation; and that this Territory shall have and enjoy in all respects, the same privileges, advantages and aids in meeting the public expenses of this Territory as the Confederated Provinces have and enjoy.
7. That while the North-West remains a Territory, the Legislature have a right to pass all laws local to the Territory, over the veto of the Lieutenant-Governor, by a two-third vote.
8. A Homestead and Pre-emption Law.
9. That while the North-West remains a Territory, the sum of \$25,000 (twenty-five thousand dollars) a year be appropriated for schools, roads and bridges.
10. That all public buildings be at the cost of the Dominion Treasury.
11. That there shall be guaranteed uninterrupted steam communication to Lake Superior within five years, and also the establishment by rail of a connection with the American railway as soon as it reaches the International line.
12. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and Courts, and that all public documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.
13. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the French and English languages.
14. That treaties be concluded between the Dominion and the several Indian tribes of the country, as soon as possible.
15. That until the population of the country entitles us to more, we have four representatives in the Canadian Parliament—one in the Senate and three in the Legislative Assembly.
16. That all properties, rights and privileges, as hitherto enjoyed by us, be respected and the recognition and arrangement of local customs, usages and privileges, be made under the control of the Local Legislature.
17. That the Local Legislature of this Territory have full control of all the public land inside a circumference, having Upper Fort Garry as the



gave his reply to the "Bill of Rights" (see footnote), and concluded by inviting delegates to go to Ottawa, and consult with the Government. His speech, as reported in the *New*

centre, and that the radii of this circumference, be the number of miles that the American line is distant from Fort Garry.

18. That every man in this country (except uncivilized and unsettled Indians) who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and every British subject, a stranger to this Territory, who has resided three years in the country, and is a householder, shall have a right to vote at the election of a member to serve in the Legislature of the country and in the Dominion Parliament; and every foreign subject, other than a British subject, who has resided the same length of time in the country, and is a householder, shall have the same right to vote, on condition of his taking the oath of allegiance: it being understood that this article be subject to amendment exclusively by the Local Legislature.

19. That the North-West Territory shall never be held liable for any portion of the £300,000 paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, or for any portion of the public debt of Canada, as it stands at the time of our entering the Confederation; and if, thereafter we be called upon to assume our share of the said public debt, we consent only on condition that we first be allocated the amount for which we shall be held liable."

The foregoing document was put into my hands at 11 a.m., February 7th, and I was invited to meet the Delegates at 1 p.m., the same day, which I did, and then, as Canadian Commissioner, replied as follows:—

1. "With regard to the first article, the Convention has already had a communication to the effect that the Dominion Government had provided by Order in Council for the continuance of the present tariff of duties in the Territory for at least two years; and I feel convinced that the Government will be prepared to recommend to Parliament such measures as will meet the views of the Convention, as expressed in this article.

2nd and 3rd. I believe the Canadian Government will ask the Dominion Parliament to meet the views of the Convention and their Constituents in respect to these articles.

4th. The Canadian Government assured me of their desire to consult the wishes of the people of the Territory in respect to matters connected with the Composition of the Local Legislature, and of their intention to select at least two-thirds of the Council from among the residents. This Council would have reported as to the best mode of proceeding in ordering the elective principle, and Parliament would then have been asked to pass an Act on the subject, the Government having no power to settle such a matter without an Act. Bearing this in mind, I do not hesitate to give it as my opinion that the Dominion Government will ask Parliament to provide a liberal Government for the country while it remains a Territory.

5th. I have the most explicit assurance from the Canadian Government that such will be the case.

6th. For this the Dominion Government will provide in a liberal spirit.

7th. This article brings up some constitutional considerations, with which it would be presumption on my part, were I to deal summarily. But, I will repeat most distinctly, that the Dominion Government will pay the utmost deference to the wishes of the Convention, as regards this and all other matters in connection with the Government of the country, and I have full confidence that the decision arrived at will be acceptable to the people.

8th. I have been instructed by the Canadian Government—to make known to the people of the Settlement—that all property held by residents in peaceable possession will be secured to them; and that a most liberal land policy in regard to the future Settlement of the country will be adopted,—every privilege in this respect enjoyed in Ontario or Quebec, being extended to the Territory.

9th. I feel certain that an amount even exceeding that here mentioned, will be appropriated for the purposes referred to.

10th. I can safely promise that the Dominion Government will defray the cost of all the public buildings required for the general business of the Territory.

11th. I do not hesitate to give this assurance, as the works on the Lake Superior route, which have been progressing actively since the early part of last summer, will doubtless be completed much within the time specified. As to the railway to Pembina, shortly after the American line reaches that point, it will certainly be carried out.

*Nation*, concluded as follows:—\* "I have now—on the part of the Dominion Government and as authorized by them—to invite the delegation of the residents of Red River to meet and confer with them at Ottawa a delegation of two or more of the residents of Red River—as they may think best—the delegation to confer with the Government and Legislature, and explain the wants and wishes of the Red River people, as well as to discuss and arrange for the representation of the country in Parliament. On the part of the Government I am authorised to offer a very cordial reception to the delegates who may be sent from this country to Canada. I myself feel every confidence that the result will be such as will be entirely satisfactory to the people of the North-West. It is, I know, the desire of the Canadian Government that it should be so."

6.—On the eighth the question of sending the delegates was taken up by the Convention; but it was soon found that this was intended to involve more than <sup>Establishment of the "Provisional Government."</sup> at first appeared, for Riel, Ross,

12th. This will unquestionably be provided for.

13th. The answer given to No. 12, will apply equally here.

14th. Fully alive to the necessity of this, the Dominion Parliament will not fail to take an early opportunity of dealing with the matter, in order to extinguish in an equitable manner the claims of the Indians, so that settlers may obtain clear and indisputable titles.

15th. The Convention will not expect me to speak definitely as to the number of representatives to be allotted to the territory, but I can promise that the circumstances and requirements of the country will be fully and liberally considered in dealing with this matter.

16th. On the part of the Canadian Government, as well as of Her Majesty's Representative in British North America, and also as coming immediately from the Sovereign, assurances have been given to all that the properties, rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by the people of the Territory would be respected, and I feel sure that the Dominion Government will confide to the Local Legislature the recognition and arrangement of local customs, usages, and privileges.

17th. My knowledge of the country and of the extent to which the concession here desired might affect public works, &c., is too limited to permit me to give any decided opinion on the subject further than that full and substantial justice will be done in the matter.

18th. Without entering into the details of the article, I would say that the franchises will be so adjusted as to be satisfactory to the public, both native and immigrant, and in a manner conducive to the general welfare.

19th. My belief is, that the Canadian Government has no intention of imposing on the North-West Territory the payment of any portion of the £300,000, and I have much confidence that they will be so actuated in every respect, by wise and just motives, that in arranging for the distribution of the public debt of Canada, the North-West Territory will not be held liable for anything it ought not to bear: in short, that here, as in every other particular, substantial justice will be done.

\* Mr. Smith, in his report, says:—"The proceedings of the Convention, as reported in the *New Nation* newspaper of the 11th and 18th February, copies of which I have had the honor of addressing to you, are sufficiently exact, and render it unnecessary for me to go into details."

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tions, says: "

O'Donohue and others urged that it was necessary to recognize and re-organize the Provisional Government before the delegates were appointed. This was rather more than the English delegates had bargained for, and they contended that they had not the power to vote on that question without first consulting their constituents, holding that the Hudson's Bay Company was the only legal Government in the country until the transfer had been made. A long and animated debate ensued, and two of the delegates, Messrs. Sutherland and Fraser, withdrew to consult with Governor MacTavish. On re-entering the Convention, Mr. Sutherland said: "In order to clear away my own doubts, I went with Mr. Fraser to see Governor MacTavish. I asked his opinion as to the advisability of forming a Provisional Government. He replied, 'Form a Government for God's sake, and restore peace and order in the settlement.'" This reply of the Governor's had considerable influence on the English delegates, and, after some further debate it was agreed to appoint a Committee "to discuss and decide on the basis and details of the Provisional Government which we have agreed is to be formed for Rupert's Land and the North West Territory." This Committee reported at the evening session of the ninth, recommending a Council of twenty-four members, twelve French and twelve English, and suggesting the names of candidates for all the officers except President. This was afterwards filled up by the nomination of Riel, and after some discussion the report was adopted. The following is a list of the officers so elected:

PRESIDENT .....	Louis Riel.
JUDGE OF SUPREME COURT .....	James Ross.
SHERIFF .....	Henry McKenny.
CORONER .....	Dr. Bird.
POSTMASTER-GENERAL .....	A. G. B. Bannatyne. John Sutherland.
COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS .....	Roger Goulet.
SECRETARY OF STATE .....	Thomas Burn.
ASSISTANT-SECRETARY OF STATE .....	Louis Schmidt.
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY .....	W. B. O'Donohue.

The *New Nation* in announcing these elections, says: "The confirmation of Louis Riel as

President of the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land by the Convention, was announced amid salvos of artillery from the Fort, and the cheers of the delegates. The town welcomed the announcement by a grand display of fireworks and the general and continued discharge of small arms. The firing and cheering were prolonged until late in the night, everyone joining in the general enthusiasm. As the result of the amicable union of all parties upon one common platform, a general amnesty to political prisoners will shortly be proclaimed, the soldiers remanded to their homes to await orders, and everything be placed upon a peace footing. *Vive la République.*"

7.—After the adoption of the report appointing officers of the Provisional Government, Riel ordered that Governor MacTavish, Dr. Cowan and Mr. Bannatyne, <sup>Appointment of delegates to Canada.</sup> who had been prisoners (?) should be given full liberty and promised that all the prisoners should shortly be released. On the tenth a ballot was taken for delegates to Canada, and resulted in the election of Rev. M. Richot, Judge Black and Alfred H. Scott, the only objection being to the latter, as it was urged that at least one half-breed should be in the delegation. In dismissing the Convention, Riel made a characteristic speech, in concluding which he said: "The first Provisional Government assumes the full responsibility for all its acts. As to the prisoners, I not only repeat to you the assurance I gave yesterday, but will at once state that all the prisoners are to be released—some in one way and some in another. A few will have to leave the country, as men considered dangerous to the public peace, if left here at large. But the hardships in their case will not be very great as they are single men. One other, William Hallett, will be released, after giving full guarantees. In respect to Dr. Schultz, the position is this—he is exiled forever, and if found in the country, is liable to be shot. All his property, also, is confiscated. But here again, I would remind the Convention that the first Provisional Government assumes all the responsibility of these acts. For the support of

the present Government I would further say that it is at least desirable—and I should request it—that if anyone sees Schultz in the country, he should report it. Mr. A. Lépine will receive orders to administer the oath of allegiance to the prisoners who are to be released, as he is in charge of the Fort. As for Schultz, as I said, his goods are confiscated; and in this way some of those to whom he is indebted will be provided for."

8.—Having accomplished his purpose of getting the endorsement of the English Half-breeds to his Provisional Government, Riel was not in a hurry to keep his promise with regard to releasing the prisoners, although a few of them were given their liberty.\* This delay, and the harsh measures adopted towards Dr. Schultz, made the people of the English parishes begin to fear that Riel did not mean to keep faith with them, and that more oppressive measures might be adopted towards the remaining prisoners, many of whom were known to be suffering from scurvy and other diseases, caused by the fetid air of the crowded rooms in which they were penned, without fire, although the winter was very severe, and the thermometer frequently ranged from twenty to thirty degrees below zero. The sufferings of these unfortunate men during their confinement was most intense, and many of them contracted diseases from which they never fully recovered.† As time passed, without Riel fulfilling his promise to release the prisoners, or

\* Riel promised that all the prisoners should soon be released. On the 11th and 12th six or eight of them were set at liberty, and Dr. Cowan was informed in my presence, that as they were all to be discharged without delay, the rooms they had occupied would be placed at his disposal in a day or two. *Extract from report of D. A. Smith, Esq.*

† To give some idea of how they were treated, we make some extracts from a letter which appeared in the *Chatham Banner* from Mr. G. D. McVicar, one of the prisoners taken in Dr. Schultz's house. He says:—"On arriving at Fort Garry we were received by volleys of musketry, and imprisoned in three rooms. In these rooms we were packed so close that we had to break the windows to keep from suffocation. In one there was a bed and table, and in that room the poor fellows found themselves in the morning in a position something like the following:—Seven on the bed, two under it, two under the table, and the remaining space literally packed with human beings. One man slept all night hanging on the bed-post. We were here fed on pemican and tea. \* \* \* After this thirty-eight (among whom I was included) were removed to Fort Garry Jail, the worst indignity of all. The place is close, small, and unhealthy. A narrow hall and six cells, 6 x 9 feet, filthy in the extreme, and crawling with vermin. Here I remained, until I escaped with four others, putting in existence as best we could."

any effort being made by the Commissioners to effect that purpose, a deep feeling of indignation prevailed the country, which culminated in the rising of about eighty men at Portage la Prairie, among whom were Thomas Scott and Charles Mair—both escaped prisoners—who came down to join a force raised by Dr. Schultz, with the object of releasing the prisoners by force. On the 15th February this force arrived at the parish of Kildonan, where they were joined by about six hundred men, under Dr. Schultz. The church, school, and manse of that parish being taken possession of, the leaders and principal men from each party met, and decided at day-break to send a messenger to Riel, demanding the instant release of the prisoners, or to prepare for attack. This expedition of action was thought desirable, because the force, though large, was hurriedly raised and imperfectly armed, and a sudden dash, while their number and armament was unknown to the French, was thought the most likely to succeed. The despatch of the messenger was followed by the immediate release by Riel of the remainder of the prisoners, who were told to say that Riel was anxious for peace and good will; and now that he had released the prisoners, he trusted no further cause of difficulty would arise.

9.—The principal object of the expedition being thus accomplished, its leaders and principal men again met, and Dr. Schultz and others urged that as it was clear that Riel was now disposed to accede to anything, the Hudson's Bay authorities should be called upon to do their duty, the British flag should be hoisted in Fort Garry, and that Fort made the seat of Government as before. To this some of the leaders offered the objections that the object of the rising was accomplished, and that to go further was useless, as it was plain to see that the Hudson's Bay authorities had all along acted with Riel, and that they would not now act for themselves; and that Riel having released the prisoners, with many protestations of friendship, could now do nothing more than continue to eat the Hudson's Bay Company's pemican and drink their rum—a cost

The rising at Kildonan. Release of the prisoners.

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to that Company which was thought to serve them right. Messages were also received from Donald A. Smith, and others, advising the force to disperse, as their purpose was accomplished, and, accordingly the force under Dr. Schultz departed to their homes to the northward, while the smaller party, under Major Boulton, prepared to return to Portage la Prairie. Though counselled to beware of treachery on Riel's part, they did not leave for home until the following morning, 15th, by which time Riel had received information that the larger party had gone home, and, as Captain Boulton incautiously took the road which led quite close to Fort Garry, Riel sent out a body of horsemen, under command of O'Donohue and Lépine, and captured the whole party.\* Major Boulton was decoyed by Riel, who caused him to believe that he would be allowed to pass the Fort unmolested, but "gobbled up" the whole detachment as soon as he had it completely at his mercy.†

10.—It was during this "rising at Kildonan" that the first blood was shed, and that not in a manner to cause any amount of ill-feeling, such as followed the subsequent cold-blooded murder of Scott. On the morning of the 16th, a young French Half-breed, named Parisien, who had been captured

by the English and held as a spy, made an attempt to escape. Dashing at his guard, he wrested his double-barrelled gun from him and made for the river; just then Mr. John Hugh Sutherland, son of Mr. John Sutherland, happened to be riding up to see what was the cause of the gathering at Kildonan, and Parisien fired at him, probably more for the purpose of getting the horse to assist him in his escape than with an intention of killing him. The first shot took effect in the hand, and the horse rearing, threw young Sutherland to the ground, and while he was down Parisien fired the second shot, which took effect in the body, and caused a wound from which the unfortunate young man died about nine o'clock the same night. Parisien was pursued, re-captured, and would probably have been lynched on the spot had it not been for the interference of Major Boulton, but the lad was severely wounded and frost-bitten, and died not long after, it was said, from the effect of the injuries he then received.

11.—The immediate result of the "rising at Kildonan" was unfortunate, for it only doubled the number of the prisoners, and caused a renewal, for a time, of the ill-feeling which had existed between the French and English parties. Mr. Smith, in his report, condemns it as very injudicious,\* and it is very certain

The first blood spilled.  
Death of Sutherland.

Major Boulton  
condemned to death.  
—Duplicity of Riel.

\*The names of the captured parties were as follows:—

FROM PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE.—Major Boulton, John McLean, Robert McLean, Wilder Bartlett, James McLean, Dan. Sissons, A. Murray, W. Farmer, Lawrence Smith, Charles McDonald, John Smitzer, H. Williams, Alex. McPherson, W. G. Bird, Alex. McLean.

FROM HORN BELLE.—Thomas Scott, Joseph Papin, George Sandison, W. Papin, J. Dillworth, W. Dillworth, R. Adams, J. Papin, M. McLeod, Archibald McDonald, James Jock, James Sanderson.

FROM HEADQUARTERS.—J. B. Morrison, W. Salter, Magnus Brown, N. Morrison, W. Sutherland, Robert Dennison, Joseph Smith, Charles Millan, Thomas Baxter, John Taylor, John McKay, Alex. Parker.

FROM POPLAR POINT.—George Wyble, D. Taylor, A. Taylor, Geo. Newcomb, H. Taylor.

FROM ST. JAMES' PARISH.—Sergeant Powers, James Joy.

FROM RIVER SALE.—G. Parker.

In all, 8.

[The *New Nation* of 18th February gives a very humorous description of the "Battle of Winnipeg," from which we take the following extract:—"If we might give the sum total of all the labors, fears, and threats of all the men at arms, it would be this:—'between 800 and 1,000 of the English people—prag to arms to liberate the prisoners, and about 24, all that remained, were set at liberty by the President. Thirty-six hours subsequently a whole detachment, en route home to the Portage, was gobbled up by the French. Here, then, is a summary:—English prisoners released, 21; made prisoners, 18. If we were not a peculiar people, this result would astonish us; but in this country we have learned to be astonished at nothing. The war of proclamations inaugurated by Dennis & Co., has been followed up by a series of campaigns—the principal feature of which is that nobody was hurt.'"]

\* Rumours now began to circulate of a rising at the Portage, and on the night of the 14th and 15 of February, some 80 or 100 men from that district passed down close to Fort Garry, and proceeded to Kildonan, where they were joined by from 300 to 350 men, principally English half-breeds, from the lower parts of the Settlement. Had these men, properly armed and organized, been prepared to support the well affected French party, when the latter took action, about the middle of January, or even in the beginning of February, during the sitting of the Convention, order might have been restored and the transfer to Canada provided for without the necessity for firing a single shot; but now the rising was not only rash, but purposeless, as, without its intervention the prisoners would unquestionably have been released. The party was entirely unmorganized, indifferently armed, unprovided with food even for one meal, and wholly incapable of coping with the French now reunited, who, to the number of at least seven hundred were prepared to offer the most determined resistance, which as they were in possession of a number of guns (six and three pounders), ample stores of ammunition, provisions, and every other requisite, they could have done most effectually. My sympathies were, in a great measure, with the Portage men, whom I believe to have been actuated by the best of motives; but under the circumstances it was not difficult to foresee that the issue could not be otherwise than disastrous to their cause. The attempt was, therefore, to be deplored, as it resulted in placing the whole Settlement at the feet of Riel. The great majority of the settlers, English and Scotch, discountenanced the movement and bitterly complained of those who had set it on foot. Forty-seven of the party were captured on their way home, while passing within a few

that Riel cleverly turned it to his advantage to induce the English parishes to elect their delegates to the Council of the Provisional Government, which was to meet on 20th February; and this is how he did it. As soon as Major Boulton was safe within the walls of Fort Garry he was placed in irons, a "court martial" was held, he was found guilty of treason against the Provisional Government, and sentenced to be shot at noon on the next day, the eighteenth; "but, at the intercession of the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, Archdeacon McLean, and, in short, every influential man among the English, and I have been told also, at the earnest entreaty of the Catholic clergy, the execution was delayed till midnight of Saturday, the 19th. Further than this, Riel declared he could not—would not yield—except, indeed, Dr. Schultz should be captured in the meantime, in which case *he* would be shot instead of Boulton."\* This was decidedly pleasant for Dr. Schultz, for whose capture, "dead or alive," Riel had some time previously offered a reward. Riel apparently kept his determination to have Major Boulton shot, up to ten o'clock on Saturday night, two hours before the execution was to have taken place, and Archdeacon McLean had spent nearly twenty-four hours with Major Boulton, administered the sacrament to him, and prepared him to meet his fate. At length Riel yielded to the entreaties of Mr. Smith, and agreed to spare Boulton's life and release the other prisoners immediately after the meeting of the Council, provided the English delegates were elected to attend it. Mr. Smith agreed to use his influence with the English portion of the community, and thus describes the compact with Riel, whereby the Canadian Commissioner became an electioneering agent for the Provisional Government. "I reasoned with him long and earnestly, until, at length, about ten o'clock, he yielded, and addressing me, appar-

hundred yards of the Fort: the explanation I have heard given for their otherwise inexplicable conduct in having taken this route, instead of making a *détour* which would have ensured safety, being a supposed promise by Riel that they would be permitted to pass unmolested.—*D. A. Smith's report.*

\* D. A. Smith's report—page 6

ently with much feeling said: 'Hitherto I have been deaf to all entreaties, and, in now granting you this man's life,' or words to that effect, 'may I ask you a favor?' 'Anything,' I replied, 'that in honor I can do.' He continued: 'Canada has disunited us: will you use your influence to re-unite us? You can do so, and, without this, it must be war—bloody, civil war?' I answered that, as I had said on first coming to the country, I would now repeat—that 'I would give my whole heart to effect a peaceful union of the country with Canada.' 'We want only our just rights as British subjects,' he said, 'and we want the English to join us simply to obtain these.' 'Then,' I remarked, 'I shall at once see them, and induce them to go on with the election of delegates for that purpose,' and he replied: 'If you can do this, war will be avoided—not only the lives, but the liberty of all the prisoners will be secured, for, on your success depends the lives of all the Canadians in the country.' He immediately proceeded to the prison, and intimated to Archdeacon McLean that he had been induced by me to spare Captain Boulton's life, and had further promised to me that immediately on the meeting of the Council, shortly to be elected, the whole of the prisoners would be released, requesting the Archdeacon at the same time, to explain these circumstances to Captain Boulton and the other prisoners."

12.—The news of the capture of the Portage party quietly spread, and a meeting was held in St. Andrew's parish, whence most of the forces under Dr. Schultz had come, at which the proposition was made to go at once and release Boulton and his party by force. Before any definite action was taken Mr. Donald A. Smith arrived to say that if the people submitted and elected the English portion of the Provisional Government Council, Boulton's life would be spared, and the prisoners released. Mr. Smith, in his character of Canadian Commissioner, strongly urged this course, and ultimately the meeting adopted it, and the delegates to the Council were subsequently elected. At the same meeting Dr. Schultz was requested to pro-

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ceed to Canada, if he could, and represent to the people there the real state of affairs, and the coercion which had been used to make them have anything to do with the Provisional Government. As all the roads leading to Minnesota were jealously guarded by Riel, Dr. Schultz was compelled to attempt to reach the head of Lake Superior by traversing the little known country between the head of Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior. Fortunately he had as companion an English Half-breed named Joseph Monkman, who had been commissioned by the Hon. Mr. Macdougall to see the bands of Indians east of the Red River, and read to them his instructions which thanked them for abstaining from any participation in Riel's movement, and assured them that though he was now in power, the opening of Spring would see the Queen's power reinstated again. Dr. Schultz left the mouth of the Red River with this faithful and intelligent guide on the 21st February, and, to elude the parties on snow-shoes which were sent by Riel to intercept him, struck across the frozen end of Lake Winnipeg to the mouth of the river of that name, where, alternately following the course of that stream, or deviating to some distance, they reached its head waters. From here they struck across over Whitelash Bay, on the Lake of the Woods, to an arm of Rainy Lake whence they turned more eastward, following Rainy Lake, and then to the South-west, over the then unfrequented and unknown country of Northern Minnesota to the head of Lake Superior. Where Indian Camps could be found they were visited, and Riel and Queen's authority gravely and sensibly discussed. In not one case had the loyalty of the Indians been affected, and they all seemed to feel that the Great Mother's arm was long and strong, and that Riel and his Government would, to use their own expression, "Pass away like the mist before the sun." Though the travellers had little to give them, in return they invariably shared their own scanty supply, and often gave a guide from camp to camp. 'Over weary miles of snow-covered lakes; over the water-shed between Rainy Lake and the Lakes of the

Laurentian Chain; over the height of land between Rainy Lake and Lake Superior; through pine forests and juniper swamps, these travellers made their way, turning aside only where wind-fallen timber made their course impossible. Often saved from starvation by the woodcraft of Monkman, their course guided by the compass, or by views taken from the top of some stately Norway pine, they found themselves, after twenty-four weary days of travel, in sight of the blue, unfrozen waters of Lake Superior. They had struck the Lake not far from its head, and in a few hours presented themselves to the astonished gaze of the people of the then embryo village of Duluth, gaunt with hunger, worn with fatigue, their clothes in tatters, their eyes blinded with the glare of the glittering sun of March, to learn for the first time of the terrible event which had occurred since their leaving, and to find that, while indeed Riel had released Major Boulton when the English sent their delegates to his Council, yet he held the others with even a tighter grip; and that, early in March, he had, for some fancied insult, placed Thomas Scott, ironed hand and foot in the prison from which Dr. Schultz had escaped, and, on the fourth of March, led him out to a death as horrible, perhaps, as was ever suffered on this Continent.

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG—RED RIVER TROUBLES.

1. THE DARK CRIME OF THE REBELLION.—2. THE MOCK COURT-MARTIAL OF SCOTT.—3. HOW SCOTT WAS BUTCHERED.—4. THE STRANGE DISAPPEARANCE OF SCOTT'S BODY.—5. A REIGN OF TERROR.—6. THE MISSION OF BISHOP TACHÉ—MISTAKES.—7. FIRST MEETING OF THE PROVISIONAL PARLIAMENT. ADDRESS OF BISHOP TACHÉ.—8. RELEASE OF PRISONERS—RELEASE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.—9. EFFECT OF BISHOP TACHÉ'S ARRIVAL.—10. RAISING



OF THE UNION JACK OVER FORT GARRY. THE MANITOBA ACT ACCEPTED. — 11. BISHOP TACHÉ'S PROMISE OF AMNESTY.—12. REVIEW OF THE COURSE OF BISHOP TACHÉ.

1.—We come now to the one dark crime, the one foul murder which disfigures the record of the Red River Rebellion, and hands down the name of Louis Riel to posterity as that of a cowardly assassin, who wreaked his private spite and vengeance on a helpless prisoner, whom he had illegally deprived of his liberty. The murder of Thomas Scott was a cool, calm, deliberate assassination without even the shadow of excuse of expediency to palliate its heinousness, and it is a poor compliment to our system of administering law, that the perpetrators of this crime should be at liberty to-day. For the other illegal acts which he committed, Riel had some slight show of justification, inasmuch as he and his followers claimed that Canada had bought the people of Red River like so many sheep, without consulting them in any way or guaranteeing them protection for their lives, liberty and property; and the amnesty which was subsequently granted by the Imperial Government for these offences, was a trial acknowledgment that some one had blundered in negotiating the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company's rights in the North-West without consulting in any way the inhabitants of that country; but, for this foul murder of Scott, there is no excuse, no palliation, no justification; it was simply a wanton, wilful exercise of despotic power, prompted by a spirit of personal revenge and a desire to strike terror into the hearts of those loyal people in the settlement, who still doubted Riel's authority to rule in spite of his "Provisional Government." It must, in fairness and justice, be admitted that a large portion of the storm of wrath and indignation which swept over the Province of Ontario at the perpetration of this crowning crime of the rebellion, owed its origin to the fact that Scott was a Protestant and an Orangeman, while Riel was a Catholic, and his chief adviser, O'Donohue, an

The Dark Crime of the Rebellion.

avowed Fenian; but, although party-political and religious feeling had something to do with the excitement, still there was a very general thrill of honest indignation at the cold blooded murder of a man whose only crime was that he was loyal to his Queen and country and would not acknowledge the authority of an usurper.

2.—Although the ruse of Riel in sparing the life of Major Boulton on the condition that the English parishes returned dele-

The Mock Court-Martial of Scott.

gates to the Provisional Government, had been successful, and the efforts and influence of Commissioner Smith had the effect of getting delegates elected, still Riel felt that the English element did not give him a hearty and cordial support, and finding that he was unable to "rule by love" he seems to have determined to "rule by fear." From the time of the first arrests he had been in the habit of threatening to execute some of the prisoners, unless they took the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government; and after the rising at Kildonan he seems to have made up his mind that "an example must be made" to deter the English from any further attempts to dispute his authority. Having spared Major Boulton he cast about for a suitable victim, and soon found one in the person of Thomas Scott, a young Canadian who had taken part in the defense of Dr. Schultz's house, and been captured at that time but made his escape, and was again made prisoner when Major Boulton's party was taken on its return from Kildonan. On neither occasion was Scott taken "in arms." Scott was one of the Canadians in Dr. Schultz's house, but he did not surrender with them; for when Riel's troops surrounded the house on the evening before the surrender, Scott and Hallett went up to the Fort, unarmed, to ask Riel to allow the women and children, who were suffering considerable hardships, to be removed from the house. Instead of granting the request Riel arrested the messengers and put them in prison, from which Scott subsequently escaped, never having taken any oath to the Provisional Government. On the second occasion of his arrest, —on the return of the Portage party from Kil-

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\* Joseph Nolin following testimony of the third of M. presided at the trial. André Nault, Joseph Delorme, third of March the what evil he had were some witnesses, one, Ed. Turner were others; these posed the Council present; the witness evidence was given. Provisional Government there was only one against Scott; after Riel asked me to read not read anything Scott himself the English; he was the room that he Scott, he asked him do not know what written accusation evidence, the bring Scott, the decision two or three hours and eight o'clock, a notes in pencil of notes of the evidence them to the Adjutant. Riel, second along with the move better to exile him said the majority explained to Scott make, if he wanted Scott made to Riel Stone Fort he would off, and would send

donan—all the arms were stowed away in the bottom of the sleigh, so that none of the party could be said to be "in arms," for although they had arms with them they were not available for use. Riel owed Scott a grudge because the latter had once put him out of a saloon in Winnipeg when Riel was drunk and making some insulting remarks, and also because he was one of a party which stopped at the house of one Coutu, which Riel was known to be in the habit of frequenting, and enquired for him, on the night that the Portage party came down to Kildonan. Besides this Scott was known to be enthusiastically loyal and not only refused himself to recognize Riels' assumed authority, but encouraged others to do so also, therefore he was a fit subject for Riel to wreak his vengeance on. Having determined on his victim Riel ordered a "Court Martial" to try Scott, and he was accordingly tried on the evening of March third.\* The presiding officer of the Court was

\* Joseph Nolin, who was Secretary of the "Court Martial," gave the following testimony regarding it at the trial of Lépine:—"On the evening of the third of March Scott was tried by a Council of War; the prisoner presided at the Council; there were acting at the Council G. Richot, André Nault, Elzéar Goulet, Elzéar Lajemonière, Baptiste Lépine, Joseph Delorme; I was Secretary of the Council; on the evening of the third of March the meeting was for the purpose of trying Scott, to examine what evil he had done; Scott was not present at the examination; there were some witnesses examined who saw what Scott had done; Riel was one, Ed. Turner was another, Joseph Delorme was another; I think there were others; these witnesses were examined by the Captains who composed the Council; while the witnesses were examined, Scott was not present; the witnesses were sworn by me; I do not remember what evidence was given; Scott was accused of having rebelled against the Provisional Government, and of having struck a Captain of the Guard; there was only one who made a speech, viz. Riel; I remember he spoke against Scott; after the evidence Scott was brought before the Council; Riel asked me to read to Scott what had passed before the Council; I did not read anything, as I had taken only notes; then Riel explained to Scott himself the evidence which had been given before the Council in English; he was then condemned to die; Riel told Scott before he left the room that he must die; after Riel had explained the evidence to Scott, he asked him if he had anything to say; Scott said something; I do not know what; Riel did not ask him if he had any witnesses; no written accusation or charge was given to Scott; the taking and giving of evidence, the bringing in of Scott, the speech of Riel, his explanations to Scott, the decision of the Council and condemnation were all done within two or three hours; the Council commenced its sittings between seven and eight o'clock, and concluded their labors at one sitting; I took some notes in pencil of the proceedings; the notes in pencil I refer to were notes of the evidence; the next day I transcribed these notes; I gave them to the Adjutant-General; the first motion for death was moved by G. Richot, seconded by André Nault; Goulet and Delorme voted yes, along with the mover and second; Lajemonière voted that it would be better to exile him; Baptiste Lépine voted nay; Ambroise (the prisoner) said the majority want his death, and he shall be put to death; Riel explained to Scott his sentence; Riel asked Scott if he had no request to make, if he wanted to send for a minister; I do not know what answer Scott made to Riel; Riel said if he wanted a minister, if he was at the Stone Fort he would send for him; Riel said he would take his shackles off, and would send him to his room; he would have pen, ink and paper

Adjutant-General Lépine, and the other members of the Court were G. Richot, André Nault, Elzéar Goulet, Elzéar Lajemonière, Baptiste Lépine and Joseph Delorme. At this so called trial, Riel was witness, prosecutor and Judge; and the pretended evidence was taken before Scott was brought into the Council. The proceedings were in French, a language which Scott did not understand; and he was not allowed an opportunity to make any defence. He was accused of having taken up arms against the Provisional Government, after having taken an oath not to do so,—which oath he never took—and also of striking one of the captains; Riel told him he was to be shot at ten o'clock on the following day, but at first Scott could not believe it, thinking Riel would not dare to take his life; finding, however, that Riel was in earnest, Scott sent for the Rev. Geo. Young, the Methodist Minister at Winnipeg, who had frequently visited the prisoners in the jail, and that gentleman, together with Commissioner Smith and others, endeavored to turn Riel from his foul plan, but without avail, the latter declaring boldly that Scott must die. Mr. Smith in his report says that he first heard of the intention to shoot Scott from the Rev. Mr. Young, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the fourth of March, and that he requested that gentleman to intercede with Riel while he did the same with Father Lestanc. That Mr. Young being unsuccessful, he saw Riel personally. The following is his own account of the interview: "Governor MacTavish was greatly shocked on being informed of Riel's purpose, and joined in reproaching it. Père Lestanc consented to accompany me, and we called on Riel. When we entered, he asked me, 'what news from Canada?' The mail had arrived the preceding day, and I replied, 'only the intelligence that Bishop Taché will be here very soon.' I then mentioned what I had heard regarding Scott, and before Riel answered, Père Lestance interposed in French words, meaning 'is there no way of escape?' Riel replied to him, 'my Rev. Père, you know

to write; he told him the next day he would be shot; Scott was then taken to his room; Scott was handcuffed when taken before the Council

exactly how the matter stands; then turning to me, he said, I will explain to you—speaking at first in English, but shortly after using the French, remarking to me—‘you understand that language.’ He said in substance that Scott had throughout been a most troublesome character, had been the ringleader in a rising against Mr. Snow, who had charge of the party employed by the Canadian Government during the preceding summer in road making; that he had risen against the ‘Provisional Government’ in December last, that his life was then spared; that he escaped, had again been taken in arms, and once more pardoned,—referring no doubt to the promise he had made to me that the lives and liberty of all the prisoners were secured—but that he was incorrigible, and quite incapable of appreciating the clemency with which he had been treated; that he was rough and abusive to the guards, and insulting to him, Mr. Riel; that his example had been productive of the very worst effects on the other prisoners, who had become insubordinate to such an extent, that it was difficult to withhold the guards from retaliating. He further said, ‘I sat down with Scott as we are doing now, and asked him truthfully to tell me, as I would not use his statement against him, what he and the Portage party intended to have done with me, had they succeeded in capturing me, when they surrounded Coutu’s house,’ to which he replied, ‘we intended to keep you as a hostage for the safety of the prisoners.’ I argued with Riel, and endeavoured to show that some of the circumstances he had mentioned, and especially the last, were very strong reasons to urge why Scott’s life should not be sacrificed, and that, if as he represented, Scott was a rash, thoughtless man, whom none cared to have anything to do with, no evil need be apprehended from his example. I pointed out that the one great merit claimed for the insurrection was that, so far, it had been bloodless, except in one sad instance, which all were willing to look upon as an accident, and implored him not to stain it, to burden it with what would be considered a horrible crime. He exclaimed ‘we must

make Canada respect us.’ I replied, ‘she has every proper respect for the people of Red River, and this is shown in her having sent Commissioners to treat with them.’ I told him I had seen the prisoners some time back when they commissioned me to say to their friends at the Portage, that they desired peace, and I offered to go to them again and reason with them, should that be necessary. On this he said, ‘look here, Mr. Smith, Mr. Scott, the representative, went to see the prisoners at my desire, and on asking them whom they would vote for as Councillor, if they were permitted a choice outside of their own body?’ Thos. Scott came forward and said, ‘my boys, have nothing to do with those——Americans.’ And when I remarked ‘this is really a most trifling affair, and ought not to have been repeated,’ he said ‘do not attempt to prejudice us against the Americans, for although we have not been with them—they are with us, and have been better friends to us than the Canadians.’ Much more was said on both sides, but argument, entreaty, and protest alike failed to draw him from his purpose and he closed by saying, ‘I have done three good things since I have commenced; I have spared Boulton’s life at your instance, and I do not regret it, for he is a fine fellow; I pardoned Gaddy, and he showed his gratitude by escaping out of the bastion, but I don’t grudge him his miserable life, and now I shall shoot Scott.’ Lépine, the Adjutant-General, who was president of the Council of Seven, which tried Scott,—and five of whom, Riel told me, ‘with the tears streaming from their eyes, condemned him as worthy of death,’ a sentence which he had confirmed—now entered, and in answer to Riel, said ‘he must die.’ Riel then requested the Rev. Père Lestanc to put the people on their knees for prayer as it might do good to the condemned man’s soul. Referring to Père Lestanc and making a final appeal, unnecessary here to repeat, I retired.”

3.—Finding that entreaty was in vain, the Rev. Mr. Young applied himself to preparing the mind of the unfortunate man to meet his terrible

How Scott was  
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fate. He engaged conversation. of March. He was called to his time to be was granted those who bound, he and made from the w like a dog, mand of A party, it is at the time ready,” and signal, and several bul he fell, and found that the crowd his misery, Guilmette, The body soon after the Fort. The sational rep Scott, but th Rev. George Lépine, for t Winnipeg at Honor Chie terrible stor reproduce it reside at W Methodist C in the same Fort Garry g of January, prisoners; th the first were the other par December, a knew Thomas these prisoners tain officers obtained per

fate. He spent the time with Scott, being engaged in constant prayer and religious conversation. Shortly after midday, on the fourth of March, Scott was summoned to execution. He was calm and prepared to die. He requested time to bid his fellow-prisoners farewell. This was granted him, and he took final leave of those who had shared in his captivity. Being bound, he was conducted outside of Fort Garry, and made to kneel in the snow a short distance from the walls of the Fort, where he was shot, like a dog, by a firing party of six, under command of Adjutant-General Lépine, the whole party, it is said on good authority, being drunk at the time. Scott's last words were, "I am ready," and immediately after, Lépine gave the signal, and the unfortunate man fell, pierced by several bullets. He uttered an exclamation as he fell, and, on approaching the body, it was found that life was not extinct. Some one in the crowd spoke up, saying, "put him out of his misery," and one of the firing party, named Guilmette, discharged his revolver at his head. The body fell forward on the left side, and was soon after put into a rude box and taken into the Fort. There have been a good many sensational reports published as to the death of Scott, but the following evidence, given by the Rev. George Young at the trial of Ambrose Lépine, for the murder of Thomas Scott, tried at Winnipeg at the Court of Queen's Bench, His Honor Chief-Justice Wood presiding, tells the terrible story so clearly that we venture to reproduce it here. Being sworn, he said: "I reside at Winnipeg, and am a minister of the Methodist Church; in 1869 and 1870 I resided in the same place; I was in the habit of visiting Fort Garry generally once a week in the months of January, February and March, to see the prisoners; there were two parties of prisoners; the first were taken at Dr. Schultz's building, and the other party off the prairie—the first party in December, and the other party in February; I knew Thomas Scott; he was taken in both cases; these prisoners were in charge of Riel and certain officers under him, as I understood; I obtained permission from Riel first; for the first

few weeks I invariably obtained permission whenever I went; subsequently I was not required to do this; I saw a number of others who were said to be in authority, acting as such; it was said that under Riel there was an Adjutant-General and several Captains; the prisoner (Lépine) held the office of Adjutant-General; I very often saw Lépine during my visits; he seemed to be in possession of power; Riel was first styled Secretary, and subsequently President; Mr. Bruce was first styled President; I do not remember having any conversation with Lépine prior to this date; I remember the 3rd of March; nothing occurred till the evening to my knowledge; on that evening I returned home from the country, arriving home about nine o'clock; soon after a messenger named Turner came from the Fort, informing me that I was required at the Fort; I asked by whom; he said by Riel; he had sent for me, as one of the prisoners had been sentenced to be shot, and the prisoner had asked me to be sent for; I went with him, and, on entering the Fort, I went at once to find Riel; I went to his room, and was told that he was at St. Boniface and would not be back till next morning; then I went to see Scott; I found him in the corner of a room in the building that had been used as a prison; he was alone and not in irons; the door was guarded by a number of armed men; when I visited him the Saturday before, he was in irons; this was on Tuesday evening; I asked him if it was in accordance with his wish that I was sent for; he told me it was; that he had been called before a Council of war that afternoon, and condemned to die; he objected to the trial, as it was conducted in a language he did not understand, but was told it made no difference, he was a bad man and had to die, and was sentenced to be shot the next day, at 12 o'clock; he told me he thought they were quite bad enough to do it, but he doubted if they dare do it; I instructed him the proper course for both of us was to act upon the presumption that it would be done; the first matters attended to was to give me the address of his mother and brothers, and place

in my hands his effects, all of which were forwarded to them after his death; having done that there was no further talk on the matter; all further discourse was relating to his spiritual welfare; I remained with him a considerable portion of the night, and left him for a time, as he wished to write a letter to his mother; he was furnished with pen and ink and paper for that purpose; early in the morning I thought to bring some things to bear in his behalf; first of all, I thought to see Mr. Ross, who was then called the Chief Justice under that Administration; he was not at home; I then proceeded to see Mr. Brumatyne and others for the same purpose; they all seemed to be exceedingly surprised, and gave me an assurance that it would not take place; that it was only done to frighten the people; I deemed it best to converse with Mr. Smith and told him of it; he had not heard of it before, and did not believe it possible to be done, and engaged to use all his influence to prevent it; a Roman Catholic priest named Lestane came in while I was talking to him; I asked him if he had heard of the sentence; he said he had; I asked him if he would intercede with Mr. Riel for him; Mr. Smith suggested that I should go and see Mr. Riel myself, thinking I should succeed without further trouble; in case of failure to send him word, and he would proceed at once; I went and met Mr. Riel in his own room, and asked him if it was true that Scott had been sentenced to be shot, and if it was their intention to carry it into effect; he said he was sentenced by a council of war, all the members had concurred with one exception, and it would be carried out; I asked if Scott had been guilty of any great crime to deserve such a sentence, and expostulated with him, but to no effect; failing in that I urged that the execution be postponed at least twenty-four hours; I wished more time; he had had but a few hours notice, and could scarcely realize that he was so near death as that; upon the question of postponement he spoke of calling the Adjutant-General and discussing with him; in a few moments the Adjutant-General the prisoner here—entered the room; Riel stated

my request, and I also spoke of it in their presence; Lépine, the Adjutant-General, very energetically shook his head, arose, and left the room; Riel told me it was utterly useless to press the matter any further, so I returned to the prison and sent a message to Mr. Smith to notify him of my failure; Mr. Campbell was my messenger; I remained with Scott then until he was shot, engaged in religious exercises until we were interrupted by the parties entering the room to lead him out to be shot. Goulet and a man named Nault and others, four or possibly five in all, were the parties who led him out; when they entered the room Scott was very much excited, exclaiming, "This is horrible," "This is cold-blooded murder"; I advised him not to make such remarks, hoping still that the sentence might not be carried out; one proceeded at once to tie his hands behind his back; the others put a cloth about his head; that was used to blindfold him—a piece of white cotton; they put it over his forehead; until he went out he was not shackled; I requested them to retire for a few minutes, and they yielded to my request; I then engaged in prayer with him; when they came in, he requested permission to say "good-bye" to the boys, as he called them, and they granted that request also; in passing out, he went to each door where the prisoners were, and bade them "good-bye;" Riel excitedly complained as regarded the delay (vociferating wildly) in the matter; I explained to him that I had been the cause of the delay; he spoke in French; we passed down the stairs, down which I assisted him, as I was afraid he would fall, his arms being tied, and we were directed to the place; I did not pay any attention to who directed us, I was too much occupied; he passed through the gate; the sleigh-track at the time was near the walk; we were halted at some little distance from the gate on the sleigh-track; as I supposed that this would be the place of execution, I had prayers with him there; after prayers he asked me to draw the blindfold over his eyes, and if he should remain on his knees or stand up; I told him it would be better for him to remain on his knees,

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and I withdrew from him after drawing the blindfold as he had asked me; just then I met face to face two persons, whom I asked to interfere—one was Goulet and the other was O'Donohue; I knew they both spoke English; Goulet said his time had come, and he must die; O'Donohue said it had gone very far, but did nothing to prevent it; during the time of this conversation they removed Mr. Scott from that point a short distance east, and in this place he was shot; the firing party consisted of six persons; when they were about to fire upon him I turned away, not witnessing the act; immediately after firing, heard his voice, and returned; he had fallen forward, the body lying partly on its side; there was some indication of life—a slight twitching of the shoulder; some one said "put him out of his misery," when one of the party took a revolver out of the pocket of another of the party, and put it to his head and fired it; I then, supposing the man to be dead, entered the Fort; before and after the firing of the pistol I observed that Scott's coat had been pierced; I took it that the bullets had passed through his chest and out of his shoulder; passing within the gate I met Riel; I asked for the body, that I might get it interred; at first he consented, but very soon recalled that consent; I met Goulet, and he said I had better get a sleigh; I said I should be glad to do so if I should be allowed; at that time the body was in the rough box or coffin; Nault said he objected; I then came to town and tried to use some parties' influence to get the body delivered up to them; I was told that if I would get the Bishop of Rupert's Land to guarantee that it would be buried quietly and without any demonstration, we should have it; accordingly, next morning the Bishop and myself waited on Riel for that purpose; he told us he was very sorry to disappoint us, but the Adjutant-General, who was responsible for this case, had instructed it to be interred in the walls of the Fort, as he had a right to dispose of the body; after the Bishop had left I importuned Mr. Riel to give me the body, as I wished to write to Scott's mother that day and inform her of the

interment of her son's body, as it would be some little comfort for her to know that her son's body received Christian interment; the answer was, as before, he could not interfere with the case; he seemed to be very much displeased with the remark that he had a mother left to mourn over him. In reply to His Lordship: I have no personal knowledge who were Riel's Council; Nolin, I knew, was Secretary for Mr. Lépine; I have obtained passes from him from time to time. In reply to Mr. Cornish: I should think the firing party distant about twenty or thirty feet; it did not so impress me at the time as being as far as across the hall; I do not recollect who commanded the firing party; I noticed a great deal of blood after the firing on the snow, and I heard his voice shout instantly after the firing, but did not recognise any words; there were two sounds, one like words, and the other like a moan; this was previous to the discharge of the pistol-shot; after this the box was closed; I have no doubt at all of his death."

4.—Riel's vengeance against Scott was not satisfied with the taking of his life, but extended beyond the grave, and not only did he refuse to give up the body to the Rev. Mr. Young for interment, but it is doubtful whether it was ever interred at all, and the final disposition of the body remains a mystery to this day. After the firing the Rev. Mr. Young asked Riel for the body and he at first consented to give it to him, but afterwards refused, saying that it belonged to the Adjutant-General and would be buried in the Fort. A hole was dug near the house of Dr. Cowan and a box, supposed to contain the body, deposited in it, but after the arrival of Governor Archibald, the Rev. Mr. Young obtained permission to have the supposed grave opened in order that the bones might be sent to Scott's friends for interment; he found the box, but there were no remains inside it, and the inference is that the body was taken out of the box after it had been conveyed to the bastion and sunk in the river, as was stated by Goulet to John Bruce, and as was currently

The spiriting away of Scott's body. Where is it?



reported both at the time and after. Certain it is that the body has never been found, and poor Scott's friends have not even the melancholy satisfaction of knowing where his murdered remains lay, and will, probably, ever remain in ignorance of their whereabouts, unless the waters of the Red River or Assiniboine should some day cast them up. It may be well to note here that in January, 1873, Riel and Lépine addressed a letter to Governor Morris, of Manitoba, giving their version of the troubles of 1869-70, in which the only reference made to this brutal murder of Scott was as follows: "The Indians of the entire country—those below Fort de Pierre and those at the Portage, who were apparently the most excited—seemed ready to threaten the country with one of their attacks. Even the prisoners who were kept at Fort Garry, having had wind of these plottings outside, and being encouraged by them, were hurried on to acts of extreme violence. Many of them, notably Mr. McLeod and T. Scott, beat their prison gates, and insulted, and went so far as to strike their guards, inviting their fellow-prisoners also to insult them. Seeing then that a punishment, long deserved and terrible, could alone restrain these excited men, and finding ourselves compelled to avert evils with which we were threatened by the inhabitants of the Portage conspiring with Indians—in a word to secure the triumph of peace and order which it was our duty to establish throughout the settlement, we had recourse to the full authority of Government." That was all they had to offer in excuse or extenuation of this cowardly and wanton murder.

5.—The brutal murder of Scott had, to some extent, the effect desired by Riel; the English Half-breeds seem to have become convinced that it would be useless to have recourse to force unless the Imperial or Dominion authorities sent a body of troops to restore order; and those Canadians who had not already left the Settlement proceeded to do so with as little delay as possible. The Commissioners appear to have become convinced that after this act of wanton

The effect of Scott's murder. A reign of terror.

violence, their occupation as peace negotiators was gone, and Mr. Smith says in his report: "After this date I held no communication whatsoever with Riel, except in reference to getting away from the country, which I was not allowed to leave without a pass. I felt that under the circumstances it was not desirable that I should remain longer at Red River, but it was not until late in the night of the 18th that Riel gave permission for my departure." Every one who could get away seemed to think the Settlement a good place to get out of, and those who were obliged to remain were compelled *per force* to give a sullen and dissatisfied consent to the Provisional Government, feeling themselves powerless to resist Riel and his armed followers. The lives of the whole Settlement were in one man's hands, for although Riel nominally had a Council, he ruled despotically, and grave fears were entertained that he would wreak his vengeance on more of the unfortunate prisoners—indeed it was pretty generally understood that other executions were to follow that of Scott, and probably would have, but for the arrival of Bishop Taché on the ninth of March. During this reign of terror Riel continued to "fare sumptuously every day" on the plundered stores of the Hudson's Bay Company, and other goods which had been "confiscated" by his orders, and drunkenness and debauchery prevailed amongst the "soldiers" in possession of the Fort.

6.—We now turn to the mission of Bishop Taché, who, it will be remembered, had consented by telegraph, on the eighth of January, to return from Rome. The Bishop made his way as speedily as possible to Ottawa, where he received instructions from the Government as to the nature and extent of his mission. These instructions may be briefly summarized as being to assure the Half-breeds of the kindly intentions of the Canadian Government, to invite delegates to Ottawa, and to offer amnesty for past offences, as promised in the Governor-General's Proclamation of the sixth December.\*

\* The following letter from Sir John A. Macdonald fully explains the

The mission of Bishop Taché. A series of mistakes.

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To the Right Reverend

His Lordship left Ottawa on the sixteenth of February, and arrived at St Paul on the twenty-third, where he received a copy of the Bill of Rights, passed by the Convention at Fort Garry on the tenth. He telegraphed the Bill to

intentions of the Government, and the powers with which it was intended to clothe the Bishop:—

(Private.)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
OTTAWA, CANADA, February 16th, 1870.

MY DEAR LORD.—Before you leave Ottawa on your mission of peace, I think it well to reduce to writing the substance of the conversation I had the honor to have with you this morning.

I mark this letter "private," in order that it may not be made a public document, to be called for by Parliament prematurely; but you are quite at liberty to use it in such a manner as you may think most advantageous.

I hope that ere you arrive at Fort Garry, the insurgents, after the explanations that have been entered into by Messrs. Thibault, De Salaberry and Smith, will have laid down their arms, and allowed Governor MacTavish to resume the administration of public affairs. In such case, by the Act of the Imperial Parliament of last session, all the public functionaries will still remain in power, and the Council of Assiniboia will be restored to their former position.

Will you be kind enough to make full explanation to the Council on behalf of the Canadian Government as to the feelings which animate, not only the Governor General, but the whole Government, with respect to the mode of dealing with the North-West. We have fully explained to you, and desire you to assure the Council authoritatively, that it is the intention of Canada to grant to the people of the North-West the same free institutions which they themselves enjoy.

Had not these unfortunate events occurred, the Canadian Government had hoped, long ere this, to have received a report from the Council through Mr. McDougall, as to the best means of speedily organizing the Government with representative institutions.

I hope that they will be able immediately to take up that subject, and to consider and report, without delay, on the general policy that should immediately be adopted.

It is obvious that the most inexpensive mode for the administration of affairs should at first be adopted. As the preliminary expense of organizing the Government after union with Canada must in the first be defrayed from the Canadian Territory, there will be a natural objection in the Canadian Parliament to a large expenditure.

As it would be unwise to subject the territory to a recurrence of the humiliation already suffered by Governor MacTavish, you can inform him that if he organizes a local police, of twenty-five men or more, if absolutely necessary, that the expense will be defrayed by the Canadian Government.

You will be good enough to endeavour to find out Monkman, the person to whom, through Colonel Dennis, Mr. Macdougall gave instructions to communicate with the Saulteaux Indians. He should be asked to surrender his letter, and informed that he ought not to proceed upon it. The Canadian Government will see that he is compensated for any expense that he has already incurred.

In case a delegation is appointed to proceed to Ottawa, you can assure them that they will be kindly received, and their suggestions fully considered. Their expenses coming here and returning, and while staying in Ottawa, will be defrayed by us.

You are authorized to state that the two years during which the present tariff shall remain undisturbed, will commence from 1st January, 1871, instead of 1st January, as first proposed.

Should the question arise as to the consumption of any stores or goods belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company by the insurgents, you are authorized to inform the leaders that if the Company's Government is restored, not only will there be a general amnesty granted, but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores, that the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm.

Wishing you a prosperous journey and happy results.

I beg to remain, with great respect,  
Your very faithful servant,

JOHN A. MACDONALD

To the Right Reverend the Bishop of St. Boniface, Fort Garry.

Mr. Howe, and on the twenty-fifth, received the following reply: "Proposition in the main satisfactory, but let the delegation come here to settle terms." The Bishop then proceeded on his way and reached Fort Garry on the ninth of March, just five days after Scott had been murdered, and quickly set himself to work to restore peace in the settlement. Bishop Taché has been one of the best abused men in Canada for the part he took in endeavoring to quiet the disturbances in the North-West, and has been called "disloyal," "traitor," and other opprobrious names, because he recognized the Provisional Government, and entered into negotiations with Riel, after the murder of Scott. We do not desire to offer any excuse or apology for Bishop Taché; his conduct, on the whole, was peaceful in its tendency and happy in its results; but he seems to have become afflicted with that facility for making mistakes, with the very best intentions, which in turn attacked almost every person connected with Red River affairs about this time. The Imperial and Dominion Governments both made mistakes in supposing that the people of Red River would allow themselves to be transferred from one Government to another, without being consulted in the matter; the French Half-breeds and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company made mistakes when they thought that a show of armed resistance would frighten Canada from her bargain, and induce her to let the Red River settlement severely alone; Mr. Macdougall made a mistake when he proclaimed himself Governor of the Territory, without waiting to see whether the territory had been formally transferred to Canada or not; the Canadian Commissioners made a mistake when they tacitly acknowledged the "Provisional Government," without any authority from the Canadian Government for so doing; Riel made a mistake, when he ordered the murder of Scott, without taking into account the sure retribution which must follow from both Imperial and Dominion authorities; and Bishop Taché continued the series of mistakes by supposing that the murder of Scott did not affect the instructions he had

received on leaving Ottawa, and that he was still empowered to promise a full and complete amnesty to the insurgents. That the Bishop was honest and earnest in his endeavors to restore peace, we think even his greatest enemies will admit, now that the lapse of time has cooled the heat of party and religious animosity which was very great at the time; that in his anxiety to secure that tranquility he overstepped the bounds of his instructions, we believe even his warmest supporters will be willing to allow.

7.—The Council of the "Provisional Government," elected in accordance with the resolution passed at the Convention which closed its sittings on 10th February, met for the first time on 9th March, but beyond a speech from "President" Riel nothing was done, as only eight French and nine English members were present, and the meeting adjourned until the 15th. On that day the "Legislature" re-assembled, and after notices of two motions had been given,\* Bishop Taché was introduced by Riel, who, in the course of his remarks, said:—"He felt extreme pleasure in presenting to his Lordship the first Legislative Assembly of this country, representing all classes of the people, and in the name of the people represented by the honorable members of this Legislative Assembly he bid his Lordship welcome and congratulations on his safe return amongst them."† His Lordship, in reply, said that he did not come in an official capacity, but simply to use his exertions to unite all classes and restore peace and order. He intimated that the Canadian Government was very much dissatisfied with the actions of Mr. Macdougall—an announcement which was received with

\* The following notices of motion were given:—

Hon. Mr. BURN.—That the Government of England, the Canadian Government, and the Hudson's Bay Company, have ignored our rights as British subjects, when they entered into arrangements on the subject of the transfer of the Government of the North-West to the Dominion of Canada, without consulting the wishes of the people of the North-West Territory.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT.—That notwithstanding the insults and sufferings borne by the people of the North-West heretofore, and which they still endure, the loyalty of the people of the North-West toward the Crown of England remains the same, provided the rights and properties, usages and customs of the people be respected.

† *New Nation*, 2nd April, 1870.

cheers—and was anxious to do justice to the people of the settlement. He concluded by asking for a release of the prisoners, a request which Riel granted, saying that they should be released that evening, and the remainder as speedily as possible. The House remained in session until the twenty-sixth of March when it was prorogued until the twenty-sixth of April, at which time a committee was to report a "Constitution" for the Provisional Government. During the session, acts were passed appointing a military force of fifty men, who were to be recruited for two months' service and receive £3 sterling per month and board; for indemnity to members, at the rate of \$5 per day; for regulating the hay-cutting privilege, and for the administration of justice.

8.—On the twenty-eighth of March, Riel addressed a letter to Governor MacTavish offering to give up the property of the Hudson's Bay Company and allow the resumption of business, on condition that certain amounts should be "advanced" to the Provisional Government in money and goods.\* The terms offered were

Release of the  
Property of the  
Hudson's Bay  
Company.

\* To WILLIAM MAC TAVISH, Esq.,

Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the North-West:

SIR,—In reference to our interview regarding the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in this country, I have the honor to assure you that my great desire is to open as soon as possible, in the interests of the people, free and undisturbed, the commerce of the country.

The people in rallying themselves to the Provisional Government with unanimity, prescribe to each of us our respective conduct.

The Provisional Government, established upon the principle of justice and reason, will fulfil its work.

By the action of the Hudson's Bay Company, its commercial interests may be saved to a certain extent; but that is entirely for your consideration, and depends upon the Company itself. I have had the honor to tell you that arrangements were possible, and the following are the conditions:—

1st. That the whole of the Company in the North-West shall recognise the Provisional Government.

2nd. That you, in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, do agree to loan the Provisional Government the sum of three thousand pounds sterling.

3rd. That on demand by the Provisional Government, in case arrangements with Canada should be opposed, you do guarantee a supplement of two thousand pounds sterling to the above mentioned sum.

4th. That there shall be granted by the Hudson's Bay Company, for the support of the present military force, goods and provisions to the value of four thousand pounds sterling at current prices.

5th. That the Hudson's Bay Company do immediately put into circulation their bills.

6th. That the Provisional Government shall also retain an additional specified quantity of goods in the store of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In accepting the above conditions, the Hudson's Bay Company will be allowed to resume its business, under the protection of the Provisional Government.

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Fort Garry, March 28

finally agreed to, the bulk of the goods of the Company restored, and it was allowed to resume business. There have not been wanting those who claim that this whole transaction was a preconceived plan between Riel and the Hudson's Bay Company officials, for the purpose of holding the Canadian Government responsible for all loss sustained by the Hudson's Bay Company, under the promise conveyed in Sir John A. Macdonald's letter to Bishop Taché, dated 10th February, 1870, and that this formality of releasing the property, making a forced loan, &c., was only adopted as a means whereby to furnish the Company with data on which to found the bill which was afterwards to be rendered to the Canadian Government. Be this as it may, the little scheme was not successful; for the condition contained in the letter, "if the Company's Government is restored," was not complied with, and it was so evident that the resident officers of the Company were implicated in the insurrection, that when a vote of \$40,000 was asked from Parliament to compensate those who had suffered loss from the action of the Half-breeds, it was expressly stipulated that not one cent was to be paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, and that Corporation had to bear the loss of stores used, &c., by the insurgents during their ten months occupation of Fort Garry, the cost which has been estimated at £50,000.

9.—Judge Black, Rev. Mr. Richot and Alfred Scott, the delegates to the Canadian Government, left Fort Garry about 24th March and arrived in Ottawa about 11th April. They bore

Departure of the delegates. Effect of Bishop Taché's arrival.

Fort Garry will be open, but in the meanwhile, it being the seat of Government, a small guard of fifty men will be retained.

Only the buildings at present occupied by the Government will be reserved for Government purposes.

Such, Sir, are the conditions which the situation imposes upon us.

I have a duty to perform from which I shall not retreat. I am aware that you fully possess the knowledge of your duty, and I trust that your decision will be favorable.

Allow me here to express my deep feeling of sympathy for you in your continued illness, and to sincerely trust that your health may be speedily restored.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

LOUIS RIEL,  
President.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
Fort Garry, March 28, 1870.

with them Commissions from the Provisional Government\* and were officially recognised by the Secretary of State for the Provinces on 26th April.† The arrest of two of the delegates on a charge of complicity in the murder of Scott, their release and the success of their mission to Canada will be dealt with in another Chapter; we will for the present confine ourselves to the order of events as they occurred in the Settlement. With the arrival of Bishop Taché and the departure of the delegates the change for the better began to take place. The prisoners were released, the Hudson's Bay Company resumed operations, and, although Riel still kept an armed guard in Fort Garry, and held high carnival there on the rum and provisions he had "borrowed" from the Hudson's Bay Company, a feeling of more security began to prevade the community, especially after it was known that the Imperial and Dominion authorities would send a force of one thousand troops up in the Spring and that the Civil authority would be peacefully inaugurated by having a military force sufficient to compel submission, if necessary—an extremity, however, for which the necessities daily grew less. Shortly after

\* To Rev. N. J. Richot, Pfr., &c. :

Sir,—The President of the Provisional Government of Assiniboia, in Council, by these presents grants authority and commission to you, the Reverend N. J. Richot, jointly with John Black, Esq., and the Hon. A. Scott, to the end that you betake yourselves to Ottawa, in Canada, and that when there you should lay before the Canadian Parliament the list entrusted to your keeping with these presents, which list contains the conditions and propositions under which the people of Assiniboia would consent to enter into Confederation with the other Provinces of Canada. Signed, this twenty-second day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

By order,

THOMAS BUNN,  
Secretary of State.

Seat of Government, Winnipeg, }  
Assiniboia.

OTTAWA, April 26th, 1870.

† GENTLEMEN,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the twenty-second inst., stating that as delegates from the North-West to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, you are desirous of having an early audience with the Government, and am to inform you in reply that the Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Geo. E. Cartier have been authorized by the Government to confer with you on the subject of your mission, and will be ready to receive you at eleven o'clock.

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

To the Rev.

N. J. RICHOT, Pfr.  
J. BLACK, Esq.  
ALFRED SCOTT, Esq.

the arrival of Bishop Taché the annexationist Editor of the *New Nation* left that paper and its publication was suspended for two weeks.\* On its re-appearance, under the management of Mr. Thomas Spence, it became "dreadfully loyal," and continued so until the arrival of the troops.

10.—On the twenty-second of April, at the earnest request of Bishop Taché, the "flag of the Provisional Government" more commonly known as the "Fenian Flag" was hauled down at Fort Garry and the Union Jack hoisted in its place. This led to a bitter altercation between Riel and O'Donohue, which nearly terminated in blows, and the upshot was that a flag pole which was standing in front of Dr. Schultz's house was taken down, removed to the side of the pole on which the Union Jack was hoisted and the Provisional flag also run up, so that the two flags flew side by side—only, the pole to which the latter was attached being the taller of the two, it flew highest.† Riel now became de-

Hoisting the "Union Jack" over Fort Garry. The Manitoba Act accepted.

\* Bishop Taché, in a letter to Hon. Joseph Howe, under date 7th May, 1870, makes the following statement as to what had occurred since his arrival:—"The first week after my arrival half of the prisoners were liberated, and to this was added the promise that the rest would soon follow. An expedition, the object of which was to generalize the insurrectional movement in the interior, was stopped. The *New Nation* was suspended on account of its expressing the desire of annexation with the United States.

"The second week no more prisoners were in gaol, and the delegation started for Canada. Moreover, a man was prevented from going to the States, as it was suspected that his intention was to ask the aid of Fenians.

"The third week, the trading-post of Manitoba which had been signed, was restored to its first owners. The *New Nation*, the organ and property of the Provisional Government, began to proclaim openly the necessity of loyalty to the Crown, and the advantage of an honorable settlement with the Dominion of Canada. The last obstruction in the road was removed, and dangerous gathering of the Indians began to disperse.

"The fourth week (on certain conditions it is true) the furs and balance of goods at Fort Garry were restored to the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, and business resumed.

"The fifth week, the post of White Horse Plains, the only one remaining in the possession of the Provisional Government, was given back to the Company.

"The sixth week, the "Party flag" (which was never the Fenian flag), was replaced by the old "Union Jack," not without some little difficulty, but the noble British standard has floated since. Peace and confidence are prevailing, and without any exception the whole community is joyfully anticipating the speedy settlement of our past difficulties by our complete and peaceable union with Canada."

† The *Toronto Globe*, of 18th May, 1870, gives the following account of this occurrence, being part of a statement made to a reporter by Captain Webb, who had just returned from Fort Garry:—

"During his sojourn at the Fort, Captain Webb heard from many friends the particulars of the altercation between Riel and O'Donohue regarding the flag, which should predominate over the Fort. Previous to this little

monstratively loyal and had his band play "God save the Queen" every night. On the twenty-sixth of April, the "Legislative Assembly" again met and remained in session until the ninth of May, their time being occupied in framing laws for the Government of the Territory. On the Queen's Birthday an attempt was made to celebrate it; the students at St. Boniface College fired a *feu de joie*, races were held, and a grand concert was given in the evening, while many enthusiastic gentlemen got "truly loyal drunk," as the *New Nation* expressed it. On the seventeenth of June, Father Riehot returned from Ottawa, and, on the twenty-third the third session of the Legislature was convened to hear his report of his conference with the Dominion Ministry. After his explanations—which included an assurance that amnesty would be proclaimed before the troops arrived—Mr. Schmidt offered the following resolution: "That the Legislative Assembly of this country do now, in the name of the people, accept the Manitoba Act, and decide on entering the Dominion of Canada, on the terms proposed in the Confederation Act." The motion was unanimously adopted. After this, the country remained quiet, confidence began to be restored and some arrivals from Canada occurred. The reign of terror was entirely over, and, when the advance guard of Colonel Wolsely's troops arrived at Fort Garry on 22nd August, there was not a vestige of opposition, Riel and his Council having ignominiously fled as soon as they heard the bugles of the 60th Rifles.

11.—Before turning from the subject in the

emerge between Riel and O'Donohue, a flag bearing a *flour-de-lis* and a shamrock had been flying from the large flag pole over the Fort. But two or three days previous to Captain Webb's arrival thereat, Riel had had the flag (which is generally supposed to be the Fenian bunting emblem), pulled down and a British ensign hoisted in its stead. O'Donohue objected to this, and an excited altercation resulted between them. Riel said to O'Donohue: "Are you not a British subject?" O'Donohue replied: "No, I am not," to which Riel retorted: "You are, because you and I have applied to the Canadian Government for the granting of our rights." The wordy war between the President and his Secretary waxed hot, and at one time those who witnessed it anticipated a dissolution of the hitherto fast friends and coadjutors; but the dispute was settled by the large flag pole, which was erected in front of Dr. Schultz's house, being removed to the Fort, and the Fenian flag hoisted to an equal altitude with "the flag that's braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze," and when Captain Webb left the Fort, *en route* for St. Paul, the two flags were unfurling their folds together in the wind."



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HON. JOSEPH HOWE  
*Secretary of State*

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Red River Territory, to record what had occurred in other parts of the Dominion about the same time, as will refer to the last act of Bishop Taché, his promise, in the name of the Canadian Government, of complete amnesty to *all* who had been concerned in the insurrection; \* and, in justice to

\* The following is the Bishop's letter to the Secretary of State, acquainting him with what he had done:—

ST. BONIFACE,  
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,  
June 9th, 1870.

HON. JOSEPH HOWE,  
Secretary of State for the Provinces,  
Ottawa, Canada:

HONORABLE SIR,—I hasten to communicate to you, for the information of His Excellency in Council, a very important promise I have just made in the name of the Canadian Government. I feel all the responsibility I have incurred in taking such a step, while on another hand I am confident that His Excellency the Governor-General and his Privy Council will not judge with too much severity an act accomplished in order to avoid great misfortunes and secure the welfare of the country.

In my last despatch, dated on 28th May, I mentioned the satisfaction by the Liberal Bill erecting the Province of Manitoba. I also stated the uneasiness occasioned by the ignorance, whether or not a general and complete amnesty had been granted. The two last mails having brought no information on this subject, that feeling of uneasiness has increased to such a degree that it gives apprehension about the maintenance of peace in the country.

Some speak of raising a large force to meet and molest the coming troops at some difficult point on their way hither; and other plans, perhaps still more dangerous, are also afloat.

Fortunately, the Provisional Government has so far refused such resources, determined to await the arrival of the delegates. Owing to the good disposition of the Provisional Government, and in order to remove the dangers to which we are exposed, and which it would be too tedious to enumerate, I solemnly give my word of honor, and promise even in the name of the Canadian Government, that the troops are sent on a mission of peace; that all the irregularities of the past will be totally overlooked or forgiven; that nobody will be annoyed for having been either leader or member of the Provisional Government, or for having acted under its auspices. In a word, that a complete and entire amnesty (if not already bestowed) will surely be granted before the arrival of the troops, so that everyone may remain quiet, and induce others to do the same.

Personally, I felt no hesitation in giving such an assurance, because what I heard myself from the different members of the Cabinet at Ottawa, and what has been said by them in Parliament, has entirely convinced me that this promise of mine had been already issued, and that the delegates now on their way back will convey the most satisfactory information upon that subject.

Should my views, unfortunately, have deviated from the real tendency of the Government, I humbly beg that my promise will be considered as sacred.

It is the privilege of His Excellency to forgive, and if forgiveness be considered necessary, I earnestly pray for it.

I don't flatter myself with the idea that I have done something in favor of the Canadian cause in this country; and I can assure the Government of my willingness to contribute, as far as in my power, to its prosperity; but should I have promised in vain, besides the heart-rending feeling I would personally experience, I would be publicly reputed a deceiver or as having been wilfully deceived by the Canadian Government. An awful reaction would ensue, and who knows what would be the result.

If necessary, I therefore humbly lay my request before His Excellency. It would be very easy to have it largely subscribed to by respectable names, but such an undertaking would have given rise to excitement, and it is my constant endeavour to quell such a feeling rather than nourish it, as it is the greatest danger to be apprehended.

I am confident that, although this is a personal act, it will be considered as the wish of the community at large, and probably granted.

him, will give his own statement of his reasons for doing so, as given before the Select Committee on the causes of the difficulties in the North-West Territory. After reading the letter given below, he said: "I had the communication described in this letter on the day I wrote the letter, and, if you will allow me, I will explain to you the reason. Parties arrived from the United States, who had interviews with the leaders of the Provisional Government, and the parties told them that they could not rely upon what had been promised; that the assurances given would not be carried into execution; and that, in some way or another, the politicians of Canada, when they took possession of the country, would refuse to be guided by that promise. They told the leaders that the troops were on their way, and, if they allowed them to enter the country, they would control the position, bring the leaders before the tribunals, try them and hang them. These representations created a very strong feeling among the leaders, and one or two of them came to my place and reported what they had heard. I repeated the assurances I had given in the name of His Excellency the Governor-General. They answered that this was of itself all right, but it was not from the Canadians. Now, the Canadian troops are on their way, they said, and they are under the control of Canada, and as we have given them cause for provocation, if we have not

It is rumoured that Dr. Schultz is coming with a large party of supporters. I am sure that if such be the case, the Government has taken the necessary steps to prevent the collision, which would be the consequence of his return, perhaps with a desire to revenge the past, and renew the cause of by-gone troubles.

We are perfectly aware of his former conduct, and it is not difficult to foresee what he may be in future, if not checked by a proper authority.

I easily understand that at a distance my ideas may appear rather pressing, but allow me to say that here on the spot we are in a position to ascertain the dangers and difficulties which may naturally seem chimerical when viewed from abroad.

Experience has already proved that, unfortunately, our apprehensions are not always entirely groundless nor an effort of our imagination. So far it is universally considered as a wonder that nothing worse has happened. May the wisdom and liberality of the Government remove what seems to be the last difficulty.

I consider this document of such importance that I am forwarding it by a special messenger to Pembina, to secure its prompt delivery into your hands. No doubt you will be kind enough to answer me by the first mail.

I remain, with much respect, Honorable Sir,  
Your humble servant,

ALEXANDER,  
Bishop of St. Boniface.

similar assurances from the Canadian Government, they may act in the manner represented to us. My statement before was, that I made the promise in the name of His Excellency the Governor-General, as representative of the Queen, but also added that such were the intentions of the members of the Canadian Cabinet. They had so little faith in the Canadian authorities that I thought they would prefer to negotiate directly with the representative of the Sovereign. Indeed, I had this authority from the terms of the Proclamation, as well as from the letter addressed to me by His Excellency, in which he told me that he was directed by the Imperial Government to issue the Proclamation—and from the conversations I had, both with His Excellency and his Ministers, in which he and they told me that he was not acting in the name of the Canadian Government, but as Special Commissioner from the Imperial authorities. I was also furnished with a copy of the telegraphic message from England, upon which the Proclamation was based. The promise, made in the name of the Canadian Government on the ninth of June, differed in this respect—that it was made in the name of His Excellency, and, in my action, I was guided by Sir John's letters of 16th February, but, with the exception of its being made in the name of the Canadian Government, the promise was itself exactly the same as I had made before. I thought it necessary to make it in the name of the Government of Canada, if the fears to which I have referred were to be dissipated; and I determined so to make it because I had received information from Father Richot that the negotiations at Ottawa had been closed satisfactorily. As a portion of the negotiations was to get an entire amnesty, I thought the Canadian Government would not object to the promise being made in their name. The promise which I made on my arrival, in the name of the Governor-General, was equally extensive with that which I describe in this letter of 9th June. All the difference is that the one was made in the name of the Government of Canada, whereas the

other was made in the name of the Governor-General as the representative of the Queen. The answer of the Hon. Mr. Howe, dated 27th May, to my letters of the 3rd and 7th of the same month, in which I also saw plainly the promise of forgiveness, determined me that there was no risk in making the promise in the name of the authorities of Canada. I had also shown that answer to some of the leaders, and I relied upon it as affording me the basis for giving the promise named in my letter; for you will observe that Mr. Howe tendered me, in the name of His Excellency, not only his sympathy, but his warm acknowledgment of my services in the cause of peace and moderation."

12.—It will be seen by the above that the Bishop took upon himself to promise in the name of the Dominion Government what the Dominion Government itself had not the power

The action of the Bishop reviewed. His departure for Ottawa.

to grant; that is, amnesty for offences committed against the Imperial authority, in a part of the British possessions which did not, at the time the offences were committed, even form a part of the Dominion of Canada. The power of amnesty rested with the Imperial authorities, as was clearly explained to the delegates, during the debate on the Manitoba Bill, by the Hon. Mr. Howe in his answer to His Lordship's letter of the ninth of June.\* But, even admitting

OTTAWA, 4th July, 1870.

\* My Lord.—Your letter of the 9th of June, which reached me yesterday, has been laid before the Privy Council, and has received their consideration.

Your Lordship states that personally you felt no hesitation in giving, in the name of the Canadian Government, an assurance of a complete amnesty.

Your Lordship has no doubt read the debate and explanations which took place in Parliament during the discussion of the Manitoba Bill. The question of Amnesty was brought forward, and the answers and explanations given by the Ministers in the House of Commons were that the Canadian Government had no power to grant such an Amnesty, and that the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, rested solely with Her Majesty the Queen.

The Reverend Father Richot and Mr. Scott must, on their arrival, have informed your Lordship that, in the repeated interviews which they had with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, they were distinctly informed that the Government of the Dominion had no power as a Government to grant an Amnesty; and I would add that this Government is not in a position to interfere with the free action of Her Majesty in the exercise of the Royal clemency. Her Majesty's Imperial Ministers can alone advise the Queen on such an important matter, when called upon to do so. No doubt can be entertained that Her Majesty, advised by her Ministers, will on a calm view of all the circumstances discharge the duty of this high responsibility in a temperate and judicial spirit.

that there was action furnished letter of 16th which amnesty not complete would be government is rest could he not John Young 1869, for the made on the immediate insurgents h when the B they show an to the Bishop meditating f to attack the Garry. Besides been raised in and the strong on the subject of the Manitoba were well known too astute a outburst of weight with not advocate had had time evidence before to, he said; "granting of

The foregoing explanation may be well understood by your Lordship of a copy of the Canadian Government.

The conversations place between your Lordship when your Lordship February last, must not proclamation issued in December last, by command announced that in case would order that no be implicated in these unfavourable

Though I have felt it the principal subject of your service and valuable West are duly appreciated regard the abstracts of liberal and enlightened relax your exertions in

RIGHT REVEREND THE BISHOP

that there was some ground for his Lordship's action furnished by Sir John A. Macdonald's letter of 16th February, still the condition on which amnesty was promised in that letter was not complied with, for it stated that amnesty would be granted "if the Company's government is restored," which was not done; neither could he make good his authority under Sir John Young's Proclamation of 6th of December, 1869, for the promise of amnesty was then made on the condition "in case of your immediate and peaceable dispersion," and the insurgents had neither submitted nor dispersed when the Bishop promised amnesty, nor did they show any disposition to do so; for, according to the Bishop's own statement, they were meditating further acts of violence by preparing to attack the expedition then on its way to Fort Garry. Besides the intense feeling which had been raised in Ontario by the murder of Scott, and the strong debate which had taken place on the subject of amnesty during the discussion of the Manitoba Act in the House of Commons, were well known to His Lordship, and he was too astute a man not to see that the great outburst of popular feeling must have its weight with the Government, and that it could not advocate an amnesty until the excitement had had time to cool down. Indeed, in his own evidence before the Committee already referred to, he said; "the only reason for delaying the granting of the amnesty promised by the

The foregoing explanations are given to your Lordship in order that it may be well understood that the responsibility of the assurance given by your Lordship of a complete Amnesty, cannot in any way attach itself to the Canadian Government.

The conversations to which your Lordship alludes as having taken place between your Lordship and some members of the Canadian cabinet when your Lordship was in Ottawa about the middle of the month of February last, must necessarily have taken place with reference to the proclamation issued by His Excellency the Governor-General, on 6th December last, by command of Her Majesty, in which His Excellency announced that in case of their immediate and peaceable dispersion, he would order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law at Red River.

Though I have felt it my duty to be thus explicit in dealing with the principal subject of your letter, I trust I need not assure you that your service and valuable exertions to calm the public mind in the North-West are duly appreciated here, and I am confident that where you regard the obstructions which have been interposed to the adoption of a liberal and enlightened policy for Manitoba, you will not be disposed to relax your exertions until that policy is formally established.

I have, etc.,

JOSEPH HOWE.

RIGHT REVEREND THE BISHOP OF ST. BONIFACE,  
RED RIVER

Proclamation of Sir John Young, that I am aware of, has been the excitement existing throughout the Dominion, and especially in the Province of Ontario. This is not merely my own opinion; it is also the opinion expressed to me by certain members of the late Government. The constant reply which I received when I spoke to them on the subject was, that the excitement was so great that the Government would not be sustained if the amnesty was given." Taking these facts into consideration, it is fair to infer that His Lordship, in his earnest desire to protect the people of the Red River from the consequences of their conduct, and in the hope of establishing permanent peace in that country, knowingly exceeded the limits of his authority, acting under the impression that his promise would so far compromise the Government as to coerce the Ministers into using their influence with the Imperial authorities—which was really all they could do—to obtain the Proclamation of a full and complete amnesty, *before* the arrival of the troops, after which any wild idea of further resistance would be useless. He knew that the Cabinet was divided on the subject; that the Quebec members, led by Sir Geo. E. Cartier, were in favour of an amnesty, and, indeed that it was very well understood that an amnesty would be urged "by and by," when the popular excitement had abated; but he was too impatient to await the slow process of time and endeavoured by a *coup-de-etat* to accomplish at once what it took years to partially gain. Shortly after giving his promise of amnesty, the Bishop left for Ottawa, "to make certain," as he said in his evidence "to my own satisfaction, the promise made to the delegates, and report at Ottawa the satisfaction of the people."

#### CHAPTER XIV.

#### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG—THIRD SESSION OF FIRST PARLIAMENT, 1870.

#### 1.—ANXIOUS FEELING THROUGHOUT THE DOMINION. RETURN OF HON. MR. MACDOWGALL.



—2. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. A BRILLIANT SCENE. THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—3. DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.—4. SIR FRANCIS HINCK'S BANKING SCHEME. SYNOPSIS OF THE RESOLUTIONS.—5. DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTIONS. THEY PASS THROUGH COMMITTEE.—6. ADOPTION OF THE BANKING ACT. SYNOPSIS OF ITS PROVISIONS.—7. HON. MR. HUNTINGTON'S RESOLUTIONS FOR THE FORMATION OF A ZOLLVEREIN.—8. DEFEAT OF THE RESOLUTIONS BY 42 MAJORITY.—9. MR. BLAKE'S ATTEMPT TO HAVE THE B. N. A. ACT AMENDED.—10. MR. BLAKE'S EFFORTS AGAIN DEFEATED.—11. THE "SILVER NUISANCE." PASSAGE OF THE DOMINION NOTES ACT.—12. SIR A. T. GALT'S PROPOSAL TO CHANGE THE MANNER OF BUILDING THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.—13. SIR GEO. E. CARTIER'S DEFENSE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S RAILWAY POLICY.—14. RUMOR OF FENIAN INVASION. SUSPENSION OF THE "HABEAS CORPUS" ACT.—15. DEBATE ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE WATER COMMUNICATIONS OF THE DOMINION.—16. ACTS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FISHERIES AND THE COASTING TRADE.—17. THE ADOPTION OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF URGED.—18. ADOPTION OF THE "PROTECTIVE" TARIFF BILL. ITS PROVISIONS.—19. BILLS WITHDRAWN OR DEFEATED. THE CENSUS.—20. THE SUPPLY BILL. MISCELLANEOUS LEGISLATION. PROROGATION. REVIEW OF THE SESSION.

1.—The year of 1870 opened with feelings of anxiety and foreboding of trouble throughout the Dominion, consequent on the serious aspect which affairs in the North-West were assuming and there was some alarm lest the hasty action of the Hon. Mr. Macdougall in proclaiming himself Governor, without authority, might lead to grave complications; but these fears were quieted when it became known that his effort to excite the English Half-breeds to take up arms against the French had failed, and that he was on his way back to Canada. Of course, there was a sense of humiliation in the thought that so small a body should think itself powerful

Anxious feeling  
throughout the  
Dominion. Return of  
Hon. Mr. Macdougall.

enough to defy the whole Dominion, but it was blended with a sort of feeling of amusement at the short-sighted policy of the Half-breeds in supposing that by keeping out Mr. Macdougall they could keep Canada from completing her bargain. There was, also, a considerable amount of dissatisfaction at the manner in which the Government had acted in the matter; and the Opposition press did not fail to turn every circumstance possible to account, and charge that it was the mismanagement of the Ministry which had caused the Half-breeds to be suspicious of Canada, and to take up arms to resist her gaining control over the country. As the news of the arrival of the Commissioners at Fort Garry, and their entering into negotiations with the Half-breeds became known, the feeling of anxiety was greatly dispelled, and it was felt that peace and good order might be restored without any appeal to force. The Hon. Mr. Macdougall arrived in Toronto on the seventh of January, and shortly after repaired to Ottawa. His position was an extremely unpleasant one. He had retired from the Cabinet and accepted a provisional Commission as Governor of a Territory which did not acknowledge Canadian authority; and the question was soon raised as to whether he could continue to represent North Lanark in the Commons, as he would have violated the Independence of Parliament Act if he accepted any position of emolument while a member of the House. The question was afterwards raised in Parliament, and referred to the Committee on Elections and Privileges, by whom it was decided that he had not forfeited his seat. Mr. Macdougall was deeply incensed at his late colleagues, especially Mr. Howe, and accused them of trying to make him the scape-goat to save themselves from the penalty of their bungling and mismanagement.

2.—The third session of the first Parliament of the Dominion met on the fifteenth of February, and the opening was the most brilliant ever seen in Ottawa. H. R. H., Prince Arthur came from Montreal to attend it, and the rush to witness the ceremony was unprecedented, fully

Opening of  
Parliament.—A  
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fifteen hundred persons being in the Senate Chamber, when the House was formally opened by His Excellency Sir John Young. Prince Arthur wore his Rifle uniform, and was accommodated with a seat beside the Governor-General. The attendance of Senators was unusually large, and a greater number of members of the Commons than usual were present. His Excellency, in his speech, referred to the beautiful harvest with which the country had been blessed, and to the prosperous condition of the fisheries, and trade and commerce generally. He spoke of the difficulties which had arisen in the North-West, on account of the misapprehension on the part of a portion of the inhabitants, of the intentions of the Canadian Government towards them, and expressed an opinion that a peaceful solution of the trouble would soon be reached, through the action of the Commissioners who had been sent there. An Act to take the place of an Act for the temporary government of the Territory would be submitted to Parliament; as would, also, Acts relating to banking, elections, and the establishment of a Dominion Court of Appeals. He referred to the census which it would be necessary to take during the following year, and said that an effort would be made to induce a census being taken in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island at the same time, so as to complete the census of British North America. He highly complimented the Volunteers on the alacrity with which they had turned out on the intimation that another Fenian invasion was intended, and briefly referred to the steps which were being taken by the different Provinces to induce immigration. Referring to his trip to the Lower Provinces, and subsequently, in company with H. R. F. Prince Arthur, through Ontario, he testified to the kindness and warmth of the loyal reception everywhere accorded him.

3.—The address, in reply to the speech from the Throne, was moved in the Senate, on the sixteenth, by Hon. J. R. Benson, seconded by Hon. R. B. Dickey, and was adopted, without amendment, on the

following day. In the Commons the address was moved by Mr. A. W. Savary, and seconded by Mr. Sriver. The debate lasted six days, and, although no amendment was offered, the whole policy of the Government was reviewed and severely criticised by the Opposition. Hon. Mr. Holton began by asking about the changes which had taken place in the Cabinet, claiming that the Government had not kept to the programme on which he had appealed to the people. Mr. Mackenzie followed in the same strain, holding that the cry on which the Administration had gone to the electors, was that it was non-partizan; that it gave a fair representation to the majorities of each Province, and that now they had virtually returned to party government by failing to give the Reform party in Ontario its due representation in the Cabinet. Sir John A. Macdonald claimed that, although the *personel* of the Government had been changed, its principles were the same as those maintained in 1867. The only difference was that the elections had shown such an increase in the Conservative vote in Ontario, that he was justified in giving that party a majority in the Cabinet. He said: "The Government is the same; their principles and politics are the same; and the introduction of these four gentlemen has not in any way affected the general principles or the policy which the Ministry has always adopted." Sir A. T. Galt made a long review of the conduct of the Government, and said that, while not intending to offer a factious opposition, he regretted to say he could no longer give the present Administration his support. The debate, after this took a decidedly personal turn, a general attack being made on Sir Francis Hincks by several members of the Opposition, during which his past connection with Canadian politics was pretty freely commented on. Mr. Howe also came in for a considerable share of attention, and was severely attacked by Hon. W. Macdougall, who charged him with not having used his influence properly during his visit to Fort Garry, and with failing to give him (Mr. Macdougall) any

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account of the true state of affairs in the Red River Settlement when they met on the plains. The whole conduct of the Government in the Red River troubles was reviewed and generally condemned, but the Government contented itself with deferring any defence until all the papers on the subject had been brought down, and the House should be in a better position to judge of their action.

4.—On the first of March, Sir Francis Hincks introduced his resolutions on the Banking

*Sir Francis Hincks' Banking scheme. Synopsis of the Resolutions.*

system, which differed in many essential particulars from those introduced by Hon. John D. Cox previously. The present resolutions provided that Banks could not be incorporated with less than \$1,000,000 capital, of which twenty per cent. must be paid-up *bona fide* stock before notes could be issued or any business done, the remainder of the stock to be paid up in five years; Banks not to issue notes for less than four dollars, the Government furnishing bills for smaller denominations; Banks to keep at least half their reserve in Dominion securities; the total note circulation of any Bank not to exceed its paid-up capital; the whole liabilities never to be more than the amount of specie and notes on hand, and three times the amount of the capital; the interest of note-holders and depositors to be secured by making shareholders liable for double the amount of stock held by them; any Bank suspending specie payments for ninety days to forfeit its charter; no dividend of more than eight per cent. to be declared until a reserve of twenty per cent. had been accumulated; a list of shareholders to be published every year; Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Directors to hold at least five thousand dollars' worth of stock each, and the whole Board of Directors to own at least five per cent. of the capital; no advances to be made by any Bank on its own stock; no dividends to be paid out of capital, and when the capital became impaired it was to be made up by assessment on the shareholders; Banks must at all times take their own notes in payment of any debt due them, but not to be compelled to redeem their notes in gold

except at the office from which they were issued; a fuller system of monthly returns was provided for. The scheme was generally well received by the people and acquiesced in by the Banks, so much so indeed, that the *Globe* and some other Opposition papers, which advocated "Free Banking," roundly attacked the latter for not protecting their own interests in opposing the Bill; but the Banks, generally, preferred to think for themselves, and were satisfied with the provisions of the Act.

5.—The Banking resolutions came up for discussion on the fourth of March, when Sir Francis Hincks moved that the House go in Committee on them.

*Debate on the resolutions.—They pass through Committee.*

Mr. Cartwright led the attack, and moved, in amendment, "That the Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be resolved that it is not expedient to authorise the issue of legal tender notes in the manner authorized by the said resolutions." He attacked the whole system generally and advocated the Free Banking system, which, he claimed, had worked exceedingly well, as neither the English nor United States systems could have withstood the strain on them which had been successfully borne by the Canadian Banks. Sir Francis Hincks defended his scheme, and said that although he would have preferred to establish a Government Bank of issue, he found popular sentiment did not favor that idea, and the next best plan was the one he proposed. Mr. Mackenzie followed in a very vigorous attack on the Banking policy of the Government, which he stigmatised as a plan for raising a forced loan from the Banks. The Government had been forced to resort to various devices to raise money; it had raised \$4,000,000 through the Insurance Companies, \$1,500,000 through Savings Banks, \$5,500,000 through the Dominion notes in circulation, and \$1,000,000 under a pretence of exporting silver; and now it wanted to add \$8,000,000 by absorbing that much of the Bank circulation, which would make a total of \$20,000,000 raised by forced loans. He controverted the idea that the abstraction of money from the country, which would be the result of the proposed plan, was

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*Adoption of the Banking Act. Synopsis of its provisions.*

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not a direct tax, and argued against the notion that promises to pay, backed by the nation, could not depreciate in value. He held that this plan would operate most heavily against the interests of Ontario, and said that he was aware of the statement that some of the Banks favored the scheme, but he did not care for the opinion of those Banks, for he knew that they did not express the popular opinion in Ontario. He then quoted a quantity of statistics and authorities to show the advantage of a Free Banking system. Mr. Young also opposed the resolutions, saying that they were only framed to tide over a difficulty and not to finally settle the Banking question. Mr. Workman complained that the Opposition members from Ontario could never see anything beyond what they considered the interests of Ontario. He thought the legal tender notes would be received with great confidence, and prove of immense advantage to the whole country. After some further debate Mr. Cartwright's amendment was put and lost, only twenty-nine voting for it, and one hundred and ten against. The House then went into Committee. On the resolution fixing the capital at not less than \$1,000,000, Sir A. T. Galt thought the amount too high. It would prevent the formation of Local Banks, which were exceedingly useful in their communities; he considered it would be better to fix the amount at \$400,000. Sir Francis Hincks explained that the clause was only intended to apply to new Banks, but was willing to leave the matter to be discussed later on. The clause relating to the amount of stock to be owned by Directors was also left over, and the resolutions then passed through Committee.

6.—The Banking Bill occupied the attention of the House for several days, and received various alterations during its passage through its different stages, but was finally adopted on the fifth of April. The Bill as passed provides general clauses relating to Banks, which may, however, be varied by the special Acts incorporating them. No Bank can commence business with less than \$200,000 paid-up capital,

and it must obtain a certificate to that effect from the Treasury Board. At least twenty per cent. of the subscribed capital must be paid-up each year after commencing business. The notes in circulation are not to exceed the unimpaired paid-up capital. None to be issued for a less sum than \$4. Notes of a Bank must always be received by it at par in payment, but it is only obliged to redeem them where made payable, one of which places must be its chief office. It must hold as nearly as may be one-half of its cash reserve in Dominion notes—never less than one-third. Loans and discounts cannot be made on the security of its own stock; but a Bank holds a lien on, and may refuse to transfer the stock of one of its debtors. No dividend or bonus may be paid out of capital; directors knowingly concurring in such payment become jointly and severally liable for the amount to the Bank. When the capital is impaired, a call must be made to restore it if the stock is not all paid up, and all nett profits applied to cover the loss. No dividend of over eight per cent. shall be paid until a reserve has been formed of at least twenty per cent. of the capital. A charter is forfeited by suspension of payment of liabilities in specie or Dominion notes for over ninety days, and the Bank being insolvent, passes into the hands of assignees, unless the Directors are authorized by creditors to wind it up. The shareholders in such case become liable for double the amount of their subscription to the capital, and the assignees or directors may make calls not exceeding twenty per cent. each, and giving thirty days notice of each, for amount. If the Bank be *en commandite*, and the principal partners are personally liable, they may be proceeded against at once without discussing the Bank assets, the liability continuing for such term as is provided by the special charter. In other Banks, parties who have transferred their shares within one month before the suspension are still liable for such calls saving their recourse against the persons accepting such transfer. Directors failing or refusing to enforce these calls are guilty of a misdemeanor,

Adoption of the  
Banking Act.  
Synopsis of its provisions.



and personally liable for damages. Banks are made subject to the provisions of any winding-up Act which may be passed. A shareholder has a vote for each share held by him three months before meeting, and may always vote by a proxy, who must be a shareholder, and must not be a manager, cashier, bank clerk, or other subordinate officer of the Bank, nor shall these vote in person. The shareholders may make By-laws to regulate the number and qualification of directors (not less than five nor more than ten), the method of filling up vacancies, the remuneration of President, Vice-President and Directors. The qualification of Directors to be at least \$3,000 in Banks of \$1,000,000 or under; \$4,000 in those of \$1,000,000 to \$3,000,000; and \$5,000 for those over \$3,000,000. By-laws may also prescribe the amount of discount to be allowed to directors (or, *en commandite*, to principal partners) not to exceed one-twentieth part to any one of them. The directors are to be elected annually by the shareholders, and are eligible for re-election. Lists of shareholders, with residences, amount held, &c., shall be laid before Parliament each session. Monthly returns are to be made up on the first day of each month, showing the actual condition of the Bank on the last day of the preceding month; and these returns are to be certified to by the President and Cashier. Making a false statement or return is a misdemeanour, if not made a higher offence, and Bank officers, directors and principal partner, signing or concurring in it, or using it, with intent to mislead, are liable for damages. Any officer, director, or principal partner, giving any unfair preference to any creditor, is in like manner guilty and liable for damages. Banks are liable to any further general legislation about Banks. Their charters will expire at the end of the session to be held in 1881. Any existing Bank may, on application of its directors authorized by the shareholders, obtain a renewal and extension of its charter from the Governor in Council on the report of the Minister of Finance and Treasury Board—such charter to contain any of the pro-

visions of its former charters not inconsistent with the preceding provisions of this Act. If the capital stock of the Bank has been impaired, it shall be reduced accordingly by such extension of charter, but not by a further amount than twenty-five per cent, nor below \$200,000, nor shall the shareholders liability be reduced thereby. Banks obtaining such charter must call in and redeem its notes under \$4 as soon as practicable. All Banks under new charter will be free from the tax on circulation. No one but a chartered Bank shall issue, or re-issue, make, or draw any note or other document, to pass as money, or substitute for it, under a penalty of \$400. A note is presumed to be such if under \$20, payable to bearer, or at sight, or on demand, or at less than thirty days, or overdue, or in any way designed for circulation—cheques on Banks and promissory notes delivered by a debtor to his creditor being excepted. The Act respecting Banks of 1868 is continued until the end of the session of 1872.\*

7.—The small feeling toward Independence which we have already referred to as having a few advocates, found expression during this session in a series of resolutions introduced by the Hon. L. S. Huntington, on the sixteenth of March, and debated on that day, and the twenty-first. The resolutions were as follows: "That an address be presented representing that the increasing population and productions of this Dominion demand more extended markets and a more unrestricted interchange of commodities of other countries. That a Continental system of free commercial intercourse, bringing under one general Customs Union with this Dominion, countries chiefly interested in its trade would tend to the expansion of our commerce and develop our resources and our products. That such a system should place in a position of commercial equality and reciprocity all countries becoming parties thereto. That a great advantage would result from placing the Government of the Dominion in direct commu-

Hon. Mr. Huntington's resolution for the formation of a Zollverein.

\* This Synopsis is from an article by Mr. B. Chamberlin, D.C.L., in *The Year Book of Canada*, for 1871.

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nication with the several States which might be willing to negotiate for such a Customs Union. That it is expedient to obtain from the Imperial Government all necessary powers to enable the Government of the Dominion to enter into direct communication with such foreign States as would be disposed, upon terms advantageous to Canada, to negotiate for such commercial regulations. That in all cases treaties enacting such proposed Customs Union should be submitted to the approval of Her Majesty." In support of his resolutions Mr. Huntington made a fierce attack on the policy of the Ministry, which he claimed to be very faulty, especially in its conduct towards the United States. He argued that what the country wanted was Free Trade and Reciprocity, in some manner, with the United States, and that everything possible to attain these ends should be done before there was any talk of retaliatory measures. Sir Francis Hincks said the resolutions were violently protectionist, for a Zollverein such as proposed would exclude England from our markets. He admitted that it would be beneficial to Canada to have reciprocity, but it was not her place to supplicate for it. Hon. Mr. Dorion was warmly in favor of the resolutions, and strongly advocated the necessity of obtaining Reciprocity. He also supported the desirability of obtaining permission from Great Britain for Canada to execute separate commercial treaties, and argued that the resolutions did not involve any discriminating duties against Great Britain. Mr. McGill opposed a Customs Union because a political union would be sure to follow. After some further discussion the debate was adjourned.

8.—On the 21st the debate was resumed; but Mr. Huntington seems to have become convinced of the fruitlessness of urging on the House anything which bore about it any flavour of annexation or union, whether commercial or political, with the United States, and submitted to an amendment being offered by Sir A. T. Galt, which took the main pith out of his resolutions, as the amendment excluded all reference to a

Zollverein, and was merely to the effect that Canada needed an extension of trade, and that it would be beneficial to her to obtain permission from Great Britain to enter into separate commercial treaties with foreign countries, the same to be approved of by the Mother Country. He followed the usual arguments in favor of reciprocity with the United States, and deprecated anything like retaliatory legislation. He felt confident that England would easily consent to Canada's making separate commercial arrangements. Sir John A. Macdonald thought it would be much more becoming for Canada to act in consonance with, and with the assistance of the Mother Country than to sue *in forma paperis* to foreign nations for treaties, and he met with the rebuff, "We don't know who you are." He said there was no guarantee that England would grant any such right to make treaties, and that the resolutions really meant a separation from the Mother Country as soon as possible, which was something, he was sure, Canada would be very loth to ask. He concluded by moving in amendment to the amendment, "That this House, while desirous of obtaining for the Dominion the freest access to the markets of the world, and thus augmenting its external prosperity, is satisfied that that object can best be obtained by the concurrent action of the Imperial and Canadian Governments. That any attempt to enter into treaties with foreign powers without the strongest direct support of the Mother Country as a principal party must fail, and that a Customs Union with the United States, now so heavily taxed, would be unfair to the Empire and injurious to the Dominion, and would weaken the ties now happily existing between them." A long debate ensued, in which it was clearly indicated that the feeling of the House was strongly opposed to entertaining any propositions looking either to union of any kind with the United States, or separation of any sort from the Empire. Sir John A. Macdonald's motion was then carried by 100 for to 58 against.

9.—The question of the "better terms" granted to Nova Scotia at the previous session was not

Defeat of the  
resolutions by 12  
majority.



Mr. Blake's attempt  
to have the B. N. A.  
Act amended.

to be allowed to rest quietly, the Opposition being determined to make one more effort to remove from the Parliament of the Dominion the power to alter the financial basis on which Confederation had been consummated. It will be remembered that when the Act granting a larger amount of debt and an increased subsidy to Nova Scotia was under discussion in 1869, Mr. Blake moved an amendment on the constitutional ground that Parliament was exceeding the power given it by the British North America Act, by altering the financial arrangement provided for in that Act. His amendment was defeated; but determined to "try again," he moved in the Ontario Legislature for an address to Her Majesty, praying that she would cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of removing all color for the Parliament of the Dominion assuming the power to disturb the financial arrangements made to the British North America Act. The address was carried in the Ontario House and duly forwarded, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies decided that the Dominion Parliament had the power to alter the terms if it pleased, and that it was not deemed expedient to deprive it of that power.\* The despatch of Lord Granville, given below, was published on the twenty-third of March, and on the thirtieth

DOWNING STREET.  
February 10th, 1870.

\* Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 6, of the 11th January, forwarding an address to the Queen from the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of removing all color for the assumption, by the Parliament of Canada, of the power to disturb the financial relations established by the British North America Act (1867) as between Canada and the several Provinces.

You will be so good as to inform the Assembly that their address has been laid before Her Majesty, who has been pleased to receive the same very graciously.

The British North America Act (1867) embodied the terms of Confederation, agreed upon through their representatives by the different Provinces of the Union, and Her Majesty's Government would not feel justified in proposing to the Imperial Parliament to deprive the Parliament of Canada of any power which that Act has assigned to them. I have been advised by the Law Officers of the Crown that under such statute the Canadian Parliament had authority to pass the Act respecting Nova Scotia which was referred to during the debate in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

Under these circumstances, you will inform the Assembly that I have been unable to advise Her Majesty to accede to the prayer of the address. I have the honor, &c.,  
GRANVILLE.  
Governor-General, the Right Honorable Sir JOHN YOUNG, Bart., G. C. B., G. C. M. G.

Mr. Blake brought the subject before Parliament by moving the following resolution:—  
"That an humble address be presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty, praying that she will be pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament providing that the Parliament of Canada shall not have power to disturb the financial relations established by the British North America Act of 1867, between Canada and the several Provinces, as altered by the Act respecting Nova Scotia." He said that he was willing to accept the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown with regard to the additional subsidy to Nova Scotia as final as far as that Act was concerned; but he wanted to provide against any possible jarring between the separate Provinces and the Dominion, so that each might keep within the powers granted by the Constitution. Last year he had contended that the Parliament of the Dominion had no power to alter the terms of the British North America Act. Parliament had decided that it had, and the Law Officers of Great Britain had decided that Parliament was right, and, therefore, for all practical purposes, that question was settled; but he desired to provide against the possibility of any further advantage being given to Nova Scotia, or to any of the other Provinces. He was willing to accept the *statu quo* provided Parliament put an end to its legislative power to disturb the financial arrangements of the Provinces. The matter was one of the most vital importance to the success of Confederation, and ought to be set at rest, or it might give rise to grave complications in the future. He argued that in all Constitutions there was a reserve power to amend, and that in this instance the power rested with the Imperial Parliament which had granted the Constitution, and which was competent to alter it.

10.—Mr. O'Connor contended that the position of Nova Scotia was very different from that of the other Provinces, for, while Mr. Blake's efforts again defeated they had voted to enter Confederation, Nova Scotia had not, and the extra subsidy was only given her to prevent a revolu-

tion. Hon. Scotia had by the ter said that v was not ne of feeling a away. He motion, "T of the Par recorded in Nova Scotia that this v Speaker ru Joly, Wood. Mr. Blake's Anglin and Macdonald Parliament; Parliament b its own rev pleased. He by the old Pa the wounded that resolution of a colony c beg and plea He justified t a larger subsi her due, and was rich enou moving in am it is the undoe to fix and det tures chargea country." M ments had th their own rev within the li instanced the Justice (Sir Jo latore of Ont the salaries o mentary Asser do what they then entered i the previous the British No

tion. Hon. Mr. Archibald held that Nova Scotia had got no more than she was entitled to by the terms of the Quebec Conference; and said that when she found that the Dominion was not neglectful of her interest, the bitterness of feeling against Confederation began to pass away. He moved, in amendment to Mr. Blake's motion, "That this House adheres to the decision of the Parliament of Canada last session, as recorded in an Act entitled 'An Act respecting Nova Scotia.'" The point of order was raised that this was not an amendment, but the Speaker ruled that it was in order. Messrs. Joly, Wood, Mills, Dorion and others supported Mr. Blake's motion, and Messrs. Howe, Cartier, Anglin and others opposed it. Sir John A. Macdonald defended the previous action of Parliament; and maintained that the Dominion Parliament had the right to do as it pleased with its own revenues, even to misuse them, if it pleased. He instanced the granting of £20,000 by the old Parliament of Canada for the relief of the wounded in the Crimea, and said that, should that resolution pass, it would be the first instance of a colony coming to the foot of the Throne to beg and plead to have its privileges restricted. He justified the action of Parliament in granting a larger subsidy to Nova Scotia, because it was her due, and "thanked God that the Dominion was rich enough to be honest." He concluded by moving in amendment to the amendment, "That it is the undoubted privilege of this Parliament to fix and determine the amount of all expenditures chargeable on all public accounts of the country." Mr. Mackenzie denied that Parliaments had the right to do as they pleased with their own revenues, as they could only do so within the limits of their Constitutions, and instanced the check put by the Minister of Justice (Sir John A. Macdonald) on the Legislature of Ontario, when it desired to increase the salaries of Judges, as proof that Parliamentary Assemblies did not possess the right to do what they pleased with their revenues. He then entered into a long argument to show that the previous Act was in direct violation of the British North America Act, and urged the

adoption of Mr. Blake's resolution as a safeguard against the recurrence of a similar violation in the future. After some further debate, Sir John A. Macdonald's amendment was put, and carried by a vote of 87 for, 60 against. Mr. Oliver then moved "That this House is of opinion that no further grants or provision beyond those made by the Union Act and the Act respecting Nova Scotia should in future be made out of the revenues of Canada for the support of the Government or Legislature of any one of the Provinces." The amendment was accepted by the Ministry and carried by 134 to 10.\* Hon. Mr. Wood then moved to add the words, "That such steps shall be taken as to render impossible any such grants or provisions," which was lost on a division by a vote of 56 for to 85 against. Mr. Blake was, therefore, again defeated in his effort to get Parliament to take away the right which it was acknowledged to have to alter the financial basis of the British North America Act.

11.—The question of the "silver nuisance" had grown to be of so much importance that Sir Francis Hincks turned his attention to devising means to abate it, very shortly after he accepted the portfolio of Minister of Finance. The evil had grown to be so great and so widespread, that he found the only way to remove it was for the Government to take the matter in hand, buy up all the depreciated American silver, export it, and supply its place with small Canadian coinage. For this purpose he issued a circular on the third of February, to the various banks and brokers, offering to buy three millions of silver at an average discount of five and a half per cent.; and, on the thirteenth of February, a proclamation was issued that on and after the fifteenth of April, American silver would only be a legal tender for eighty per cent. of its face value—a quarter to be worth only twenty cents, and so on. The effect of this proclamation was to induce shop-keepers and

The "silver nuisance,"  
Passage of the  
Dominion Notes Act.

\* The ten who voted in the negative were Messrs. Anglin, Bellerose, Cimon, Costigan, Forbes, McDougall (Antigonish) Mettrey, Pope, Renaud, Richard.

others to refuse to take silver, and some of the mechanics and other workmen who had been paid in the depreciated money for some time past, and compelled to lose the discount, also refused to take it, except at its legal tender value. Father Rousselot, Parish priest at Montreal, announced from the altar on the twenty-eighth of February, that American silver would no longer be taken for tithes or church fees, except at twenty per cent. discount; and, as the result of the general desire to get rid of the stuff, the discount soon reached the point at which the Government would commence to purchase—five per cent.—and Mr. William Weir, of Montreal, was appointed by the Finance Minister, Government agent to buy and export American silver. Meanwhile some Canadian silver, in five, ten, twenty-five and fifty cent pieces, had been coined in England, and the soldiers were paid in Canadian silver on the first of April, and small amounts placed in the banks for distribution. But there was some little delay in getting a sufficient amount coined to supply all the small change needed for trade, and the Finance Minister decided to issue half-a-million dollars' worth of twenty-five cent Dominion notes to meet the temporary requirement, the notes to be withdrawn as soon as possible after sufficient Canadian silver was in circulation. The alteration in the Banking Act restricting the banks from issuing any notes of smaller denominations than \$4 required that some legislation should take place to enable the Dominion to issue small notes and fractional currency to the extent required, and Sir Francis Hincks accordingly introduced his Dominion Notes Bill on the first of March. The Bill, as passed, repealed the first seven sections of the Dominion Note Act of 1868, except in as far as they effected the arrangements between the Government and Bank of Montreal, as well as section ten and so much of section eight as relates to the amount of issue of notes and specie and debentures to be held. The issue of such notes was fixed at \$5,000,000, on security of specie and debentures—at least twenty per cent. of the former to be held; and the issue might be increased from

time to time, not oftener than quarterly, by order of the Governor-in-Council, in amounts of not more than \$1,000,000, until the aggregate reaches \$9,000,000. At each increase over \$5,000,000 the Receiver-General was required to hold at least twenty-five per cent. of the increase in specie, and the whole \$9,000,000 not to be issued unless the Receiver-General held at least \$2,000,000 in specie. The Receiver-General was, as a rule, to hold twenty-five per cent. of the debentures held against these notes, in specie; and the amount of specie was not to fall below fifteen per cent. of the amount in circulation. Whenever the amount of specie fell below twenty-five per cent. he must take measures to raise it to that amount, and he might issue debentures to purchase specie, or for the purposes of this Act, provided the aggregate amount issued did not exceed that authorized by Parliament. Dominion notes might be issued to any amount exceeding \$9,000,000, but the Receiver-General should keep a reserve in specie equal to the whole of such excess. The Governor-in-Council was authorized to establish branches of the Receiver-General's office at Toronto, Montreal, St. John and Halifax, for the redemption of these notes; or might make arrangements with Banks at those places for their redemption. The Receiver-General was required to publish a statement every month showing the amount of notes outstanding and the debentures and specie held, and stating how much was held at each branch or agency. The bill met with much opposition in the House from Messrs. Mackenzie, Holton, and a few others, and considerable modifications were made before it finally passed, as given in substance above. The issue of "shin-plasters," as the twenty-five cent notes were called, was particularly distasteful to some members, and, on the motion for reading the bill a third time, on the fifth of April, Mr. Mackenzie-Bowell moved, in amendment, "That the Bill be referred back to the Committee of the whole, to be so amended that no bill of a smaller denomination than one dollar can be issued." The amendment was lost by a vote

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of 105 against to 38 for, and the Bill passed.

12.—One of the most animated debates of the session took place on the twelfth of April, on the subject of the Intercolonial Railway. The Opposition had always contended that the building of such an extensive road as a Public Work, put too great an amount of patronage into the hands of the Government, and that the cost of the road would be greater than if it was built as a private enterprise, subsidized to a limited extent by the Government. On the motion of the Finance Minister to go into Committee of Supply, therefore, Sir A. T. Galt moved, "That the House do not now go into Committee of Supply, but that the following resolutions be adopted: That the present system under which the Intercolonial Railway is being constructed as a public work is expensive and unsatisfactory; that it is not in the public interest that the Government should be charged with the maintenance and working of railways, and that steps should be taken to ascertain whether arrangements cannot be made with responsible parties for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway as a private enterprise, including all existing contracts, and for the acquirement of existing Dominion railways in part payment thereof." He said that he did not intend his motion as one of want of confidence in the Government, he only intended it as an enquiry to see whether the road could not be built cheaper than it could be under existing arrangements. The British North America Act did not require the Canadian Government to build the road as a public work, but simply to see that the road was constructed; it was the Act passed by the Dominion Parliament which required the road to be built as a public work, under the supervision of Commissioners. He did not wish to blame either the Government or the Commissioners, but, after two years trial, it was found that the law did not work well, and he thought that the wisest plan was to change the law. If it could be shown that a saving in the expense of construction could be made by changing the plan of building the road, he con-

sidered it was the duty of Parliament to change the plan. The resolutions did not demand a change of policy and the adoption of a new plan for building the road; they only asked that steps should be taken to ascertain whether the road could not be built cheaper if a different plan was adopted. He then went into a statement of the probable cost of the road if continued in the manner it was commenced, putting the amount at \$20,000,000, and went on to argue that it could be completed for much less, if done as a private enterprise instead of a public work. Referring to the lines owned by the Government in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, he showed that they were being run at a heavy loss, and contended that railways could not be run as economically by Government as by private parties, as there was not the same personal interest to make them pay. The only effect of the resolutions was to ask the Government if they could find responsible parties willing to build the road, to let them do so. He believed that a saving of seven or eight millions could be effected, and if that could be done it was the duty of the Government to do it; that seven or eight millions would be enough to defray the cost of enlarging the canals, which was a work fast pressing itself on public attention. He did not think that adopting the plan proposed by him conflicted with the British North America Act, or the Imperial Guarantee Act, but if it did conflict with the letter of the latter, he felt sure the Imperial Government would not object to amend it, if it could be shown that Canada would thereby save a large sum of money. Mr. Shanly, in seconding the motion, referred to the large number of contractors who had failed, and said it was because they had tendered too low in the first place in order to secure the contract. He could not blame the Commissioners for that, as they had to take the lowest tenders, but he thought it would be much better for the Government to have nothing to do with building railways.

13.—Hon. J. H. Cameron thought that before it was determined to change the manner of

Sir A. T. Galt's proposal to change the manner of building the Intercolonial Railway.

building the road, and turn it over to private parties, it ought to be shown how the road could be made to pay as a commercial enterprise; he did not think this could be done, for the road was a great deal more of a political work than it was of a commercial enterprise. He contended that the Imperial Government had guaranteed a loan for the Canadian Government on the condition that the latter built the road, but did not give it the power to give up the control of the road, and to pass the responsibility over to some one else. Sir George E. Cartier claimed that the resolutions did imply a vote of censure on the Government, first, on their policy in building the road; and, second, as to the manner in which the Government railroads in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were run. He entered upon a general defence of the policy of the Government, and claimed that greater progress had been made on the road than had ever been accomplished on any road built in Upper Canada. Parliament at its first session had sanctioned the existing arrangement, and Commissioners were appointed on the eleventh of December, 1868. It was decided to proceed at once with such sections of the work as were ready, and tenders for ninety miles had been received on the sixth of February, 1869, there being no less than sixty-two tenders for each contract to be let; on the sixth of April three more contracts, for a total of eighty-one miles, were let, and there were eighty-four tenders for each of these sections; on the eighteenth of October five more contracts, for a total of ninety miles, were let, making the whole length contracted for two hundred and fifty-one miles, at a total cost of \$3,567,000—the amount actually paid on which, up to thirty-first of December, was \$335,766, or about ten per cent. Some of the contractors, he admitted, had failed to carry out their contracts and they had been annulled, but would be all re-let before the working season commenced in May. Seventy-four miles more would be let in a few days, and by the end of May fifty-five miles more, including the bridges across the

Sir G. E. Cartier's  
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Restigouche and Miramichi. By the end of the season three hundred and fifty miles would be under contract, and the whole line would be let before the end of next summer. Land had been obtained at Moncton for the workshops, and, meanwhile, such rolling stock as would be wanted immediately had been ordered. The section between Riviere du Loup and Rimouski was well advanced, and would be open for travel early in 1871, which would cause a gain of twelve hours in delivering the English mails. He claimed that the Government was doing all in its power to complete the road as speedily as possible, but they could not build it in one night, like a palace in a fairy tale; nor could the Government prevent contractors from failing; it could only re-let their contracts as rapidly as possible and push on the work. He defended the system of giving contracts for small sections, and having the contractors directly under the control of the Government, instead of giving out large contracts and have the contractors sub-let them in small sections. He compared the manner of building the Intercolonial with the way the Grand Trunk was built, and said that the latter had really cost £12,000 a mile for the section between Montreal and Toronto, and £10,000 a mile from Toronto to Sarnia, while the actual expenditure to the men who did the work was not over £6,000 a mile, the balance being made by the large contractors. He claimed that the Intercolonial would not cost over £7,000 per mile in the way it was being built, as the Government did not want to make a big profit out of it, like a large contractor did. He thought this was not the proper time to raise the question of how the line should be run; wait until the line was finished, and then the Government would decide whether it would work the line, or let it to others. Messrs. Bolton, Cartwright and others supported the resolutions and condemned the policy of the Government, after which a vote was taken and Sir A. T. Galt's motion defeated by 40 for to 98 against.

14.—For some time previous there had been periodical rumors of intended Fenian invasions,

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which had proved groundless; but at last the Government received what was considered to be such authentic information of a proposed raid on the fifteenth of April, that the volunteers were called out, and a bill hastily rushed through Parliament on the fourteenth of April, virtually suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act. The bill provided that persons arrested by warrant of two Justices of the Peace, a Commissioner of Police, or by the military, navy or volunteers, charged with being in arms against Her Majesty in Canada, or any act of hostility therein; or crossing the border with such design, or to commit felony, or doing these acts in company with subjects of a foreign power at peace with her Majesty, or joining such persons; or treason or treasonable practices, might be detained until the end of the session next after the first of January, 1871, and bail deferred; but the warrant to be countersigned by the Clerk of the Privy Council within one month after commitment. They might be detained anywhere, and in any person's custody, and the place and person charged by warrant of the Privy Council. The Governor-General might, by proclamation, suspend the Act, and bring it again into force. Messrs. Holton and Mackenzie called attention to the very grave responsibility the Government was taking on itself in asking for such a measure, but offered no opposition, merely hoping that care would be taken to guard the liberties of our own subjects. Mr. Mills thought the United States Government did not exert itself sufficiently to prevent these attacks, and that the matter ought to be represented to Her Majesty's Government. Sir John A. Macdohald explained that the Government had received information from various independent sources, which left no doubt that the Fenians intended shortly to attempt another raid, which was his reason for asking for this bill. He said that the United States Government had shown a most friendly spirit towards Canada, and seemed to be fully aware of its duties in the matter, and prepared to perform them. The bill was then read a first, second

and third time, and referred to the Senate, where it was immediately passed, and the House, being summoned to the Senate Chamber, His Excellency the Governor-General gave his assent to it, and it came into effect at once.

15.—Amongst the subjects which occupied a part of the attention of the House this session, none was of greater importance than the enlargement of the water communications of the Dominion. Debate on the Improvement of the Water Communications of the Dominion. The debate took place, on the twenty-third of March, on a motion of Mr. Magill for copies of Minutes of Council and reports of Engineers with regard to the enlargement of the St. Lawrence and Welland canals. In speaking in support of his motion Mr. Magill dwelt on the importance of the water communications of the continent, the two great outlets from the West being the Erie canal and the Canadian Lakes and St. Lawrence river. The Erie canal, he claimed, had been improved as much as it could be, but nothing had yet been done to improve the other route. He referred to the great benefit which had accrued from the building of the Welland Canal, and held that it should be deepened to fifteen feet so that ships of one thousand tons could pass through it, and argued that if the St. Lawrence canals were deepened so that sea-going vessels could pass through them, a very large portion of the grain from the West would be diverted from New York to Montreal. He estimated that the cost would be \$12,000,000, or more, but thought that the return would more than pay for the outlay. Mr. Walter Shanly said that the Government had appointed a Commission to enquire into the matter, which he regarded as altogether unnecessary; the Government ought to take this matter in hand itself and proceed with it at once. He held that there was nothing in the articles of Confederation which was fraught with more interest to the welfare and prosperity of the Dominion, than the enlargement of the water communications which was there provided for. He contended that it was not only important that the St. Lawrence and Welland canals should be improved, but that such a scheme of water



communication should be adopted as would send the products of the West into the heart of New England. The canal system of Canada, so far, was a failure, as it gave no direct communication with the West, and below Kingston we might almost as well have no canals, for they were only fit for local traffic. He urged the importance of building the proposed Caughnawaga canal, saying that it was a fallacy to suppose that all the grain from the West went to Europe; immense quantities went every year to the New England States, and he considered these States the natural market for Canadian grain, for they would never be able to supply themselves. The St. Lawrence canals, he claimed, stopped where they should go on, and a very large portion of the Western trade, which brought over \$5,000,000 annually into the coffers of the State of New York, could be diverted to Canada, by means of the Caughnawaga canal, for freight could be brought cheaper by that route than by way of Albany and Troy. He urged that the work should be done thoroughly and completely; it would not do merely to tide over a difficulty, but by investing largely in improvements of the water communications, it would be found that Canada would be repaid five dollars for every one she invested. Mr. Jones (Leeds) thought that the people should reflect seriously before incurring so serious an expense as that proposed by these improvements. He could not see how the project was to be made advantageous, unless it was thought that the tolls would pay; and he doubted the policy of Canada spending \$20,000,000 on the construction of canals to enable the Western American farmers to reach the seaboard cheaper and quicker, so as to help them to compete more successfully with Canada in the grain markets of Europe. Mr. Mackenzie ridiculed the idea of the Government having to appoint a commission on the subject, as they had ample surveys of the St. Lawrence and Welland canals, and of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers in their possession, and ought to be able to do the work themselves. "It might be said that that was a Government

which did its work by Commissions and paid its debts in shin-plasters." He was strongly in favor of improving the water communications, and advocated the building of the Caughnawaga canal as well as one on the Canadian side of Sault Ste. Marie. Sir John A. Macdonald defended the appointment of a Commission, and said that it had been done at the request of some thirty or forty members of Parliament, who had requested him to do so; and he argued that the Commission was necessary, so that a full and complete report may be had on the whole subject of the improvement of our water communications, which was a matter of the utmost importance. He argued that the enlargement of the canals was a necessity, not to accommodate the American trade, but on account of the immense trade we may expect to have in a few years from our own North-West, now that the country was being opened up and settled. He thought, however, that by improving the canals immediately we would be removing one of the arguments in favor of a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, for that had always been held out as one of the inducements for such a treaty, and the Americans may not be so willing to give Reciprocity if they found that they could get the Canadian canals enlarged without promising anything in return. The debate was adjourned, but no action was taken at this session on the enlargement, beyond the passing of some small items in the Supply Bill, for slight improvements and alterations on the different canals.

16.—The irritating action of the United States in avoiding a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, while constantly pretending to be willing to do so, caused a very general feeling of discontent at the unsatisfactory condition of affairs to be felt throughout Canada. American fishermen were still allowed to fish in Canadian waters, almost the same as while the treaty was in existence, for although there was a nominal license fee of \$2 a ton on American vessels, it was not rigidly enforced, and very few of them paid it; the products of the American mines, forests and

Acts for the protection of the fisheries and the coasting trade.

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fisheries were still admitted free into Canada, while highly protective, and in some cases almost prohibitory, duties were levied on Canadian products, and it was felt, at last, that this one-sided arrangement could not exist any longer, and that if the United States would not grant a free interchange of natural products, Canada must protect her own interests, and adopt what would be, to some extent, a retaliatory policy. The question of the fisheries was the one which caused most annoyance, especially in the Maritime Provinces, and the announcement of Sir John A. Macdonald, in answer to Dr. Fortin, on the third of March, that it was not the intention of the Government to issue any more licenses to American fishermen, and that steps would be taken to thoroughly protect the fisheries, was very well received by the House and the country generally. An Act, with regard to foreign vessels fishing in Canadian waters, was also passed, which provided that foreign fishing vessels found hovering about Canadian waters may be seized by the fishing officers, brought into a Canadian port and searched, and the master examined on oath. In case of his refusing to answer, or not answering truly, he should be liable to a fine of \$400; and if the vessel had been fishing without license within three marine miles of shore she should be forfeited. A good deal of annoyance had been felt at American vessels engaging in Canadian coasting trade while Canadian vessels were debarred a like privilege, and an Act was passed which provided that no goods or passengers should be carried from one port in Canada to another, except in British ships, under a penalty of \$400 and the forfeiture of the goods so smuggled, and the foreign vessel offending may be detained until payment of, or security for, such penalty or forfeiture. The Governor-in-Council was authorized to exempt from the operation of the Act vessels belonging to nations whose coasting trade is open to British ships. The Act was only to come into effect by proclamation, and not to interfere with any rights granted by the Imperial Government by treaty.

17.—The feeling that Canada would be

benefited by the adoption of a Protective tariff, as directed against the United States, also began to gain ground, and found quite a number of

*The adoption of a Protective tariff urged.*

advocates both in the press and in Parliament. On the seventh of March, Mr. Oliver moved for an address to Her Majesty praying that an import duty be placed on wheat, flour, Indian corn, hops, salt and coal. He urged that the existing state of things gave the American producer an unfair advantage over the Canadian, by admitting his goods duty free to the Canadian markets while Canadian goods were subjected to high duties before they could reach the American markets. He thought that there was no chance of a renewal of the Reciprocity treaty, and our only course was to protect our own markets. He declared that the Americans were making a slaughter market of Canada in some articles—noticeably salt—for the double purpose of destroying home productions in Canada and keeping up prices in their own markets. Mr. M. C. Cameron declared that Upper Canada was almost unanimously in favor of a Protective Tariff, and said that the Finance Minister, who had already made himself popular by his Banking policy, could increase his popularity by adopting a protective policy. Messrs. Ferguson, Magill, Gibbs, Hutchinson, Stephenson and others also spoke in favour of protection, and Mr. Mills in favor of free trade. Mr. Anglin declared that the Maritime Provinces wanted neither protection nor free trade, but the policy which would do the most good for the country. Mr. Mackenzie denied that a Protection policy would be acceptable to Ontario, and spoke particularly of his own constituency, which he knew to be opposed to it. He advocated the policy which would give the greatest amount of cheapness to the consumers, and was opposed to a Protective tariff which would increase prices and only benefit a few. Hon Mr. Howe said that the Maritime Provinces had been in favor of Free Trade, but, now that the United States was using a high tariff as a means of coercion, he thought that they would favor protection. Sir Francis Hincks



desired that the matter should be left over until the Government had announced its policy, which he thought would be satisfactory; and Mr. Oliver withdrew his motion, on the understanding that he would renew it if the policy proposed by the Government did not prove acceptable. On the seventh of April, Sir Francis submitted his tariff resolutions which provided for the imposition of a duty of fifty cents per ton on coal, twenty-five cents per barrel on flour, four cents per bushel on wheat, and three cents per bushel on other grains, five cents per bushel, or fifteen cents per barrel, on salt, ten per cent *ad valorem* on animals of all kinds, except animals imported for the improvement of stock, which were admitted duty free, and some other alterations which slightly increased the value of duty on various articles.

18.—The proposed tariff did not meet with a very cordial reception; it was sufficiently protective to show a retaliatory spirit against the United States, but scarcely strong enough to afford any great amount of protection; and the Opposition attacked it as a revenue tariff cooked up to look like protection by playing off the Provinces against each other, protecting Nova Scotia coal for the purpose of giving it an opportunity to compete with American coal in the Ontario market, and imposing a duty on American flour to protect the products of Ontario in the Maritime Provinces. Sir Francis Hincks, personally a Free Trader, was not a very warm advocate of his own policy, and caused much merriment in the House, on the twenty-sixth of April, by stating that the Government had decided not to place any duties on coal, grain, flour, salt, &c., and afterwards, immediately after recess, announcing that a Cabinet meeting had been held and the Government had determined to put on again all the duties they had taken off before dinner. This irresolution on the part of the Government, and seeming want of faith in its own policy, considerably weakened the bill, and some of the press which constantly supported the Government now condemned the measure, but it was eventually carried, although

several amendments to put flour, meal, coal and coke on the Free list were only defeated by narrow majorities, and the bill was passed in the Senate by the close vote of 28 to 24. The bill, as finally adopted, provided that the duty on animals should be ten per cent, *ad valorem*, but animals imported for the improvement of stock should be admitted duty free, under regulations to be issued by the Treasury Board and approved by the Governor in Council; cigars, forty-five cents per pound; green fruit, hay, straw, bran, seeds (not cereals), vegetables, plants, roots, trees and shrubs, ten per cent; coal and coke, fifty cents per ton; salt (except from British possessions, or for sea or gull fisheries, which is free), five cents per bushel; hops, five cents per pound; vinegar and acetic acid, ten cents per gallon; rice, one cent per pound; wheat, four cents per bushel; other grains, three cents per bushel; wheat and rye flour, twenty-five cents per barrel; other flour and meal, fifteen cents per barrel; spirits, not mixed or sweetened, such as rum, brandy, gin, whiskey, &c., eighty cents per gallon; spirits, mixed or sweetened, such as rum-shrub, cordials, bitters, &c., one dollar and twenty cents per gallon; Cologne water and perfumed spirits, not in flasks, one dollar and twenty cents per gallon; wines of all kinds, twenty-five per cent, and ten cents per gallon; tobacco and snuff, twelve and a half per cent, and twenty cents per pound; machinery, gold and silver leaf, emery paper and emery cloth, and platers' leaf, removed from the free list and charged fifteen per cent. Iron wire and a few other articles placed on the free list. Authority was given to the Governor-in-Council to issue a proclamation admitting the following articles free, or at a less rate of duty, whenever it appeared that similar articles would be admitted free, or at the same rate of duty, from Canada into the United States, viz.: Animals of all kinds, green fruit, hay, straw, bran, seeds of all kinds, vegetables, plants, roots, trees and shrubs, coal and coke, salt, hops, wheat, peas, beans, barley, rye, oats, Indian corn, buckwheat and all other grain; flour, wheat and rye, and other flour and meal;

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19.—The session was remarkable for the number of Government Bills introduced, and not carried through. On the

twenty-fourth of February, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced

his election law for assimilating the manner of holding elections for the Commons in all the Provinces; but the measure was so imperfect, and was met by so many objections from both sides of the House, that it was finally abandoned, on the third of May, Sir John A. asking for its discharge from the order paper. A similar fate befell the Act to establish a Supreme Court of the Dominion, which was introduced by Sir John A. Macdonald, on the eighteenth of March, but never reached its second reading and was withdrawn on the tenth of May. On the fourteenth of April a Bill to establish the Department of Secretary of State for the Provinces was introduced; but on a motion by Mr. Mackenzie to the effect that the Department was unnecessary, the debate was adjourned, and the bill quietly dropped. Currency resolutions were also introduced, but subsequently withdrawn, and a Bill fixing the rate of interest, after being amended and re-amended, finally received the "six months' hoist" on the casting vote of the Speaker; a fate to which Mr. Mills' Dual Representation Bill also experienced. Mr. Thompson (Haldimand) introduced a Bill abolishing the Franking privilege, giving as his reason for doing so that he thought the privilege was being abused when he found that old boots were being franked through the Post Office as letters; but the Bill met with so much opposition from gentlemen who desired their dirty linen and other trifles, transported at the public expense, that it was not passed. Amongst the important Bills passed was that for the taking of the census of the Dominion in 1871. The Act provided that the census should be taken not later than the first of May, and should show all the statistical information which could conveniently be obtained touching the population of the four Provinces, their electoral districts and

sub-divisions, and the classification thereof, as regards age, sex, social condition, religion, education, race, occupation, and otherwise,—the houses and other buildings therein, and their classification as dwellings inhabited, uninhabited, under construction, and otherwise,—the occupied land therein, and the condition thereof, as town, village, country, cultivated, uncultivated, and otherwise,—the aggregate valuation of property, real and personal therein,—the produce, state and resources of the agricultural, fishing, lumbering, mining, mechanical, manufacturing, trading, and other industries thereof,—the municipal, educational, charitable, and other institutions thereof,—and whatever other matters may be specified in the forms and instructions to be issued.

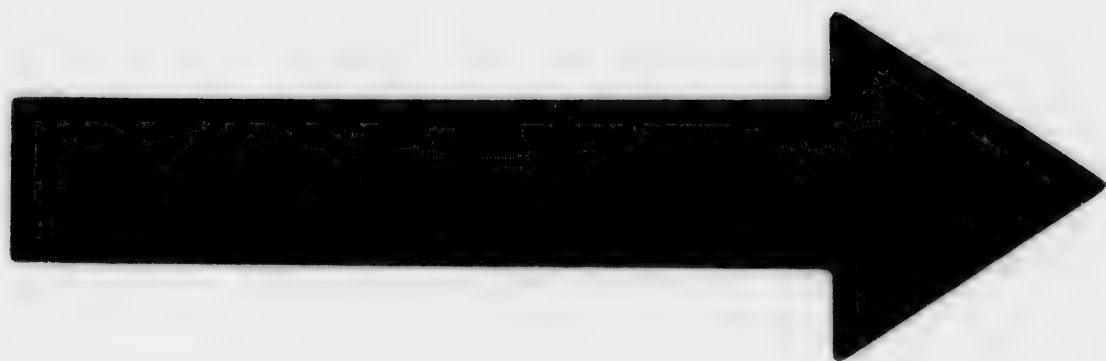
20.—The Supply Bill and Supplementary estimates granted \$1,905,769 for the financial year ending 1869-70, and \$13,223,145

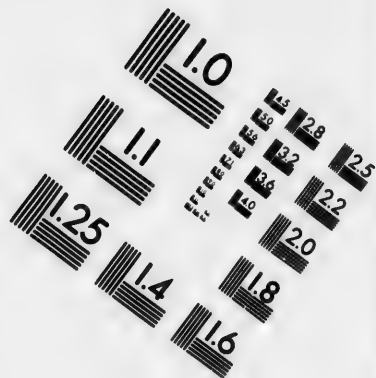
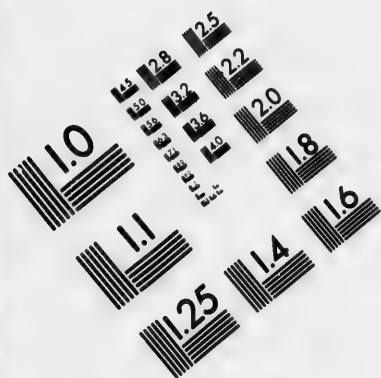
for 1870-71. Included in these amounts was \$6,000,000 for the Intercolonial Railway, \$1,460,000 for opening up the North-West; \$316,000 for Nova Scotia railways; \$89,500 for New Brunswick railways; \$75,000 for secret service; \$57,708 for protection of fisheries, to provide for six steamers to be chartered for one year or more, to guard the gulf fisheries from the encroachments of American fishermen, who were no longer to be licensed; \$328,850 for canal improvement; \* \$712,000 for public works, † and the ordinary Department allowances, which were, however, somewhat higher than the previous year. Amongst the other acts passed was one for the superannuation of members of the Civil Service, when they shall have become unfitted for duty by age or infirmity. It makes superannuation compulsory, graduates a scale of remuneration

The Supply Bill.  
Miscellaneous Legislation.  
Proposition.  
Review of the session.

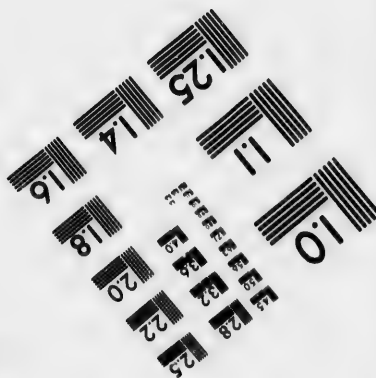
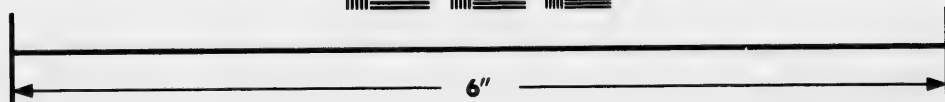
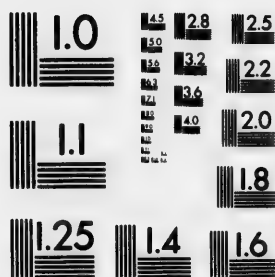
\* The amount for Canal improvements was apportioned as follows:—For the supply of weirs at head of Lachine Canal, \$31,000; for a culvert at the River St. Pierre, Lachine Canal, \$16,000; for deepening Welland Canal, \$86,000; for waste water weir at Dunnville, \$27,000; for increased water supply for Rideau Canal, \$12,000; for construction of Carillon and Grenville Canal, \$150,000.

† In the amount for Public Works were included \$65,000 for Parliament buildings at Ottawa; \$115,000 for Parliamentary Library; \$200,000 for a Custom House at Montreal; \$75,000 for Customs' House at St. John, N.B.; \$25,000 for Customs House at London; \$10,000 for Examining Warehouse at Toronto; \$10,000 for Emigration Sheds at Toronto; \$15,000 for Post offices at Toronto, Quebec and London, and \$15,000 for slides and boats.





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in conformity with length of service, and authorizes a deduction of four per cent. per annum from all salaries of \$600 or over, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  from others during thirty-five years of service, to create a fund for payment of the allowances provided by the Act. Acts relating to discipline on Canadian vessels; to certificates of masters and mates of ships; to dues for sick and disabled seamen; to dues for harbor improvements; to Official Arbitrators; to cruelty to animals (bringing bull, bear, or badger baiting, and dog, and cock fighting within the provisions of the previous Act); to marking timber; to Inspectors of leather, &c., were also passed. Amongst the most important Private and Local Acts was one incorporating the Hon. John Young, Hon. James Skead, Hon. Frank Smith and others to build the Caughnawaga Ship Canal from Lake St. Louis in the St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain, or the Richelieu. Capital stock to be \$3,000,000 with power to increase to \$4,000,000. Canal to be completed in five years or charter forfeited. An Act was also passed incorporating the Ontario and Erie Ship Canal Company, to build a canal from the waters of Niagara River, at or near Fort George, to Thorold, and thence to the waters of Lake Erie at or near Port Colborne, or the Niagara, at or near Chippewa, Capital \$8,000,000. Work to be commenced within two years and finished in five. These two charters have never been made any use of. An Act was also passed incorporating the Detroit River Navigation Company, for the purpose of tunnelling the Detroit River for Railway purposes, from Windsor to Detroit. Capital \$3,000,000. Work to be commenced in two years and tunnel completed in six years. Acts were also passed incorporating the St. Francis and Megantic Railway Company, with \$1,000,000 Capital; The Montreal and Champlain Junction Railway Company, with \$250,000 Capital, and the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway Company, with \$1,200,000 Capital. Altogether thirty-nine Public and twenty Private and Local Acts were passed. The most important work of the session was the passing of the Manitoba Act, which we will deal with

in another chapter. The House was prorogued on the twelfth of May with the usual formalities, and the usual complimentary speech from the Throne was made. The session of 1870 was an important one, in some respects, but it was not a successful one for the ministry. It was important as far as the passing of the Manitoba, Banking and Tariff Acts were concerned; and the first two were generally well received by the public; but the Tariff Act was an unfortunate one for the Ministers, for it could hardly be said to please anybody, and the extraordinary exhibition given on the twenty-sixth of April, of a Ministry entirely changing its policy twice in less than three hours on so important a subject as the Tariff, did not tend to strengthen public opinion as to the merits of a question on which the Government seemed to have so much trouble to make up its own mind. Again, the failure to prepare either an election law, or a Supreme Court Act, in which the Government felt sufficient confidence to carry them through, was rather disappointing, and led to one or two conclusions—either that the Government could not frame these Acts in a manner agreeable to all its members, or that they did not want to. Both these Acts were provided for in the Confederation; both Acts were promised in the first speech from the Throne, and in each successive speech; the necessity for both Acts was felt, and the Government certainly lost prestige in not pushing them through. On the other hand, the Banking Act, the settlement of the silver question and the vigorous policy promised with regard to the fisheries were very acceptable to the majority of the people and strengthened the Government; but, on the whole, we are rather disposed to the opinion that the Ministry was weaker at the close of the session of 1870 than at the beginning. It had shown signs of unmistakable weakness and want of harmonious unity, and, although it could still command a majority of from thirty to forty on anything approaching a vote of want of confidence, still it had visibly lost strength, and could not meet the House with quite as much confidence as during the two previous

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sessions. This can be partly accounted for by differences of opinion which were known to exist amongst its adherents, both in the Cabinet and in the House, on the North-West question, and on a policy of adopting a protective or a free-trade tariff, and partly by the failing health of the Premier—whose strength utterly broke down at last, and he was unable to appear in the House during the last week of the session—which deprived the Government, to a certain extent, of the great power of his personal influence and parliamentary tact in debate. The Opposition, on the other hand, showed to better advantage than it had previously done, and received material help from new recruits in the persons of Sir A. T. Galt, Hon. W. Macdonald, Mr. Cartwright and others, who, while acting as "Independent" members, generally voted against the Government. The universal loss was not great, but the moral loss was more considerable, and the Ministry altogether had not much to congratulate itself on at the close of the session of 1870.

#### CHAPTER XV.

##### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG—PASSAGE OF THE MANITOBA ACT.

1. HOW THE NEWS OF SCOTT'S MURDER WAS RECEIVED. INDIGNATION MEETINGS.—2. ARRIVAL OF DELEGATES IN OTTAWA. ARREST OF RICHOT AND SCOTT. THEIR DISCHARGE.—3. THE DELEGATES AGAIN ARRESTED, TRIED AND DISCHARGED.—4. INTRODUCTION OF THE MANITOBA ACT.—5. CHANGE IN THE BOUNDARIES OF THE PROVINCE AS AT FIRST PROPOSED.—6. MR. MACKENZIE'S REVIEW OF THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE MANITOBA ACT.—7. DEBATE ON THE LAND RESERVE FOR HALF-BREEDS.—8. HON. MR. MACDUGALL PROPOSES A NEW BILL, WHICH IS REJECTED.—9. A DOZEN AMENDMENTS REJECTED, AND THE BILL FINALLY ADOPTED.

1.—We have already referred to the anxiety

which was felt throughout the Dominion, and especially in Ontario and Quebec

at the threatening aspect of affairs in the North-West at the beginning of the year, and of the feeling of relief which was experienced when it began to be apparent that a peaceful solution might be reached, and bloodshed avoided; of course, there was much indignation at the summary arrest and imprisonment of British subjects by Riel, and his high-handed disregard of British authority; but as long as he committed no greater atrocities than he had already perpetrated, it was felt that the Commissioners who had been sent up might be able to restore order, or, failing that, a military expedition in the spring would soon remove all cause of uneasiness. This feeling continued to grow stronger until the end of March, when, on the twenty-sixth, a telegram from St. Paul announced that the news of the murder of Scott had been received there. The rumor was, at first, pretty generally discredited, and when, on the fourth of April, Mr. Mackenzie asked in the House if the Government had received any information of the murder, Dr. Tupper said that his son-in-law, Captain Cameron, had received a letter from Mr. Provencher, at Pembina, which did not confirm the report and he doubted its correctness, because Riel had once before hidden a prisoner and reported that he was dead, for the purpose of frightening the other prisoners and the loyal portion of the people. The truth of the report was, however, soon proved, and the arrival of Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch, Mr. Monkman and other refugees from Red River soon put an end to any doubt on the subject, and then a feeling of deep indignation and horror quickly spread throughout the community. An indignation meeting was held at Toronto on the sixth of April, at which Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch, and Messrs. J. J. Setter and Charles Mair, all late arrivals from Red River, were present, and delivered addresses, giving some account of the condition of the country. Resolutions were passed expressive of indignation at the murder of Scott, and calling on the Government to take

How the news of Scott's murder was received. Indignation meetings.

prompt measures to restore law and order. A resolution was also passed condemning the policy of receiving any delegates from Riel. A similar meeting was held in Montreal, and very soon "indignation meetings" became the order of the day, and were held all over Ontario; but, unfortunately, they mostly fell into the hands of political wire-pullers, and were used more as a means of passing resolutions condemnatory of the Government than for the purpose of expressing popular feeling with regard to the lawless doings in the North-West. Popular feeling now ran very high, and the utmost anxiety was felt as to the probable fate of the other prisoners remaining in Riel's hands, which was not allayed until it was known that they had all been released, and that the delegates appointed by the Convention at Fort Garry had started on their way to Ottawa.

2.—Much ill feeling against the delegates was manifested, in advance of their arrival,

Arrival of Delegates  
in Ottawa. Arrest of  
Richot and Scott.  
Their discharge.

by a portion of the press, which endeavoured to lash the Government over the backs of the delegates, and a great deal was written, and spoken at indignation meetings, against "treating with rebels," "receiving delegates from the murderer Riel," and so forth. News of the feeling raised in Canada by the intelligence of Scott's murder reached the delegates while they were still in the States, and Messrs. Scott and Richot, who were travelling together with Colonel de Salaberry, determined not to venture to pass through Ontario, but proceeded to Ogdensburg, where they crossed to Prescott, and arrived in Ottawa on the eleventh of April. Judge Black, the third delegate, travelled alone and arrived a few days later. For some days before the arrival of Scott and Richot it had been rumored that they would be arrested at the instance of a brother of Thomas Scott, who resided in Toronto; and, on the twelfth of April an affidavit was made by Hugh Scott, before Police Magistrate McNabb, at Toronto, charging Richot and Scott with being accessories to the murder of Thoms Scott, and a warrant issued

for their arrest.\* This warrant was forwarded to Detective O'Neill, Ottawa, and about midnight on the thirteenth he arrested Alfred H. Scott, at the Albion Hotel, where he was staying. Application was made at the Bishop's Palace, where Father Richot was residing, but he could not be found, and was not arrested. At ten o'clock on the following morning, the fourteenth, Scott was taken before His Honor Judge Galt, in Chambers, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, and at the same time Father Richot entered the Court and gave himself up. The Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Q. C., appeared for the prisoners, and Mr. Lees, County Attorney, for the Crown. Counsel for the prisoners argued that the warrant was wholly irregular, that the Police Magistrate had no jurisdiction whatever as the alleged crime was not committed within his jurisdiction, and that on the face of the warrant itself it showed that they were then

\* The following are copies of the warrant and information:—  
CITY OF TORONTO, to wit:—

To the Chief Constable, and all other Constables of the City of Toronto, and to all or any of the Constables or Peace Officers within the County of the City of Toronto:—

Forasmuch as Father Richot and Alfred H. Scott, at present residing at Ottawa, in the County of Carleton, have this day been charged before me, Alexander McNabb, Police Magistrate, of said city, on oath of Hugh Scott, for that they the said Father Richot and Alfred H. Scott, being British subjects, on the fourth day of March, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, at Red River, in that part of Her Majesty's British American possessions, known as the North-West Territory, actually aided and abetted in the murder of Thomas Scott, a British subject, or were accessories thereto. These are, therefore, to command you in Her Majesty's name, forthwith, to apprehend and bring before me, or the sitting Alderman at the City Police Office, the bodies of the said Father Richot and Alfred H. Scott, to answer the said charge, and to be dealt with according to law. Herein fail not.

(Signed) ALEX. McNABB.

CANADA, Province of Ontario, City of Toronto, to wit:—

The information of Hugh Scott, of the City of Toronto, accountant, taken on oath before me, Alexander McNabb, Esq., Police Magistrate, of the said city, the twelfth day of April, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy. The said informant upon oath saith:—First: That on or about the fourth day of March, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, at a place commonly called Red River, in that part of Her Majesty's possessions, known as the North-West Territory, one Thomas Scott, a British subject, from its a resident of the City of Toronto, was feloniously killed and murdered. Second:—That he has reason to believe that one Richot, commonly called Father Richot, and one Alfred H. Scott, actually aided and abetted in such murder, or were accessories thereto. Third:—That he is informed and believes that the persons named in the last paragraph are British subjects. Fourth:—That he has reason to believe, and does believe, that the said persons lastly referred to are now temporarily residing at the City of Ottawa, in the Province of Ontario.

Sworn before me, at the City of Toronto, this twelfth day of April, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

(Signed) ALEX. McNABB.

Police Magistrate.  
HUGH SCOTT.

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residing in Ottawa, where he had no authority. Mr. Lees said he had only received the case a few minutes before, and was not prepared to argue it then; it was, therefore, postponed until the next day, the prisoners being remanded, but not committed to gaol, they being allowed to go in charge of a detective. On the fifteenth they were again brought before Judge Galt and discharged, His Honor holding that the Police Magistrate of Toronto had no jurisdiction. He said: "In this case I order the prisoners to be discharged, the Police Magistrate of Toronto having no jurisdiction in cases of this kind to issue a warrant where an offense has been committed beyond the jurisdiction of our Courts. The warrant ought to be issued by a magistrate within whose jurisdiction the accused are now residing. On the face of this warrant it appears that the accused are residing in the City of Ottawa, consequently the Police Magistrate of the City of Toronto had no jurisdiction to issue this warrant, and, therefore, they are discharged."

3.—It being very evident before the formal decision was given, that the Toronto Police Magistrate had no jurisdiction, and that the prisoners would be discharged, Mr. Hugh Scott, who had come to Ottawa from Toronto, had made another affidavit before Mr. Police Magistrate O'Gara, of Ottawa, who had issued a warrant, on which Richot and Scott were re-arrested as soon as released.\* On the sixteenth another application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made before Judge Galt, and the nineteenth fixed for hearing the argument, the prisoners being allowed to go under police

surveillance as before. On that day the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., counsel for the prisoners, appeared in Chambers before Judge Galt, and said that he had no grounds on which to ask for the discharge of the prisoners, as it was clear that they could be indicted, and that the Police Magistrate had the right to issue a warrant and hold an examination. The writ was therefore discharged, and the prisoners re-committed for trial. The preliminary examination was commenced before Police Magistrate O'Gara on the 21st, and attracted a great deal of attention, the court room being crowded to excess with members of Parliament, and everybody else who could squeeze in, and a large crowd assembling outside. The utmost order, however, prevailed. The Hon. John Hillyard Cameron appeared for the prisoners, Mr. Lees, County Attorney, for the Crown, and Mr. Boulton for the private prosecution. Judge Black was the first witness examined, and testified to having known the prisoners in Fort Garry, and also being acquainted with the deceased (Thomas Scott); but he was not in Fort Garry on the day of the murder, and knew nothing at all about it except from hearsay. William Dreever deposed that he was one of the prisoners taken on the seventh of December, 1869, but he was released, and left the Territory on the twenty-second of February, 1870, a week before the shooting took place; had met Alfred Scott in Ottawa, and been told by him that he (Scott) was present at the shooting of Thomas Scott, but he did not say anything more; witness had seen Alfred Scott in Fort Garry, but did not remember ever having seen him in arms, nor did he know whether he had taken an active part with those who had risen against the Crown; knew Father Richot, but could not say, from his own knowledge, that he had taken any active part in the rebellion. Frederick Davis, detective officer, Ottawa: Had heard Alfred H. Scott tell the Mayor and others in the Albion Hotel, Ottawa, before his arrest, that he (Scott) had seen Thomas Scott taken out and shot; he had seen Scott put in his coffin, but not afterwards, and did not believe the story about his being

The delegates again arrested, tried and discharged.

\* The following is a copy of the warrant, omitting formalities:—

*Whereas*—Information has this day been laid before the undersigned, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, in and for the City of Ottawa, in the County of Carleton for that there is reason to suspect some person or persons, to informant unknown, on the fourth of March last past, in and out of Canada, to wit, at Fort Garry, in that part of British North America, known as the North-West, or Red River Territory, did feloniously, wilfully, and with malice aforethought, kill and murder one Thomas Scott; and that one Richot, known as Father Richot, and Alfred H. Scott, both of Fort Garry, aforesaid, but both being now in the City of Ottawa, in the County of Carleton, aforesaid, and both being British subjects, did advise and abet the said person or persons unknown, in the said murder and felony, contrary to the statutes in such case made and provided, upon these is this general warrant issued for their arrest."

alive in the coffin; was not one of the crowd who attended the shooting, but could not resist the temptation to follow and see it. Charles Garret, one of the prisoners taken at Dr. Schultz's house, deposed, that he saw the shooting from the window of his house, which was about eight or nine hundred yards off; did not see either of the prisoners at the shooting; saw Alfred Scott several times with Riel, but never saw him take any part with the insurgents; saw Father Richot apparently taking an active part in directing the insurgents around Dr. Schultz's house; but could not say whether he was urging them or not, or advising them to go away. Archibald Hamilton, who had also been a prisoner, had not seen the shooting, and had never seen either of the prisoners exercising any authority amongst the insurgents. Major Boulton deposed that he was in prison at the time of the shooting, and did not see it; saw Alfred Scott while in prison, but never knew him exercise any authority; never saw Father Richot until after his release from prison. At this point Mr. Boulton, counsel for the private prosecution, moved for a demand that he may have time to secure the attendance of Dr. Schultz, Mr. Mair, Mr. Young (a son of Rev. George Young), and other witnesses who had lived in the Settlement, and could prove that the prisoners had taken an active part in the insurrection. The Police Magistrate said they were not trying the prisoners on a charge of rebellion, but on a charge of complicity in a murder, and unless counsel could say that these witnesses could give any evidence on that point, he could not grant any delay. After a little legal sparring between counsel, Mr. Hugh Scott, brother of the deceased, was sworn, and deposed that a son of the Rev. George Young, who was then in Toronto, had told him that he was present at the shooting of Thomas Scott, and that both the prisoners took an active part aiding and abetting in that murder. Opposition to a delay was then withdrawn, and the case postponed until the twenty-third, the prisoners being admitted to bail in \$2,000 each and two sureties of \$1,000 each. On the case being called, on the twenty-

third, Mr. Lees, County Attorney, said that, after consultation with the counsel for the private prosecution, they had determined to withdraw the charge. Hon. Mr. Cameron said he had no objection to the case being withdrawn; but a charge had been made against his clients of complicity in a murder,—from all they had heard a murder of a very barbarous character—and they must be unconditionally discharged, because there was no ground on which to proceed against them. What he would like to have understood was that they were discharged because there was no further evidence to be called. Mr. Lees said he had been informed by the counsel for the private prosecution that he did not wish to call any more witnesses, and the Crown had no more to call. The magistrate then ordered the prisoners discharged, as there was no case against them.

4.—As soon as the delegates had been discharged by the Police Magistrate, they were formally recognised by the Secretary of State for the Provinces, <sup>Introduction of the Manitoba Act.</sup> Hon. Joseph Howe, who received and put them in official communication with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, with whom they had already had informal interviews. The demands of the insurgents were explained and an understanding arrived at which was mutually satisfactory at the time, but which gave rise to much question afterwards, for at least one of the delegates, Father Richot, stoutly maintained that a general amnesty was promised, while the Ministers as firmly declared that, although the subject was frequently mentioned, their invariable answer was that the power to grant an amnesty rested entirely with the Imperial Government, and that the Canadian Government had nothing to do with it. We shall, however, deal with this question more fully further on. Meanwhile Parliament had begun to get impatient at the delay of the Government in bringing forward any measure with regard to the North West, and at its reticence with regard to the military preparations known to be in progress, and

\* The name "speaks," or "The."

several times the Premier was questioned on these subjects, but as often put the matter off, promising that the Government would give the House all possible information as soon as possible. On the sixteenth of April, the report of Mr. D. A. Smith, Commissioner, was printed, but it contained very little information that was not already known through the newspapers, and from the refugees who had come to Canada; and the House had almost lost all patience when, on the second of May, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced the Manitoba Act.\* The Bill, as originally introduced, provided for the formation of a small Province, to be known as Manitoba, out of a portion of the North West Territories, as soon as they should have been transferred to Canada; the boundaries, however, differing a little from those finally adopted. It may be proper to remark here, that, as first proposed, the intention of the Ministry seems to have been to erect an almost exclusively French Province, as the large English speaking settlement of Portage la Prairie, with about five hundred families, was not included in the limits of the Province; and Sir John A. Macdonald said that it was purposely omitted that it might form the nucleus of an "English Province." This question of nationality lay at the root of the whole trouble in the North West. The French Half-breeds, led by the clergy, were well enough content to continue as they were with the English Half-breeds, but they dreaded an influx of English speaking population from Ontario, as certain to put them in a minority and destroy their political importance; and in their efforts to "keep out the English," they were supported by their fellow countrymen in Quebec, who would have been pleased enough to have a French Province created to the North-West of Ontario, shutting that Province out from further growth, but did not relish the spread of English emigration there, as it would impair their political influence in the House of Commons. Ontario, on the other hand, was determined that sectarianism should be kept out of

the territory about to be acquired, and that all nationalities and all creeds should have equal rights, and no more. The French element in the Cabinet was very powerful, and it was, doubtless, out of deference to the opinions of that element that the bill, as originally proposed, was so framed; but it was immediately felt that the House was not inclined to pass any such sectional act, and it was, therefore, amended, as we shall see.

5.—On the introduction of the bill Mr. Mackenzie attacked the policy of the Government in withholding the purchase money, which it was said had been done that Great Britain

Change in the boundaries of the Province as at first proposed.

should transfer the territory peacefully; but now it was found that an expedition was necessary, and the Imperial Government would only pay one quarter of the expense. He objected to the number of representatives in the Commons allowed by the Bill, which was out of all proportion for so small and thinly peopled a province. Hon. William Macdougall severely criticised the conduct of the Government in not transferring the purchase money at the time agreed on, which he held to have been the cause of all the subsequent trouble, as had it not been for the doubt of his authority he felt confident he would have been allowed to enter the Territory after his proclamation of first of December. He then called attention to the curious fact that the boundaries were so arranged as to exclude Portage la Prairie, with some two thousand English population, while the line was taken fifteen Minutes out of its direct course to embrace a small settlement marked "Roman Catholic Mission." Sir John A. Macdonald said that Portage la Prairie was left out at the desire of the people there that it might form the nucleus of a British Province, but was met with some expressions of incredulity. The bill was then read a first time. On the third Sir John asked the House to dispense with the evening sitting, on account of a Cabinet meeting; and on the fourth he announced that some alterations had been made in the boundaries, so that Portage la Prairie was included, and the quan-

\* The name is also spelt Manitobah and means "the God who speaks," or "The Speaking God."



city of land reserved for the Half-breeds increased from 1,200,000 acres to 1,400,000. The population was increased by the change to 17,000, and corresponding alterations were made in the money clauses.\* The existing Customs duties were to be continued for three years; and the waste lands vested in the Dominion Government instead of in the Local Government, as in the other Provinces.

6—The second reading of the Bill was to have taken place on the sixth, but just before

\* The Bill, as passed, contains thirty-two clauses, and provides the creation of a Province of Manitoba, out of that portion of Rupert's Land, &c., bounded by 96° west longitude, 50° 30' north latitude, 99° west longitude, and the boundary of the United States, to take effect from the day on which Her Majesty, by order in Council, shall annex Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to Canada. The provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, not applied to other separate Provinces alone, are made applicable to Manitoba. It was to be represented in the Senate of the Dominion by two members, till it has, by census, 50,000 people, then by three, when it has 75,000, by four. In the House of Commons by four members, until next census; after that, according to the fifty-fifth section of the British North America Act. Voters same as for Legislative Assembly. Any voter might be elected member. There was to be a Lieutenant-Governor and an Executive Council, to consist of five persons, the seat of Government, till otherwise determined, to be at Fort Garry. The Legislature would consist, besides the Lieutenant-Governor, of a Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. The former to consist of seven members for four years; afterwards twelve to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Her Majesty's name, he also appointing the Speaker. Quorum, a majority. Speaker to have vote and casting vote. The Legislative Assembly to consist of twenty-four members; the Lieutenant-Governor to organize the districts within six months. A *habeas corpus* writ to hold for one year before election, twenty-one years of age, and a British subject, might vote. For the first election having been a householder at any time within the twelve months was sufficient. Must vote in division where he is resident at date of the writ. For first election the Lieutenant-Governor might issue the writs to whomsoever he thought fit, and prescribe the forms, &c., of proceeding. Duration of assembly, four years. The right to legislate respecting education could not affect any existing right respecting denominational schools. An appeal to the Governor-in-Council was granted to the minority. In case proper legislation was not enacted, or decision of Governor-in-Council was not executed, the Canadian Parliament might make remedial laws. The English and French languages are to be used in the Legislature and Courts. Interest was to be allowed to the Province upon \$472,000 per annum, it having no debt, and a subsidy of \$30,000 per annum, and eighty cents per head, increasing till its population reaches 100,000. The customs duties, then liable in Rupert's Land, were continued for three years. Such laws relating to Customs or Inland Revenue, as the Governor-in-Council might declare should be applied to the Province. The ungranted lands were vested in the Crown for Dominion purposes. 1,000,000 acres were appropriated for the resident Half-breed families, the Lieutenant-Governor to set apart and apportion them under regulations to be made by the Governor-in-Council. Grants in freehold by the Hudson's Bay Company before eighth of March, 1869, were confirmed; if in less than freehold might be converted to that at desire of the owner. Titles by occupancy under the Company, in parts where the Indian title had been extinguished, should, if required, be also converted by grant. Peaceable possession in such parts gave a right of pre-emption. These rights to be ascertained and adjusted by the Lieutenant-Governor, under regulations to be made by the Governor-in-Council, who should also settle mode or form of grants. The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba was to be also Lieutenant-Governor of the unorganized portion of the North-West Territory, &c., and the Act of last session, except as herein altered, was extended to them.—B. Chamberlin, in *Year Book of Canada*, 1871.

the meeting of the House on that day Sir John A. Macdonald was taken suddenly and alarmingly ill in his office, and the second reading was postponed. On the following day, Sir John still continuing too ill to be moved from his office, the bill was taken charge of by Sir George E. Cartier, and the second reading moved. Mr. Mackenzie said that he looked upon the present undertaking as one of vast political importance to the future of the country. The acquisition of the Territory had long been regarded by the Province of Canada, and our abandonment of that line of policy now would cause a change in the political relations of the country, which he was sure the House did not desire. He was aware of the fact that there were many, even amongst those who were now the advisers of the Crown, who had not always regarded this subject as being of the great importance it really was, and had even treated it with ridicule when first proposed to the House; but he trusted that the members of the House would now feel that this was a question of such great importance to the future welfare of the country, that they could rise superior to mere party affiliations, and treat the matter in that broad and liberal national spirit which it deserved. He said, that in a report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands (Hon. J. O. Cauchon), made in 1857, he found the following passage, which was so opposite to the present circumstances that he would quote it: "It would be very desirable, therefore, and quite practicable, if the British Government will consent to annex the Indian Territories, extending to the Pacific and Vancouver's Island, to Canada, to establish during summer, a monthly communication across the continent. It is of incalculable importance that these measures should be most forcibly pressed upon the Imperial Government at the present juncture, for on their solution depends the question of whether this country shall ultimately become a Petty State, or one of the Great Powers of the earth; and not only that, but whether or not there shall be a counterpoise favorable to British interests and modelled upon

Mr. Mackenzie's review of the policy of the Government and the Manitoba Act

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British institutions to counteract the preponderating influence—if not the absolute dominion—to which our great neighbor, the United States, must otherwise attain upon this continent." That fully represented his views on the importance of the subject, and he thought that to attain this object, the question should be discussed calmly, and dispassionately, with a view to the national welfare. Referring to a statement made by the Minister of Justice, in a recent debate on the murder of Scott, to the effect that the Dominion had no jurisdiction in the matter, he differed from the honorable gentleman, holding that Imperial Legislation had given to the Province of Canada concurrent jurisdiction in the North-West Territory, which power had descended to the Dominion; and this power had been exercised by a former administration. He then spoke of the great value the Territory would be to Canada on account of its containing the best trans-continental route to the Pacific, running through a valuable farming country, and also through regions rich in coal and iron, with good soil, magnificent water supplies and all that was necessary for constructing the road, showing how superior, in this respect it was to the American Pacific, over one thousand miles of which was an arid desert. He next reviewed the previous Act and said that it was an error that representative institutions were not secured to the people; and that the people ought to have had the measure properly explained to them before a Lieutenant-Governor was sent to the Territory. He spoke in terms of strong condemnation of the conduct of the Secretary of State for the Provinces during his visit to the Red River, saying that instead of explaining the intentions of the Dominion towards the people, he had chosen annexationists as his companions, and by his improper course encouraged the rebellion, which it was now costing the country so much to suppress. He defended Mr. Macdougall from the attacks of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, and thought the former was right in his endeavor to see Riel, and that he was not to blame for

issuing his proclamation, for the Secretary of State for the Provinces ought to have notified him that the date of transfer had been changed. He thought that the insurrection could have been prevented if Mr. Howe had done his duty. With regard to the rebellion itself, he had no doubt that it partly arose from the chagrin of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, who sowed the seeds of discontent, the Secretary of State for the Provinces had watered the growing plant, and the result was the present scheme of compulsion by a military force. He ridiculed the actions of the three Commissioners sent up as a farce, as they had only visited the section in rebellion, with the exception of Mr. Smith who had visited the loyal settlements, but only to ask the people to support Riel, in order to save major Boulton's life. He paid a tribute to the bravery and loyalty of Scott, and blamed Commissioner Smith for not insisting on the release of the prisoners before having anything to do with the convention. He blamed the Government for receiving Scott, Richot and Smith as delegates, claiming that they had no right to that title as they were only delegates of the rebel government and not of the whole people. He held that the proposed bill was of the utmost importance as the initial measure for the Government of the North-West, and hoped that the Government would pay attention to the amendments which would be proposed; for his own part he desired to give satisfaction to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, but doubted whether this bill would satisfy the people of the North-West. He did not really know whether they desired representative Government or not, and he considered that it would have been wiser to establish a Territorial Government for a short period, until the people should have an opportunity of saying what kind of government they preferred, when the House could have met their views. The proposed bill might suit Messrs. Scott and Richot, but there were others who should be consulted, and he thought it would be better to have a Provisional Government, with one member of Council from each district, and let

that Council suggest to Parliament the form of government it would prefer. He strongly objected to the reservation of such a large quantity of land for the Half-breeds, claiming that after provision had been made for land already occupied by actual settlers, and the reservations of the Hudson's Bay Company, there would scarcely be one million of acres left for emigrants. He contended that great mistakes had been made in the land policy of the old Provinces, and had hoped that, with the acquirement of a new territory, a new era would have been inaugurated, and all the land left open for *bona fide* settlers. If such a policy was adopted, there would be no need for reservations of any kind, and the only restrictions he would advocate would be with reference to coal or iron mines. With regard to titles of land the original agreement had been that all titles granted up to the fourth of March, 1869, were to hold good, and it was incomprehensible to him why that time had been extended fourteen months. He proved that, in the deeds granted by the Hudson's Bay Company, there was a clause requiring parties holding under such deeds to contribute their due proportion of the expense of maintaining all public establishments, whether civil, ecclesiastical, military or otherwise. This included the maintenance of the clergy; and he was not prepared to confirm any titles which would impose upon the holders the duty of maintaining the clergy. Canada had deliberately adopted the principle of a new State Church policy, and the proper course would have been to have these titles suspended by ordering Crown Land titles. He expressed dissatisfaction with the clause relating to the franchise which provided that only those persons who had been householders for one year could vote at the coming election. This was so manifestly unjust to the Canadians and others, who had been driven from their homes by the rebellion, that he hoped the Government would amend the clause. He would greatly prefer to have the residential qualification substituted for a household qualification, on account of the number of

young men who would emigrate, and who should be entitled to a vote, although they might not at once become householders. He also objected to the members of the first Local Legislature being elected for four years, as the members returned to the Commons would only have two years to serve before a dissolution, and he thought it would be better to have the first Local House elected for a short term. He also thought that the boundaries of the Province should be enlarged, as they were altogether too confined at present.

7.—On the reading of the twenty-seventh clause, reserving 1,400,000 acres of land for the Half-breeds, Mr. Ferguson moved that the clause be struck out, as it was altogether too much for a population of 14,000; besides which, the twenty-sixth clause vested all the wild lands in the Dominion Government, and therefore, the twenty-seventh clause was not necessary. Sir George E. Cartier in defending the clause said that the land policy had been the most difficult question to settle in framing the bill. It was not desirable to leave the wild lands under the control of the Local Legislature, as was the case with the other Provinces, on account of the Dominion Government requiring control over them for the purpose of building the Pacific Railway; it was, therefore, thought only fair to make this reservation for the settlement of the claims of the Half-breeds. He assured the House that it was the desire and intention of the Government to deal fairly and justly with all classes, no matter what their descent. Not one penny would be demanded from anyone holding titles under the Hudson's Bay Company, and with regard to the full-blooded Indians there were only about seventeen hundred of them, and their interests would be respected. Hon. Mr. Macdougall maintained that there was no such things as Half-breed claims at all; when the Indians intermarried and mingled with the whites they ceased to be Indians. It was ridiculous to offer to treat these Half-breeds as minors, or wards of the Government as the pure Indians were, for they

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were as intelligent and well able to take care of themselves as any white men, and instanced Mr. Monkman and other Half-breeds who had lately visited Canada as examples. The full-blooded Indians of the Territory also claimed these lands, and they had sense enough to know that the Canadian Government would not pay for them twice over. The claim of the Half-breeds was not founded on either justice or law, and would lead to great inconvenience. He argued that it would be far better to insert a clause opening all the wild lands for settlement, so that any man could go in and have a right to the ownership of the land by actual settlement. That would meet the claim of the Half-breeds, for all of them who desired to become actual settlers could do so, and get a free grant of land; but agriculture was not much pursued by these men; they were hunters and trappers, and the only effect of these reservations would be to retard the settlement of the country without settling the Half-breeds. If free grants had been given, and a homestead law passed, the Government would have done its duty, and acted as wisely and justly as could be expected. He then entered into an argument on the past land policy of Canada, which had retarded immigration, and sent thousands through Canada to the United States, where they could take up the best they could find, and hoped to see a wiser policy adopted for the North-West. Sir Francis Hincks said that it was very important that the Half-breeds should be treated liberally and made to feel satisfied. There were only two ways of getting possession of the country; one was to send up a large force and conquer the country, and the other was to consider the claims presented by the delegates, and meet them as fairly as possible. The granting of this land reserve was one of the conditions on which they could obtain peaceable possession of the country, and he considered that it would have been folly to have refused what was so small a concession compared to the immense reserves allowed the Hudson's Bay Company. These claims had nothing to do with the Indian title which would be settled

separately. After some further discussion, Mr. Ferguson's motion was put and lost by a vote of 37 for, to 67 against.

8.—On the motion to concur Hon. Mr. Macdougall introduced an entirely new bill, in the shape of an amendment. The new bill was founded on that of the

Hon. Mr. Macdougall proposes a new Bill which is rejected.

previous year, and provided a Territorial Government, to consist of a Lieutenant-Governor, a Council of from seven to fifteen members and a Local Assembly, to be elected by all the male whites who had been residents of the country one month; any person, one of whose parents was white, was to count as white. No land to be reserved, except for school purposes; any actual settler to have the right to take up a quarter section. The boundaries of the new Province to be the same as of Assiniboia, and its name "the District of Assiniboia." In support of his amendment he said, that he did not think the circumstances of the country would demand, for two or three years, such elaborate legislation as the Government Bill proposed. The bill of the previous year was faulty because it did not recognize the political rights of the people; this year the Government had gone as far in the opposite direction and recognized them too much. The expense of the Government at first would fall on the Dominion, and it ought to be made as little as possible. He thought that one Chamber was quite sufficient for the Local Assembly. No provision was made in his measure for representation in the Dominion Parliament, but that would come in time. With regard to the land policy, which he held to be most important, it was necessary that we should be able to offer better terms to immigrants than they could obtain in Minnesota; for this purpose he proposed to grant to each *bona fide* settler, on three years residence and payment of \$5 fees, two hundred acres of land, which would be much better than the one hundred and sixty offered by the United States, after five years settlement, on payment of \$10. He stated that there were a large number of Canadians in the Western States who were anxiously watching to see if the liberal

land policy was adopted, and, if it was, they would settle in the new Province. He then entered upon a long defence of his own conduct, and a severe attack on the Hon. Mr. Howe. Sir George E. Cartier said he could not approve of what had been done in Red River, but he did believe in calling the people there nothing but rebels. They were educated and intelligent, and their Convention at Fort Garry would compare very favorably with the one held at Quebec; and, as far as population and prosperity went, they were far better off than Upper Canada was when it was made a Province. He condemned the scheme proposed by Mr. Macdougall as likely to breed dissatisfaction, and urged the more liberal policy of the Government, which would go far to remove all feelings of discontent. Referring to the money clauses of the Government Bill, he said the Province would only cost \$67,204 a year, while Mr. Macdougall's Territorial Government would cost much more. He claimed that the land policy which the Government proposed to adopt was not exceeded in liberality by any Province or State, or even by the Federal Government. Mr. Mackenzie, in seconding Hon. Mr. Macdougall's amendment, said he did so, not because he approved of all it contained, but because the general principle was right. He claimed that some sort of provisional Constitution should be framed under which the real wishes of the people could be attained. The bill proposed by the Government did not meet the wishes of the people even as far as they were known, for the Bill of Rights asked for a land reserve for educational purposes which was not provided for; it also asked for homestead and pre-emption laws, which were not provided for, and it did not say anything about this immense land reserve for the Half-breeds, which was provided for. With a view to having the Territorial form of Government adopted, he would move, in amendment, "That the Legislature should be chosen by the popular voice, and there should be representation in the Dominion Parliament, combining with due regard to the rights of the people and the economical administration of local affairs, the means of obtaining a knowledge of the public

will as to the form of the Legislature and the tenure of the lands of the Province, thus obviating the putting upon them of a form of Government to which they might object." He said this was not meant as an objection to the bill as a whole, but simply as a modification of it to give the Government time to find out what the people really did want. He ridiculed the size of the Province, and said it was so small the Government might put a board-fence round it and whitewash it. Mr. Howe defended his conduct while in the North-West, and Messrs. Bodwell and Macdougall made attacks on Mr. Howe, after which a vote was taken, and Mr. Mackenzie's amendment lost by a vote of 35 for, 95 against. Hon. Mr. Macdougall's amendment was then put and lost, 11 voting for it and 120 against.\*

9.—A number of other amendments were moved at various stages of the Bill, but were all rejected, and we will simply note them to show the provisions to which the Opposition took exception. Mr. Ferguson moved: "That the boundaries begin at a point where the meridian 96 deg. west intersects parallel 52 deg. north latitude, thence due west along said parallel of 52 deg. north, to the intersection of meridian 100 deg. west, thence due south to the 49th parallel, thence along the Lake of the Woods to the mouth of the Winnipeg River, thence north to Lake Winnipeg." Mr. Cartwright moved in amendment: "That it shall be lawful for the Parliament of Canada to enlarge and make such changes in the boundaries as may appear expedient from time to time." Mr. Cartwright's amendment was lost by a vote of 52 for, 72 against. Mr. Mackenzie moved in amendment: "That the boundary be fixed at the 102nd deg. west longitude." Lost by 47 to 74. Mr. Ferguson's motion was then put and lost by 49 to 73. Mr. Mills then moved: "That the Independence of Parliament Act be made to apply to members elected in Manitoba." Sir George E. Cartier said that members would

\* The yeas were, Messrs. Boulton, Connell, Macdougall, Macdonald (Glengarry), Mackenzie, Metcalfe, Rymal, Wallace, Wells and White—11.

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come under the provisions of the act as soon as the Province entered the Dominion; and the amendment was lost by 45 for, 72 against. Mr. Ferguson moved: "That the twenty-seventh clause be stricken out." Lost by 40 for, 77 against. Mr. Mackenzie moved an amendment defining the qualifications of members, which was lost, 38 for, 74 against. Mr. Drew moved: "That the first Parliament of Manitoba shall only last two years." Lost, 41 for, 66 against. Mr. Ferguson moved: "That one month's residence as a householder shall be a sufficient qualification for voters at the first election." Mr. Bodwell moved, in amendment: "That every person who has resided in the Province for one month shall be entitled to a vote at the first election, whether he be a householder or not." Lost, 35 for, 82 against. Mr. Ferguson's motion was then put and lost, 41 for, 76 against. Hon. Mr. Macdougall moved in amendment to the 16th clause: "That no person arrested for felony shall be entitled to vote." Lost on division. On the 27th clause, reserving 1,400,000 acres for Half-breeds, being reached, Mr. Mackenzie moved that the following be substituted for it: "That whereas it is expedient to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands for the families of Half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted that the children of such Half-breeds resident in the Province shall be entitled to receive a grant of not more than 200 acres each, on attaining the age of eighteen years, in such mode, and on such conditions, as the Governor-in-Council may from time to time designate." Sir George E. Cartier observed that there were over 10,000 children in the Province which would require even a larger grant than that asked if the amendment was carried. Mr. Mackenzie's motion was then lost, 37 to 89. Mr. Oliver moved to strike out the clause relating to education. Lost, 30 to 81. On the motion for the third reading Mr. Mackenzie said he did not intend to offer any further opposition. The Opposition had endeavoured to amend the most objectionable features of the bill, and having failed in that, they threw upon the Government the full responsibility of passing

the measure as it stood. They had declined from first to last to accept any amendment, except the one forced on them by strong expression of the opinion of the House at the outset; but, believing that it was necessary to have some bill pass, to have some form of Government established in the Territory, he did not ask for the Bill to pass on division. The Bill was then read a third time and passed.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG—THE FENIAN FIASCO.

1. FENIAN PREPARATIONS FOR ANOTHER INVASION OF CANADA.—2. MILITIA CALLED OUT. PRESIDENT GRANT'S PROCLAMATION.—3. THE FENIANS ENTER CANADA.—4. DEFEAT OF THE FENIANS AT ECCLES HILL.—5. THE FENIANS RETREAT FROM THE MISSISQUOI FRONTIER.—6. REPULSE OF THE FENIANS ON THE HUNTINGDON FRONTIER. COMPLIMENT TO THE MILITIA.—7. END OF THE RAID. TRIAL OF SOME OF THE RAIDERS. OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

1.—The trouble which had arisen in the North-West was eagerly seized on by the Fenian plotters in the United States as a means of drawing more money from the pockets of their dupes on the plea of striking another blow for the freedom of Ireland, by making an onslaught on Canada; and all through the winter of 1869-70 vigorous preparations were made in New York and other cities for the threatened raid in the spring. Numerous appeals were made to the patriotism of the lower orders of Irish throughout the States, and very large contributions were made to "the cause," principally by those whose ignorance prevented them from understanding the utter folly of such an attempt, and whose blindness hid from them the fact that the gang of adventurers who were at the head of the

*Fenian preparations for another invasion of Canada.*



"movement" were animated by no more noble purpose than that of living in ease and idleness at the expense of those whose love for their native land made them willing victims. Preparations for the threatened raid were openly made in New York and other cities, and quantities of arms, ammunition and stores collected at various points for the alleged purpose of a raid on Canada, and still the United States made no effort to interfere or prevent in any way the threatened breach of the neutrality laws, beyond informing the British Minister at Washington that information of an intended raid had been received by the Government. This was in April, and the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, as referred to in our last chapter, but the month passed away and no attempt on the frontier was made, and hopes were entertained that the "scare" would end as several others had done. Rumors were rife that an attack would be made on the expedition to the North-West while it was on its way, and also that a raid into the Red River Settlement would take place in the spring for the purpose of helping Riel and O'Donohue in their scheme of annexation, but little fear of another attempt on the settled Provinces was felt, and the Government was twitted, both in Parliament and through the press, with being easily frightened, and with trying to make a little political capital out of periodical alarms about invasion by the Fenians.

2.—On the twenty-ninth of April the last of the volunteers called out for service on the frontier were dismissed to their homes, all danger for the present being considered over; but, shortly after, rumors of invasion again became current, and towards the middle of May the increased excitement and activity in Fenian circles began to be very apparent, and, on the twenty-second, a movement from New York and other points towards the frontier commenced. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were collected at St. Albans, Malone and other points, and the trains leading to Canada were crowded with men and boys, professedly bent on an attack on that country. Still the

Military called out.—  
President Grant's  
Proclamation.

United States Government did not interfere. While the Queen's birthday was being celebrated in Montreal and other large cities by military displays, it became known that the Fenians were actually advancing on the frontier, and active steps were at once taken to meet and repel them. A Cabinet Council was at once held in Ottawa. Lieutenant-General Lindsay assumed command of the militia, as well as of the regular forces, and a sufficient number of the militia was at once called out, and the alacrity with which the call was answered is shown by the fact that in three days upwards of thirteen thousand men were under arms at their various posts on the St. Clair, Niagara, St. Lawrence and southern frontiers. On the same day President Grant issued a proclamation warning all subjects of the United States against aiding or abetting in the proposed raid; and a number of United States troops were ordered to the frontier—but did not arrive until the trouble was over.\*

3.—The plan of the Fenians was to enter Canada by at least two points at once, one body operating from St. Albans—as in The Fenians enter Canada. the raid of 1866—and the other from Malone. At the former place it was estimated that from five to six hundred had assembled, with reinforcements constantly arriving; and at the latter, the number was

\* The following is a copy of the President's proclamation:—

By the President of the United States—A Proclamation—Whereas, it has come to my knowledge that certain illegal military enterprises and expeditions are being set on foot within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, with a view to carry on from such territory and jurisdiction, war against the people and district of the Dominion of Canada, within the Dominion of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with whom the United States are at peace. Now, therefore, I, Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States, and all persons within the military district of the United States, against aiding, countenancing, abetting, or taking part in such unlawful proceedings; and I do hereby warn all persons that by countenancing such illegal acts they will forfeit all right to the protection of the Government, or to its interference in their behalf to rescue them from the consequences of their own acts; and I do hereby enjoin all officers in the service of the United States to employ all lawful authority and power to prevent and defeat the aforesaid unlawful proceedings, and to arrest and bring to justice all persons who may be engaged therein.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of May, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy, and in the independence of the United States of America the ninety-fourth

By the President,

U. S. GRANT.

HAMILTON FISH,  
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placed as high as fifteen hundred. The first skirmish took place at Eccles Hill, in advance of Cooks Corners, on the Missisquoi frontier, where, at about noon, on the twenty-fifth, the advance guard of the Fenians, about two hundred strong, under command of "General" O'Neill—the "hero" of 1866—crossed the frontier. The position at Eccles Hill is a strong one, and as soon as it was known that the Fenians really intended to make an attack, Lt.-Col. Osborne Smith, Deputy Adjutant-General, commanding Militia, Military District, No. 5, had ordered Lt. Col. Chamberlin, commanding the 60th (Missisquoi) Battalion of Militia, to occupy it with all the force he could command. Col. Chamberlin at once telegraphed to Frelighsburg asking any of the inhabitants who had rifles to occupy this hill, if the Fenians had not already taken possession of it, and endeavor to hold it until the arrival of the militia. The inhabitants at once turned out in the most loyal manner, formed themselves into a "Home guard" under command of Mr. Asa Westover, and took possession of the hill on the night of the twenty-fourth. Only one company of the 60th had yet mustered at Stanbridge (No. 3, under command of Captain Robinson) and a portion of this was sent forward to Cook's Corners to support the gallant little party holding Eccles Hill. At day-break, on the twenty-fifth, Captain Bockus and twenty-four men, of No. 5 Company, also went forward to Eccles Hill, and the volunteers from the surrounding country, and Montreal were hastening to the front, as fast as rail and steam could take them. The whole force assembled at the hill, however, at the moment of attack, was only thirty-six volunteers and thirty-five of the "Home guard," and of these some fifteen were at dinner when the attack began.

4.—The men were posted as advantageously as possible, among the rocks and trees, and behind the fences, stretching from the road to the crest of the hill, with the "Home guard" on the right flank. Meanwhile the Fenians had advanced within a few hundred yards of the frontier, and occupied Pigeon Hill, just opposite

Eccles's Hill. The following description of the engagement we take from Lieutenant-Colonel Chamberlin's report to Lieutenant-Colonel Smith: "At about twenty minutes before twelve, General Foster, the United States Marshal for the adjoining district of Vermont, waited upon me, desiring, as he informed me, to offer assurances that his Government and himself personally, were doing all that was possible to prevent a raid; that the United States troops were being moved up to assist him in the discharge of his duty and enforcement of the neutrality laws as fast as they could be transported. He also said he was charged with a message from the person in command of the Fenian force in front, to say that those under his command would not make war upon women and children, nor be permitted to plunder peaceable inhabitants, but would conduct their war in a manner approved among civilized nations. I replied that I could receive no message from men who were mere pirates and marauders, and that it was scarcely satisfactory to those whom they intended to murder, because they were in arms for the defence of their Government and country, that their piracy would not be attended with unusual barbarities. While we were in conversation, the head of the Fenian column began to advance. I called the attention of General Foster to the fact, who replied, 'I thought they intended to attack you soon, but not as soon as this.' He then drove away in the direction of and past the Fenian party. I hastily made such disposition of the men as seemed most advantageous, with Captain Bockus on the left of the skirmish line, which rested upon the main road. The force at my disposal for the purpose of resisting the attack made was something less than sixty rifles. The enemy advanced in close column from one hundred and fifty to two hundred strong, with a small advanced guard at fifty or one hundred yards in advance of the main body; on its approach to the boundary line it was ordered to move at the double, and the advance guard rushed across. So soon as it was upon Canadian soil I opened fire upon it. The fire was returned from the

Defeat of the  
Fenians at Eccles's  
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main column of attack still within the United States territory, when the conflict became general. Upon the first discharge one man, in the leading section of the advance guard, was shot dead, and others wounded, and the remaining men comprising it sought refuge behind the neighbouring barns and under a bridge near at hand. The main body halted, wavered, partially rallied again, and then, galled by the well-sustained and well-directed fire of our men, broke—all seeking refuge behind the houses and stone-fences along the road, or making their way to a wood which crowned the summit of the hill opposite to our position upon the same, (the western) side of the road, another man being killed and several wounded in seeking this shelter. From this time a desultory fire from behind trees and fences, &c., was kept up. The fire of the Fenian column, while formed as such, was very ill-directed, sometimes more resembling a *feu de joie* than anything else. Hardly a shot came near us till after shelter had been gained by the enemy.

5.—Shortly after the attack, Lieut.-Col. Smith arrived and took command, and reinforcements were hurried forward from Stanbridge, so that before three o'clock nearly two hundred men had arrived.\* The Fenians, however, showed no disposition to advance, but kept up a struggling fire from the houses where they had sheltered themselves, but doing no damage. About six o'clock the Fenians brought up a small field piece, when Colonel Smith advanced his skirmish line to the frontier boundary, and the few Fenians who were left in the houses, beat a hasty retreat,

The Fenians retreat from the Missisquoi frontier.

\*Troops engaged in the action with Fenians at Eccles Hill, May 25th, 1870:—

CORPS.	Officers.	Men.	Horses.	Remarks.
Staff, .....	1	24	25	
1st Troop Montreal Cavalry, .....	1	33	..	
3rd Batt. Victoria Rifles, .....	6	96	..	
60th, or Missisquoi Battalion, .....	..	35	..	
Home Guard, .....	13	178	28	

W. OSBORNE SMITH, Lieut.-Col.

leaving arms and ammunition behind them. A few shots were fired from the field piece, but without effect, and the would-be invaders withdrew about nightfall. After running away at the first fire of Colonel Chamberlin's men, the Fenian, General O'Neill, attempted to take refuge in a brick house, but was driven out by the owner and fled to the rear, where he was arrested by United States Marshal Foster, placed in a cab and driven off the field to Burlington jail, probably the happiest Fenian of the lot, for he felt safe. After O'Neill's capture the command devolved upon one Boyle O'Reilly, an escaped convict from Australia; but the men had lost all desire for a fight and retreated during the night, abandoning their camp at Hubbard's Corners, about two miles from the boundary line, and leaving there a large quantity of arms and ammunition, which was subsequently taken possession of by the United States authorities. The gun, which was an iron, rifled, breech-loading six-pounder, was afterwards captured, and was subsequently presented to Mr. Westover, of the "Home guard," in token of the gallant conduct of that corps in repulsing the invaders. The warm reception given them disgusted the Fenians, and no further attempt was made in this direction. Not a man on our side was hurt in any way; how many of the Fenians were killed or wounded it is impossible to say positively. Colonel Smith in his report to Lieutenant-General Lindsay, says:—"From all the information I can gather, the Fenian loss may be set down as four or five killed, and fifteen or eighteen wounded; some accounts double and treble this number—we have buried one man inside our lines. Among the wounded is the so-called 'General Donnelly.'"\*

\*The list of the killed and wounded amongst the Fenians, as given in different American papers, totals up ten killed and thirteen wounded in the whole campaign. The names were:—

DEAD.—General J. J. Donnelly, of Utica; John Rowe, of Burlington; M. O'Brien, of Moriah; Edward Griffin, of Rochester; James M. Evans, of Troy; Frank Laiden, of Newark; Denis Duggan; George Hughes; Charles J. Clancy; — Duffy—10.

WOUNDED.—Edward Hope, of Bridgeport; Frank Carrigan, of Bridgeport; F. Cronan, of Montreal; James Keenan, of Fort Edward; Edward Callaghan, of Burlington; Charles Carlton, of Cambridge, Vt.; Daniel Ahern, of Winoski, Vt.; Michael Flynn, of New York; J. J. Collins, of Boston; Timothy Moriarty; Patrick Downey; Michael Callaghan; James Atridge—13.

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6.—Meanwhile the second "invading army" had been mustering near Malone, N. Y., and, on the twenty-seventh crossed the Huntingdon border at Holbrook's near Hinchinbrook. The whole number of Fenians who reached their camp at Trout River is estimated at nearly fifteen hundred, but only a small portion of them crossed the border, and slightly threw up a rude barricade across the road. The moment it was known that they were on Canadian soil, the regulars and volunteers at Huntingdon advanced, and about eight o'clock got within shot of the invaders, when the 50th Battalion (Huntingdon Borderers) under command of Lt. Col. McEachran, opened fire, and the Fenians at once "skedaddled" back across the line, scarcely firing a shot and making such good time running that our troops could not get near enough to do them much damage, and only two or three were wounded. The Canadian troops consisted of the Montreal Garrison Artillery and Engineers, the Huntingdon Borderers, and a portion of the 69th regulars, the whole under the command of Col. Bagot. The Borderers had to deploy into an open field to attack, and the Fenians, who held a strong position, might have made a good defence if they had had any pluck, but they hadn't, and, getting frightened at the steady bearing of the Borderers, began to run away almost before a shot was fired. This skirmish finished the "invasion," which proved a most contemptible fizzle from first to last, as far as the invaders were concerned, and showed how promptly and with what ease our volunteers could repulse any such wanton attacks. The driving of the invaders from the soil of Canada was done by our brave volunteers alone, to whom General Lindsay paid the following just tribute in General Orders of fourth June: "Canada has been once more invaded by a body of Fenians, who are citizens of the United States, and who have again taken advantage of the institutions of that country, to move without disguise, a large body of men and warlike stores to the Missisquoi and Huntingdon frontier, for the purpose of levying war upon a peaceful

community. From both these points invading forces have been instantly driven with loss (and in the confusion throwing away arms, ammunition and clothing) into the United States. Acting with scrupulous regard for the inviolability of the neighboring territory the troops were ordered to halt, even though in pursuit, upon the border. The result of the whole affair is entirely due to the promptitude with which the militia responded to the call to arms, and to the rapidity with which their movements to the front were carried out, and the self-reliance and steadiness shown by this force, as well as the armed inhabitants on the frontier. The regular troops were at hand in support, ready to move, had it been necessary, to wherever the main attack might be developed. The proclamation of General Grant and the arrival of Federal troops at St. Albans and Malone were too late to prevent the collection and transfer of warlike stores, or an inroad into Canada. The reproach of the invaded British territory and the dread of insult and robbery have thus been removed by a handful of Canadians, and the Lieutenant-General does not doubt that such services will receive the recognition of the Imperial Government. The Lieutenant-General congratulates the militia upon this exhibition of their promptness, discipline and training, and in dismissing the men to their homes he bids them carry with them the assurance that their manly spirit is a guarantee for the defence of Canada."

7.—With the repulse at Holbrook's, the demoralization of the Fenians became complete. A large number of United States troops, some six hundred, had by this time (the 28th) arrived on the frontier, and many of the "Generals" and other prominent leaders amongst the Fenians arrested, some of whom were bailed, and others committed to jail. Large seizures of arms, ammunition, clothing, &c., were made, for, by some wonderful instinct, the United States authorities could find these things after the trouble was over, although none could be found before, notwithstanding the fact that

Repulse of the  
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End of the raid.  
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the Fenians had been collecting them for weeks. The bulk of the marauders were too poor to pay their railway fares home, and had to get away anyhow they could, a great many being sent away "at the public expense" to get rid of them, and the people of St. Albans and Malone were most heartily glad to have them go. In a few days peace and quiet was restored on the frontier, the Canadian troops withdrawn, and finally dismissed to their homes on the third of June. The Fenians certainly had nothing to be proud of in their ignominious defeat, and richly deserved the remark of General Foster, that the letters I. R. A. (Irish Republican Army), stamped on their buttons, meant "I ran away." On the first of June the 50th Battalion (Huntingdon Borderers) was presented with a stand of colors, General Lindsay and Prince Arthur being present and making brief addresses to the men, complimenting them on their gallant conduct. In the course of his remarks General Lindsay said: "The President of the United States issued a proclamation, but it was no use to you; it did not appear until it was too late, and you and your comrades at Missisquoi had to do the work yourselves until United States troops were sent to St. Albans, Malone, and, I believe, a few to the frontier, but they were of no use to you. They did not prevent the Fenians entering your country, and the gallantry of your militia alone did the work." These remarks gave great umbrage to a portion of the press in England, which could not be servile enough in its laudations of the prompt interference of the United States authorities; but they were just and well deserved, for the United States Government made no effort whatever to prevent the invasion, and President Grant did not even issue his proclamation until it was too late to be of any service, and the United States troops did not arrive until three days after the Fenians had been beaten back into the United States by the Canadian militia; then they were very useful, but it was more in protecting their own people from robbery and violence, at the hands of the miserable rabble, than in doing any service to

Canada. O'Neill, Starr, Thompson, and a few others amongst the leaders of the Fenians, were tried at Burlington and Canandaigua, before Judge Woodruff, of the United States Circuit Court, found guilty of breaches of the neutrality laws, and sentenced to various short terms of imprisonment and small fines, but were almost immediately "pardoned" by the President. And so ended the last attempt of the Fenians to invade Canada.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG— THE EXPEDITION TO RED RIVER, 1870.

1. A MILITARY EXPEDITION TO RED RIVER DETERMINED ON.—2. ARRIVAL OF GENERAL LINDSAY. THE TERMS ON WHICH THE EXPEDITION WAS SENT.—3. PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXPEDITION.—4. THE MILITIA CONTINGENT. DIFFICULTY IN FILLING QUEBEC BATTALION.—5. COLLECTING SUPPLIES. COLONEL WOLSELEY APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE EXPEDITION.—6. THE ROUTE OF THE EXPEDITION. CAUSE OF DELAY.—7. STOPPAGE OF THE "CHICORA" AT THE SAULT STE. MARIE CANAL.—8. THE "CHICORA" ALLOWED TO PASS THROUGH THE CANAL.—9. FIRST ARRIVAL OF TROOPS AT PRINCE ARTHUR'S LANDING. CONDITION OF THE ROAD TO SHEBANDOWAN.—10. COL. WOLSELEY DECIDES TO SEND THE BOATS BY WAY OF THE KAMINISTIQUEA RIVER.—11. THE CAUSES OF DELAY AS EXPLAINED BY MR. DAWSON AND COL. WOLSELEY.—12. THE START FROM SHEBANDOWAN ON 16TH JULY.—13. THE EXPEDITION ON ITS WAY. DAILY ROUTINE.—14. ARRIVAL AT FORT FRANCIS. STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE SETTLEMENT.—15. FROM FORT FRANCIS TO RAT PORTAGE.—16. THE TOILSOME JOURNEY DOWN THE WINNIPEG.—ARRIVAL AT STONE FORT.—17. ARRIVAL OF THE EXPEDITION AT FORT GARRY. PEACEFUL OCCUPATION OF THE FORT. HOISTING OF THE UNION JACK.—18. THE TRIUMPH

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OF PEACE. THE HEALTH OF THE TROOPS. TEMPERANCE.—19. THE DIFFICULT POSITION OF COLONEL WOLSELEY. NO CIVIL AUTHORITY. —20. WITHDRAWAL OF THE REGULARS FROM FORT GARRY. COLONEL WOLSELEY'S STRICTURES ON THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT.

1.—As soon as the Government became convinced that the Red River Rebellion was likely to assume grave proportions, preparations for sending a force to the Settlement, if necessary, on the opening of navigation, were quietly pressed onward, and were in quite an advanced state before it was generally known that any preparations were being made at all, and long before it was positively decided that an expedition would be absolutely necessary. The news that Hon. Mr. Macdougall had been stopped at Pembina on 31st October, 1869, was telegraphed to Earl Granville on 23rd November; and on the 26th another telegram was sent from the Governor-General, saying that the Canadian Government declined to accept the transfer of the Territory until order was restored and peaceable possession given, and asking that the Proclamation of the transfer, which it had been agreed should be made on the first of December, should be postponed. After some little negotiation this was agreed to, and both the Imperial and Dominion Governments set themselves earnestly to work to restore order, as already related in a preceding Chapter. Whilst endeavouring in every way, however, to peacefully settle the troubles by the negotiations of Commissioners, representations were made by the Dominion Government to the Imperial authorities that the interposition of the military might be necessary, and, on the 5th March, 1870, Earl Granville telegraphed to Sir John Young as follows:—"Her Majesty's Government will give proposed military assistance, provided reasonable terms are granted Red River Settlers, and provided your Government enable Her Majesty's Government to proclaim the transfer of the Territory simultaneously with the movement of the Force." These terms were accepted and Lieutenant-General Sir James Lindsay was

Military expedition to Red River determined on.

sent out to take command of the Forces. In order to facilitate the operations, and to obviate the delay which would necessarily arise if the arrangements between the two Governments were conducted by telegraph or despatch, Earl Granville commissioned Sir Clinton Murdoch, who was on his way to Washington, to consult with Sir John Young as to details, and thus save time, as it was determined that if the troops had to go to Red River they must be back in time to return to England before the winter set in, in accordance with the proposed withdrawal of the troops—of which we will treat in the next chapter.\* In the instructions to Sir Clinton, Earl Granville said, "Troops should not be employed in forcing the Sovereignty of Canada on the population, should they refuse to admit it," and this instruction was thoroughly adhered

\*The following is a copy of a confidential despatch from Earl Granville to Sir John Young, on the subject of Sir Clinton Murdoch's mission:—  
DOWNING STREET, 23rd March, 1870.

SIR,—As the season approaches at which it will be possible to despatch troops to the Red River Settlement, I find myself embarrassed by the want of explicit information respecting the views of your Government on matters which ought to be decided on before Her Majesty's Government takes part in such an expedition. Among these are: The time at which the Canadian Government will be prepared to take over the Hudson's Bay territory; the arrangements for governing it during the short interval between its surrender by the Company and its annexation to Canada; the time of its union with Canada; the apportionment of the cost of the expedition, if it should be found absolutely necessary to send one; and the arrangements for provisioning the Imperial troops during the four months of their sojourn in the Red River Settlement. All these are matters on which misapprehension may exist, or differences arise; and I am very apprehensive lest, at a critical moment, Her Majesty's Government may be placed under the alternative of delaying an operation in which time is of paramount importance, or of refusing their assistance, or of giving that assistance without any assurance that what they hold to be its indispensable conditions are accepted by the Government of the Dominion. The discussion of such questions cannot be conducted by telegram, and it would be too late to conduct them by despatch, even if the information as yet received from you indicated the points to which I ought to address myself. It is, therefore, fortunate that I am able to communicate with you more fully than could be done by writing, through Sir Clinton Murdoch, the Chairman of the Emigration Board, who is about to proceed, at the Earl of Clarendon's request, to Washington, to negotiate a convention with the Government of the United States respecting the carriage of passengers, and has hastened his journey in order to be able to visit Ottawa on his way. While in America I have instructed him to obtain all the information he can concerning the working of the present regulations respecting emigration to Canada, and in particular concerning the Free Grant system, which is an object of considerable interest at present in this country. But I have also informed him unreservedly of the views of Her Majesty's Government in relation to the Red River Settlement; and I think that if, after free communication with him, you entertain any apprehension as to the conclusion of explicit and satisfactory arrangements, especially with regard to the questions to which I have above alluded, you will be at liberty to detain him at Ottawa until all such apprehensions are removed.

I have, &c.,

GRANVILLE.

Sir JOHN YOUNG, Bart., G.C.B.,  
&c., &c., &c.



to, so that it was only after arrangements had been very nearly completed with the Delegates, and there seemed to be every probability that Canadian authority would be quietly acknowledged, that final consent to the use of the Imperial troops was given.

2.—On the same day (23rd March) that instructions were issued by Earl Granville to

Arrival of General  
Lindsay.—The terms  
on which the  
Expedition was sent.

Sir Clinton Murdoch, a letter was addressed to the War Office by the Colonial Secretary, on the subject of the proposed expedition, in which the following paragraph occurs: "General Lindsay will consult Sir J. Young with regard to the selection of the force itself, and of the officer who is to command it, on whose firmness, prudence and judgment much may depend. The selection of the officer will be still more important if, as is possible, the Canadian Government should desire him to act as the first Civil Lieutenant-Governor of the district." We shall have to refer to this paragraph further on. General Lindsay arrived in Canada on the 5th April, and at once put himself in communication with the Governor-General, and the composition of the force was agreed on. At first it was proposed to send 200 to 250 regulars, and about 700 volunteers, the Dominion Government paying three-fourths of the expense; but, on the recommendation of General Lindsay, and with the consent of the British Government, the number of regulars was increased to 390, the Canadian Government paying the expense of all over 250. The increase was considered necessary, as it was determined to leave small garrisons at Thunder Bay and Fort Francis to guard the stores which would be kept at those places. On the 23rd April Earl Granville sent the following telegram to Sir John Young: "On the following conditions troops may advance:—

I. Rose to be authorised to pay £300,000 at once, and her Majesty's Government to be at liberty to make transfers before the end of June.

II. Her Majesty's Government to pay expense of British troops only, not exceeding 250, and Canadian Government the rest, sending at least 500 trained men.

III. Canadian Government to accept decision of Her Majesty's Government on all disputed points of the Settlers' Bill of Rights.

IV. Military arrangements to be to the satisfaction of General Lindsay." On the fourth of May instructions were sent to Sir John Rose to pay over the £300,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company (which was done on the eleventh), and on the sixth a telegram was sent by Earl Granville to Sir John Young that the troops may proceed.

3.—Meanwhile everything was being prepared for the intended expedition. Early in the winter instructions were given by the Department of

Preparations for the  
Expedition.

Public Works to Mr. S. J. Dawson to get everything in readiness so that operations could be commenced as soon as navigation opened. It was decided that the route followed should be that formerly adopted by the North-West Company, before its amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company, by way of Lake Superior, Lake Shebandowan and the lakes and rivers to Fort Garry. This route had not been used for traffic for a long while, but it had been carefully examined during the previous years by Mr. Dawson, with a view of opening communication with the North-West through Canadian territory, and a road from Fort William, on Thunder Bay, to Lake Shebandowan had been laid out and more than half completed, while, at the other end of the route, the Government surveyors under Mr. Snow, had laid out a road from Winnipeg to the North-West corner of the Lake of the Woods, and this was, also, in course of construction. Early in January contracts for building one hundred boats, suitable for lake and river navigation, were given out to various boat builders throughout Ontario and Quebec, and the work was pushed rapidly on during the winter.\* The boats varied in length from 25 to 33 feet, with a breadth of beam from 6 to

\*The boats were built by the following parties at the places named:—Samuel Leves, Toronto, 15; John Clendenning, Toronto, 3; John Charles, Brrie, 5; William Watt, Collingwood, 9; R. Benoit, Collingwood, 6; Martin Stells, Hamilton, 4; Louis Shikluna, St. Catharines, 6; Alexander Abbis, Port Dalhousie, 4; W. Wakerly, Port Dalhousie, 2; J. McPhee, Port Dalhousie, 1; George Ault, Welland, 10; M. March, Owen Sound, 7.

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7½ feet, depth from 30 to 35 inches, and were capable of carrying from twelve to fifteen men and their outfits, and from 2½ to 4 tons of freight; and it being afterwards found that a greater number would be required, forty additional boats were ordered. Work on the Thunder Bay road was also pushed forward as much as the season and the nature of the locality would permit, and the bridges completed as far as possible. As it was found that the insurgents might attempt to tamper with the Salteaux Indians, through whose territory the expedition would have to pass, a trusty agent was sent from Fort William to Fort Francis to endeavour to keep up friendly relations with that tribe. A large number of *voyageurs* were also engaged to manage and navigate the boats, and arrangements made for moving the force to Thunder Bay as soon as navigation should be open.

4.—Grave apprehensions were entertained as to the practicability of sending a large body of troops by the proposed route, which, for a distance of two hundred miles, had never been traversed by any vessel larger or stronger than a bark canoe; and the chief officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who were supposed to be well acquainted with the country, had declared it to be impracticable for their boats. So general was this opinion as to the character of the route, by Lake Superior, and so firmly fixed had it become, that the Imperial Government on two occasions sent troops by way of Hudson's Bay to Fort Garry, once in 1846, when Colonel Crofton led a wing of the Sixtieth from York Factory, and again, in 1857, when some companies of the Canadian Rifles were sent by the same route. This belief was not, however, shared by Colonel Crofton, who commanded the expedition of 1846, and in his testimony before a Parliamentary Committee in England, in 1857, he unhesitatingly pronounced in favor of the route from Fort William to Fort Garry

in preference to the route from York Factory, saying that he had been over both, and he considered that it was far easier to take troops by the former than the latter. Mr. Dawson, also, was very confident as to the practicability of the route, and the result showed that he was quite correct in his assertion that troops could be taken in that way without any insurmountable difficulty. On the sixteenth of April an Order in Council was passed providing for the raising, arming and equipping of the militia force which was to form part of the expedition. This force, it was determined, should consist of two battalions, of 350 non-commissioned officers and men each, one to be taken from Ontario and one from Quebec. It was proposed to take volunteers from each of the seven Military Districts in the following proportions: one company from No. 4 District; two companies, each from Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and three companies from No. 7; the men all to rendezvous at Toronto, proceed thence by rail to Collingwood, and from that point embark for Thunder Bay by the steamers *Chicora* and *Algoma* which had been chartered by the Government for that purpose. The men were furnished with a complete outfit and a free kit. The intention in having one battalion from each Province was, doubtless, that the French Canadian Catholics of Quebec might be equally represented with the English Protestants of Ontario; but this design failed on account of the reluctance of the French Canadians to volunteer. The French Canadians were generally opposed to any expedition at all, and refused to join it from the fear that they might be called on to fight their *compatriots* in Red River. The French Canadian members of the Cabinet were not very hearty in their support of the expedition; the French Canadian members of the House, as a general thing, were opposed to an expedition, thinking it an unnecessary display of force for no purpose, as the French Half-breeds in the Settlement would offer no resistance to the authority of Canada if they were fairly treated; and the people of Quebec generally determined that, if they could not prevent the expedition, they would, at least,

The Militia contingent. Difficulty in filling the Quebec Battalion.

M. O'Gorman, Kingston, 5; A. McCorkell, Kingston, 7; W. C. Knapp, Kingston, 1; W. Power & Co., Kingston, 2; various parties at Island of Orleans, 16. Total, 102.

not take part in it; and so the Quebec battalion was very slow in forming, and had, at last, to be filled up with discharged men from the Royal Canadian Rifles and volunteers from Ontario. General Lindsay in a report to the War Office, dated 27th May, says:—"The division of the Militia portion of the Force into two battalions, one from Ontario, the other from Quebec, and the apportionment of the number of volunteers required (700) between seven Militia Districts in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec was, I presume, made for sectional and religious reasons. This political measure has greatly delayed the formation of the Quebec Battalion, which, as I write, still wants 58 to complete, though I have assisted it in every possible way by lending Staff-Sergeants from the Royal Canadian Rifles, and by hastening the discharge of other men of that Corps, that they might volunteer to the Militia for the expedition. Of the 292 men in its ranks, not more than one-fourth, at most, are French Canadians.\*

5.—As early as the eleventh of March an Order in Council was passed authorizing the purchase of provisions for the proposed expedition, and Lieut.-Colonel Wiley, of the Militia Department was entrusted with this duty, which he performed so well that by the twelfth of April he had made arrangements for having the

Collecting supplies,  
Colonel Wolseley  
appointed to com-  
mand the Expedition.

\*The following return of drill made by Assistant Brigade Major James F. Macleod, on 23rd June, 1870, gives the nationality and religion of both battalions:—

NATIONALITY.	1st Batt.	2nd Batt.
1. English.....	79	74
2. Irish.....	29	52
3. Scotch.....	32	21
4. Born in Canada of—	1st Batt.	2nd Batt.
(a.) English parents.....	55	61
(b.) Irish ".....	65	20
(c.) Scotch ".....	45	15
5. Born of English-speaking Canadian parents.....	40	21
6. Born of French-Canadian parents.....	3	77
7. Foreigners, but naturalized British subjects ...	3	3
8. British subjects, but of foreign parents.....	4	18
	355	382
RELIGION.		
1. Protestant*.....	330	236
2. Roman Catholic.....	25	126
	355	362

\*This, presumably, includes all denominations except Roman Catholics.—Ed.

waggons, horses, oxen, hay, &c., provided, and had made contracts for the supply of flour, pork and other articles needed for the expedition.\* As soon as it was settled that Imperial troops would form a portion of the expedition, if it went, Assistant Controller Irving was sent from England to take charge of the Control Department, and arrived in Canada on the fifteenth of April. On the twenty-second tenders for supplies were advertised for and contracts awarded on the second and third of May. In his official report Assistant Controller Irving says: "The supplies obtained were reasonable in cost, and gave entire satisfaction throughout the expedition;" and Colonel Wolseley in his report to the Military Secretary, Montreal, dated twenty-sixth of September, 1870, says: "I can confidently say that no body of fighting men on service were ever better fed, or their wants better provided for, than were those comprising the Red River force." There has been considerable disposition in some quarters to throw blame on the Canadian authorities for mismanagement in connection with the expedition; but it is well to note that the official reports do not bear out these charges, except in one instance, with regard to horses and collars, which we will refer to presently. On the eleventh of April, in his first communication to the Governor-General, General Lindsay had suggested the name of Colonel Wolseley, Deputy Quartermaster-General in British North America, as Commander of the Forces, which recommendation was accepted and Colonel Wolseley appointed. He left Montreal on the fourth of May, and went through to Collingwood to inspect the preparations for embarkation there, and to proceed to Thunder Bay, for which place some of the stores and provisions had already started.

6.—Everything connected with the expedition was now being pushed forward with the utmost

\*By Colonel Wiley's report to General Lindsay, dated 12th April, it appears that the following goods had been contracted for by him: 2,400 barrels of flour; 1,700 barrels of pork; 30 waggons; 30 sets of harness; 10 carts; 10 sets of harness; 70 horses; 24 oxen; 120 tons of hay; 6,000 bushels of oats. As these were the bulk of the goods required it is highly creditable to Colonel Wiley that both the Commanding officer and the Contract officer should express themselves as so well pleased with the quality of the goods supplied.

The route of the Expedition.  
Cause of delay.

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The route of the Expedition.  
Cause of delay.

rapidity; volunteers were being enrolled, equipped and drilled at Toronto; stores and provisions were being collected as rapidly as possible at Collingwood, and, on the 3rd of May the steamer *Algoma* left for Fort William with a cargo of stores and 140 *voyageurs* and workmen to go on with the road from Thunder Bay to Lake Shebandowan. It will be as well here to briefly sketch the route to be followed to reach Fort Garry from Toronto, the whole distance being about 1150 miles. The first 94 miles from Toronto to Collingwood was to be done by rail; from Collingwood to Fort William on Thunder Bay, Lake Superior, 534 miles, was by steamer; from thence to Shebandowan Lake, 48 miles, by the road which Mr. Dawson had partly completed; and from Lake Shebandowan, by way of numerous lakes and rivers, and over forty-seven portages, a distance of about 470 miles, to Fort Garry. The task was a difficult one and could only be accomplished by pluck, perseverance and hard work. The most difficult portion of the route was the forty-eight miles intervening between Fort William and Lake Shebandowan, and it was here that the great delay to the expedition occurred. The Commander of the expedition tried to blame the Dominion Government for this delay, even going so far—anonously—as to charge the Minister of Public Works (Hon. H. L. Langevin) with attempting to prevent the expedition by not having the road completed,\* but Mr. S. J. Dawson, Superintendent of the road, and many others who accompanied the expedition, laid the blame on Colonel Wolseley, who would not carry out the programme as originally made out, but varied it by having the boats dragged up the Kaministiquia River

instead of completing the road, and then having the boats taken over it by waggon to Shebandowan Lake. As to the condition of the road, Mr. Dawson, in his official report, says: "The distance between these places (Prince Arthur's Landing and Lake Shebandowan) is forty-five miles by land, but for three miles downwards from Shebandowan Lake to a point now called 'Ward's Landing,' the Matawin River, although presenting a series of shallow rapids, is navigable to flat scows, or lightly loaded boats. Ward's Landing was, therefore, the point to be attained with the road, as from thence to Shebandowan Lake material and supplies could be conveyed in scows, which had been provided for the purpose. The precise distance between Prince Arthur's Landing, Thunder Bay and Ward's Landing is forty-one miles and seventy chains, of which a section of twenty-eight miles was practicable to horses with waggons, on the arrival of the first detachment of troops. But, for the sake of lucidity in description, let the waggon road be considered as ending at a place called the Matawin Bridge, twenty-five miles from Thunder Bay, as that is the point to which the waggons, in the first instance, actually came. This waggon road was succeeded by a stretch of twelve miles, roughly opened, to the Oskondagé, and this, again, by a further section of four miles and seventy chains, ending at Ward's Landing. This latter was being cleared on our arrival. There were thus three sections of road, more or less advanced, viz.: twenty-five miles of waggon road, followed by twelve miles of what is known in such cases as ox-road, and four miles and seventy chains of road under process of being opened; in all, forty-one miles and seventy chains." Colonel Wolseley, on his arrival, seems to have been quite satisfied with the condition of the road, and its state of progress; for, in his report to General Lindsay, dated 27th of May, after saying that he had ridden over the road, and minutely describing its condition and what remained to be done to it, he concludes: "Altogether the road is better than I expected, although somewhat longer, for instead of being forty it is

\*The construction of this road was under the superintendence of the Public Works Department, the gentleman representing which in the Ministry was a French-Canadian, and known to be heart and soul with the priestly party in Quebec, and therefore most favorably inclined to Riel. Men of a suspicious turn of mind began to say that the fact of there being no road ready for our advance was part and parcel of a political scheme whereby the departure of the expedition might be stopped altogether." Extract from an article entitled "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1871, admitted to have been written by Colonel Wolseley.

certainly forty-five or forty-six miles long."

7.—Most of our readers are doubtless aware that Collingwood is situated on Lake Huron,

Stopping of the  
"Chicora" at the  
Sault Ste. Marie  
Canal.

and that Fort William is on Lake Superior, the two lakes being connected by the St. Mary

River, which forms part of the boundary line between the State of Michigan and the Dominion. The river is navigable except in one place, where there is a canal, on the American side, two miles and a half long, and all vessels passing from one lake into the other have to go through this canal. On account of the unfriendly feeling existing between the United States and Great Britain, and the open sympathy shown by the former for the rebels in the North West, it was anticipated that vessels carrying troops or munitions of war might be stopped at the Sault,—although the Americans had been allowed during their rebellion to transport troops as well as warlike material through our canals—and arrangements were partially made for a portage road opposite the canal, by which the troops could march across and meet the steamer at the other end of the rapid, she having, in the meanwhile, gone through the canal. The first steamer to arrive, the *Algoma*, was allowed to pass through without question, and proceeded on her way to Fort William, but did not return to Collingwood, as it was thought most prudent to keep her on Lake Superior in the event of any trouble occurring at the canal. The wisdom of this arrangement was soon shown, for when the *Chicora* arrived at the Sault, on the eleventh instant, she was refused permission to pass through, and her stores, &c., landed on the British side of the river, where they had to be portaged about three miles and reshipped for Fort William in the *Algoma*. This unfriendly act of the United States authorities caused considerable inconvenience and some delay, but could not materially check the progress of the expedition; the *voyageurs* and workmen brought up by the *Chicora* at once went to work to improve the portage road and build a small wharf for convenience in

landing, and in a short time the goods were taken across. It had never been intended to attempt to take any troops, arms or ammunition through the canal, but only provisions, &c., and nothing else was on board at the time she was refused admittance.

8.—On the tenth of May the first detachment of troops, consisting of Companies 1 and 4, Ontario Battalion left Toronto

The "Chicora" allowed to pass through the canal

for Collingwood, under command of Colonel Boulton, and, about 9 p. m. the same evening, embarked on the *Chicora* for Fort William. On arrival at the Sault the troops, stores, &c., were landed on the British side, and the *Chicora* taken over to the canal empty, but was again refused admittance. General Cook, who commanded the American troops stationed at the canal was polite, but very decided in his refusal. He said to Colonel Boulton, "My instructions are absolute, nothing whatever connected with the Red River expedition can pass the canal. I must, therefore, absolutely refuse to let the *Chicora* pass through." The vessel, therefore, returned to Collingwood, and the troops under Colonel Boulton formed a camp at the Sault to be on hand to assist in portaging stores, &c., from the *Chicora* to the *Algoma*. At the same time more vessels were chartered to compensate for the time lost at the portage, so that the passage of the troops, &c., from Collingwood to Fort William may be delayed as little as possible. As soon as it became known in Ottawa that the *Chicora* had been stopped on her first trip, Sir John Young laid the circumstances of the case before Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington, and he represented to the American Government that no attempt had been, or would be, made to pass troops or munitions of war through the canal, and that the expedition was purely one of peace, and that vessels ought not to be prevented from taking ordinary freight. On this representation the embargo was removed, and the *Chicora* and other vessels were afterwards allowed to pass through the canal without trouble, the troops being landed on the British side and marched

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across the portage. Considerable valuable time had been lost, however, and this was the first check to the progress of the expedition.

9.—On the 8th of May the *Algoma* arrived at Fort William with a portion of Mr. Dawson's *voyageurs* and workmen, who went into camp about four miles from Fort William, where the

First arrival of troops at Prince Arthur's Landing.—Condition of the road to Shebandowan.

terminus of the road to Shebandowan was, and soon got to work on the road, fresh arrivals constantly augmenting the number. On the 21st May Company G, of the 60th Rifles, left Collingwood in the *Chicora*, Colonel Wolseley and staff also going on the same trip. The Sault was reached on the 23rd, and the camp above Fort William on the 25th, this being the first detachment of soldiers to reach this point. Up to this time the camp had been designated as Government Landing, but Colonel Wolseley, on his arrival, gave it the more euphonious name of "Prince Arthur's Landing" as a compliment to the Duke of Connaught. From this date (25th May) to 21st June, the troops continued to be transported from Collingwood, the last companies reaching Prince Arthur's Landing on the latter date. During this month some progress had been made in getting a portion of the stores, &c., from Prince Arthur's Landing part of the way to Lake Shebandowan, but great difficulty had been experienced in getting the boats over the road. As already stated, the road was only completed for a short distance beyond Matawin bridge, and the following account of its condition, written on the 27th May by Colonel Wolseley, will show how well satisfied he was with it at that date. He says: "The road is very fair as a clay or sand road; there are no bad places; whenever it passes through swamps it has been ditched and fascined. The fire which raged through these woods for three days last week has done a great deal of harm to the road; it burnt the greater number of culverts and small bridges. All these have been since repaired so as to be passable for teams, and, although as a permanent work, they are poor affairs; they will answer our purpose very well. The most

serious damage done has been where the road has been cut out along the hill-sides, where the made portions have fallen in from the crib-work, having burnt through. The fire has in many places gone right through the fascines and corduroy work on the raised parts of the road where it runs through low ground. All this damage has now been temporarily repaired in such a manner that waggons have been going over it yesterday and to-day. The bridge over the Kaministiquia River is a very good one, about 360 feet long; river unfordable. From thence to the bridge over the Matawin River (about five miles) the road is of a different character, being only made wide enough for one waggon. It is in some places still rough, but it is quite practicable for any waggon. Beyond the Matawin, for the five or six miles that I went, the road is in some places very bad, but they are at work upon it, and when the bad places have been corduroyed over (which they will be within three or four days) all waggons can go over it easily. At present ox-waggons go over it to within four miles of where the boats are to be launched. A creek of about seventy feet in width has yet to be bridged over there, upon which work will be begun to-morrow or Monday." For the first few days the weather was fine. Two companies of the 60th were sent forward to work on the road on 28th May; the first line of waggons with supplies started for Kaministiquia Bridge, and some boats were also forwarded on waggons. So far, all was going well, but on the 4th of June it commenced to rain, and rained nearly a week, and that entirely altered the complexion of affairs; portions of the road became so heavy as to be almost impassable; only light loads could be taken, and the horses began to show signs of distress, partly caused by ill-fitting collars, and partly from an insufficiency of food—they having been put on cavalry rations, which was not enough for them considering the heavy work they had to do. On the 16th June, out of a total of 129 horses 63 were sick, and about this number continued unfit for work for some time, although their diet was changed, and they

were given as much as they could eat, and the services of a veterinary surgeon obtained.

10.—The weather continued rainy and the road bad, and it was at this time that

Colonel Wolseley  
decides to send the  
boats by way of the  
Kaministiquia River.

Colonel Wolseley determined to try to effect a passage for his boats by the Kaministiquia River. This river runs from Lake Shebandowan into Lake Superior, a distance, by its course, of over seventy miles, and falls over 800 feet—that being the difference in level of the waters of the two lakes. Some of the falls are very fine, one being about 120 feet high; and the river is full of rapids for the greater part of its length. It had always been considered as too wearing on boats to drag them up such a course, and was generally regarded as impassable; but Mr. McIntyre, Hudson's Bay officer at Fort William, persuaded Colonel Wolseley that boats could be taken up the river, and that officer despatched Captain Young with six boats, and a number of *voyageurs* and soldiers to attempt the passage. The boats were towed round from Prince Arthur's Landing to the mouth of the Kaministiquia early on the morning of the 4th June, and after eight days of incessant hard work, the party managed to force their way up the rapids, by means of poling, portaging and dragging the boats, and reached Matawin Bridge (about forty-five miles) on the twelfth. It having been demonstrated that boats could be sent up by this route, Colonel Wolseley ordered that all the boats remaining at Prince Arthur's Landing should be taken that way; and, accordingly 101 boats were so taken up between the 6th June and 6th July, a large number of *voyageurs* and troops being engaged in the work. Mr. Dawson energetically protested against taking the boats by this route, as it would knock them to pieces and render them unfit for the heavy work they had to undergo; but he was overruled and the boats were taken that way, and did get very much damaged so that a body of carpenters had to be sent forward to repair them as they reached Lake Shebandowan. Mr. Dawson in his official report gives the following account of the river

route: "From Thunder Bay to the Matawin Bridge, the distance is, as stated, twenty-five miles by road. Between the mouth of the Kaministiquia and the same point, it is forty-five miles by the river, presenting in this distance, twelve miles of quiet water, and thirty-three miles of shallow rapids, with falls occurring at intervals. The channel of the river, except in the short navigable sections, is exceedingly rough, paved in some instances with boulders of all dimensions and shapes, and in others with sharp schists set on edge. There is little or no danger to men in ascending these rapids, but every risk to boats. To drag them up is a mere matter of brute force, but to save bottoms and keels from being torn to shreds, requires great care, and the greatest care cannot prevent them from being seriously damaged. Although the risk to life is small, the labour of dragging boats over rocks and stones, which afford but an insecure footing, is excessive and otherwise very disheartening to the men. From the Matawin Bridge to the Oskondagé, the distance by the road, as already shown, is twelve miles, by the river it is about twenty-two. From the Matawin Bridge upwards, for a distance of about two miles, to a point called Young's Landing, the river is navigable; proceeding upwards from the latter point, a series of rapids is encountered, perhaps the most difficult that boats were ever forced over. These continue for eight miles, and on this section, none but experienced *voyageurs* can attempt to pass with boats. The rapids last referred to, end at a point called Browne's Lane, or Cauldron's Landing, and from thence to the Oskondagé, a further distance of twelve miles, by its windings, the river is navigable to lightly loaded boats. From the Oskondagé upwards to Ward's Landing, four miles and seventy chains, boats and all material were conveyed by waggon. The total distance by land from Thunder Bay to Oskondagé was thirty-seven miles; by the river between the same points is nearly seventy miles."

11.—The delay of the expedition occurred between Thunder Bay and Lake Shebandowan.

The causes of  
delay as explained  
by Mr. Dawson  
Colonel Wolseley

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The causes of the delay are explained by Mr. Dawson and Colonel Wolseley.

and was, according to Mr. Dawson, mostly caused by his *voyageurs* being taken off the road to drag the boats up the river, which they knew to be unnecessary, and many of them becoming disgusted and leaving. He says: "Soon after the arrival of the first of the troops, twenty-eight boats were taken by waggon over the road to the Matawin Bridge, thus proving that it was not only practicable but quite easy to send them that way. In this position, the true plan would have been to set all the available force, both soldiers and *voyageurs*, to work on the unfinished section of the road, so as to have it completed by the time the stores should reach the Matawin Bridge. But instead of adopting a line of action, so obvious and judicious, the boats, on the advice of inexperienced persons, who, although living in the vicinity, had never been over the country through which the road passes, or had ever so much as seen Shebandowan Lake, were ordered to the rough and rocky channel of the river, while at the same time, with the exception of a few companies of the regular troops, sent forward to aid in repairing the damage occasioned by the fire, the main body of the military force was maintained in inactivity at Thunder Bay, and there it, in a great part, remained, until General Lindsay made his appearance and ordered a general movement forward. The *voyageurs* knew the work and privations to which they were thus exposed to be unnecessary. They saw that a few additional waggons, only, were required to relieve them from the toil, and save the boats on which the success of the expedition depended. They were, indeed, accompanied sometimes by the soldiers, who did a portion of the dragging, as far as the Matawin Bridge, but the soldiers never returned on a second excursion of the same nature, while the *voyageurs* had to tramp back again to Thunder Bay, and renew the work; and, in the difficult sections between Young's Landing and Brown's Lane, the soldiers could not aid at all. Most of the native Indian *voyageurs*, brought at great expense to the ground, and whose services would have been invaluable as guides,

became disheartened and left. The Nipigon Indians deserted in a body. Those from Fort William and the Grand Portage could not endure the toil, and their places had to be filled with men from among the workmen on the road." Colonel Wolseley, on the other hand, claims that the expedition would not have got through in time for the regular troops to return in the fall had it not been for the adoption of the water route; and that the Dominion Government was entirely to blame. In his despatch to the Military Secretary, Montreal, dated Ward's Landing, 16th July, he says: "I take the liberty of briefly recounting the two most salient of the causes which in my opinion has kept us back. First—the original plan of military operations was based upon the belief that the regular troops (more than one-third of the whole force), were to have left Collingwood for Thunder Bay in the first week of May, whereas they did not leave that port until 21st, 25th, and 26th of that month.\* This delay is attributable, in my opinion, to two causes: first, the slowness of the Dominion Government in making arrangements for conveying the force and its equipment across the Lakes; and secondly, to the action taken by the United States authorities in closing the canal at Sault Ste. Marie to our shipping. I trust you will pardon my briefly recapitulating the circumstances bearing upon the arrangements made for lake transport. The Lieutenant-General having proceeded to Collingwood on the fifth of May, and made all preliminary arrangements for the despatch of the regular troops and a considerable number of horses, bullocks, &c., by the steamers *Chicora* and *Francis Smith*, on the seventh and ninth of that month respectively, and having telegraphed to Ottawa for authority to close with the advantageous offers he had received from the

\* I may here remark that no action on the part of the Canadian Government could have provided for the arrival of the troops at an earlier date: when the *Algonia* set out from Collingwood, on the 3rd of May, it was not even known that she would get through on account of the ice which generally remains in the straits, above Sault Ste. Marie, till a later time than that at which she would be there, and when the *Chicora* left on the 7th it was well understood that there was at least a probability of her finding the canal shut. In view of such a contingency, men had been set to work on the Portage Road, on the British side, at the earliest possible moment, so that if delay occurred it was due to no remissness on the part of those who acted for the Canadian Government."—*N. J. Dawson's Report*, page 40.

owners of those steamers, was instructed to hold on and make no arrangements, as the Postmaster-General would undertake the duty of hiring steamers.\* The Lieutenant-General having therefore no authority to enter into any agreement with the owners of the *Chicora*, that steamer started immediately on her regular trip for Thunder Bay. Although she had no military equipment on board, she was prevented by the United States authorities from passing through the canal at Sault Ste. Marie; she therefore returned to Collingwood. This action on the part of the United States Government necessitated the organization of a Land Transport Service at the Sault, for the conveyance of all our supplies from the lower to the upper end of the Portage a distance of about 3½ miles. \* \* \* It was not until late at night on the twelfth of May, that I received instructions from Ottawa, authorizing me to send forward troops. By the early train next morning I despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Boulton to Collingwood to superintend fitting up the *Chicora* for the conveyance of as many horses as she could carry. She sailed on the day following with troops and horses, together with a large amount of stores. The steamer *Waubano* followed on the sixteenth with two additional companies of militia, all to be stationed at the Sault Ste. Marie until the troops and stores had passed through. \* \* \* The subsequent despatch of the force had to conform to the dates of sailing of the regular line of steamers, plying in their accustomed manner, one upon every fifth day, between Lakes Huron and Superior, those vessels never being entirely at our disposal, but carrying private freight and passengers along with our stores. \* \* \* You will perceive by the above statement, that a week was thus lost in despatching the first detachment, owing to the non-approval by the Dominion Government of the arrangement made in the first instance by the Lieutenant-General Commanding for lake transport, and that considerable delay was sub-

\* The *Francis Smith* was subsequently engaged and made one trip to the Sault, but the Captain was so drunk, and the trip proved so unsatisfactory, that her services were dispensed with and other steamers procured.

sequently occasioned by the closing of the canal to our vessels. The second important cause of delay was, I consider, the want of a road between Thunder Bay and Shebandowan Lake, by means of which we could have sent forward our supplies. The original plan of military operations was based upon the belief that the road between those places would be open for traffic along its entire length before the 1st of June.\* I write this on the 16th of July, and it is now only cut out as far as this camp (about three miles from the lake), whilst some miles of it between the Oskondagé Creek and Young's Landing are still practically useless as a highway for constant and heavy traffic."

12.—Towards the end of June it began to be feared that the expedition would have to be abandoned, so slow was the progress, and so small appeared the probability of the regular troops being able to return in time to embark for England before winter set in; but, on the 29th, General Lindsay visited Thunder Bay, and new energy seemed to be infused into

The start from Shebandowan on the 16th of July.

\*Mr. Dawson, in an "Addenda" to his report (which the Joint Committee on Printing decided not to print), entirely contradicts this statement, and says (as his report clearly shows) that the military authorities were thoroughly acquainted with the exact condition of the road long before the expedition started, and that they knew the intention was to complete the portion from Matawin Bridge to Shebandowan Lake whilst the stores were being taken over the finished portion from Thunder Bay to Matawin Bridge—which he claims could have been done if the *voyageurs* had not been taken from their proper work to drag boats up the Kaministiquia. He says:—"Before leaving Ottawa, it was fully understood, with the Commander of the Field Force, that as many of the military as could conveniently be employed should be detailed to aid in completing the road to Shebandowan. Notwithstanding this agreement, it will be seen by reference to my report what value of labor and aid was received from the military. This, however, is but a small matter as military labor to aid in the construction of the unfinished part of the road was not necessary to its early completion, for which ample provision had been made independently of it, but it was most desirable in order to hasten the work forward. Having been led to expect and calculate upon it, and not receiving it, was of small consequence, however, compared with the fact that I was deprived of the services for that purpose of about five hundred of the very best of the *voyageurs*, who were relied upon for work on the road, but were put, instead, to profitless—and to men who knew it to be worse than useless—heart-breaking task of dragging the boats up the river. Had these men been left at road work, I have no hesitation in saying that a great deal of time would have been saved in the progress of the expedition; indeed, none could have been lost, for by the time that the supplies, boats, &c., had been accumulated at the end of the first thirty miles, admitted to be finished, the force of workmen on the balance of the road would have completed that too. But, on the contrary, a vast power of available labor was expended on unproductive work, harassing beyond measure to the men and terribly destructive to the sole means of transport, on which alone the expedition depended for the long journey to which this was but the gateway."

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\*The rains which to be a serious draw road, more especially running as it does through a great deal of open ground, went on, with but little (and I believe unproductive) passage of water. Kaministiquia was disturbed by the sun. temporary structure damages were quickly Dawson's Report, page

the undertaking. On the 5th of July headquarters were removed to Matawin Bridge, where a large quantity of stores was by this time collected, and the 16th was fixed as the date of the departure of the first brigade of boats from McNeill's Landing, Shebandowan Lake, the point of final departure. The work was hard, and rendered all the more so by the frequent rains,—it rained on twenty-three days between the 1st of June and the 16th of July\*—but the men performed it willingly and cheerfully, and were in excellent spirits at the idea of fairly starting, for, once on the lake, they knew that their progress would be more rapid, and their life more pleasant than it had been while engaged road-making and transporting stores. The start took place at nine o'clock on the evening of the 16th of July; and we cannot do better than copy the description of it given in the "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1871:—"The sun had disappeared for some time ere, all being in readiness, orders were given for the first detachment to 'shove off.' It consisted of two companies of the Sixtieth Rifles, a detachment of Royal Engineers and of Royal Artillery, with two 7-pounder guns, all under command of Colonel Feilden of the Sixtieth. The wind had died away completely, leaving the surface of the lake calm as a mirror, wherein was reflected only the mist of the approaching evening. There was no hum of birds or insects from the woods which fringed its shores, no swallows rippled its smoothness in their hunt after an evening meal. Except at the little spot, where we were all bustle and excitement, the scene had the stillness of death about it, which in the distance

seemed all the more deathlike from the contrast between it and the noise immediately around us. This absence of animal or even insect life in the North American woods is one of their most striking characteristics. It was a pretty sight to see this little flotilla of boats row off over the lake whilst it still glowed with the golden tinge of the sun's last rays. It called to mind many an account read in early youth of very similar scenes, when freebooting Norsemen weighed anchor and shook out their sails in some secluded inlet bent upon adventure. Except that we had rifled guns and cannon, our equipments and our armaments for overcoming the obstacles of nature were of a most primitive description. It seemed curious that a military expedition should be fitted out in such an advanced era of civilization, in an age so justly celebrated for its inventions and its progress in those arts and sciences which now enter so largely into the organization of armies, and yet that it should not be possible to enlist into its services the aid either of steam or of the electric telegraph. The sail and the oar were to be our means of propulsion, as they had been those of the Greeks and Romans in classic times; and when arrived at the end of our 600 miles' journey, we should have as much difficulty and as far to send in order to communicate with even the nearest telegraph office, as Cæsar had when he sent a messenger to Rome, announcing his successful descent upon our shores more than 1900 years ago."

13.—After the first detachment had left the embarkation continued rapidly, day after day, until the 4th of August, when the last of the troops embarked, and only about one hundred and fifty *voyageurs* were left to take the reserve supplies to Fort Francis,\* and a company of

The expedition on its way.—Daily routine.

\* "The rains which prevailed throughout the greater part of June proved to be a serious drawback to operations generally. The section of the road, more especially between the Matawin Bridge and the Oskondagé, running as it does through a region of red clay, became badly cut up, and a great deal of cross-lay (corduroy) became necessary; still the work went on, with but little interruption, until the occurrence of the great (and I believe unprecedented) flood of the 30th of June, which fairly stopped the passage of waggons for nearly two whole days—a culvert near the Kamistiquia was displaced, and a small temporary bridge, which had been run over the Sunshine Brook, was seriously damaged, while a similar temporary structure on the Oskondagé had a narrow escape. These damages were quickly repaired, and the work went on as usual."—*S. J. Dawson's Report*, page 16.

\* "As soon as the last brigade of boats with soldiers had left McNeill's Landing, the reserve stores began to be sent forward from Thunder Bay. A number of boats which had been left at that place were also brought up by waggon, and it now became evident to all that much time would have been gained and labor saved, in the first instance, by keeping the whole *voyageur* force on the road making it at once passable to waggons, getting a sufficient number of these from Collingwood, and bringing forward boats and stores to Ward's Landing. To show how easily this might have been done, I may call attention to the fact that at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 2nd of August seven boats, placed on waggons, were sent

the Quebec Battalion, which was to remain at Prince Arthur's Landing to guard a small redoubt which had been erected there for the protection of the stores left at this point. Two of the four seven-pounder guns were also left there. This company remained at Prince Arthur's Landing until the return of the regulars, when they also went back to Quebec. The whole number of men embarked at McNeill's Bay, according to the return of Deputy-Commissary Meyer, was 1,431, of whom 92 were officers, 1,051 non-commissioned officers and men, 274 *voyageurs*, and 14 guides. As the region through which the expedition was to pass was almost wholly destitute of anything in the way of food (except fish), and there was no means of obtaining supplies of any kind after the expedition left, everything which was needed, or which it was thought might be needed, had to be taken with it, and Colonel Wolsley admits that this was done † for all his disposition to find fault with the Dominion Government, saying: "Every probable, indeed almost every possible, contingency had to be thought of and provided for; and it may be confidently asserted that no expedition has ever started more thoroughly complete or better prepared for its work."‡ It is needless to follow the

off from Thunder Bay, and at sunset on the following evening were at Ward's Landing. How different was this from dragging them over rocks and stones in the bottom of a shallow stream? There was not a boat brought by the river that cost less for transport than \$300, making on a hundred which were so conveyed some \$30,000, while on fifty-three brought by wagons the cost did not exceed twenty or twenty-five dollars each. And then how very different was the condition of the boats—in the one case, fresh and sound as they came from the hand of the builder; in the other, torn and broken, with many row-locks, oars and rudders lost or smashed, and requiring repairs—in some cases very extensive ones—before they could be used. The stores were taken in good time to Fort Frances. The first reaching that place on the 3rd of September and the last on the 17th, besides some that were left by order of the military at Deux Rivières Portage to meet the troops as they returned from Red River."—*N. J. Dawson's Report*, page 20.

† "Narrative of the Red River Expedition"—*Blackwood's Magazine*, January, 1871.

‡ The following is a complete list of the articles taken, according to Deputy Commissary Meyer's report:—Blancets, 953; brls.; flour, 702 brls.; pork, 930 brls.; sugar, 128 brls.; tea, 122 chests; beans, 196 bags; preserved potatoes, 194 cases; pepper, 187 lbs.; ammunition, rounds, 111,000; augurs, 3; felling axes, 24; pickaxes, 132; blankets, 25; fuzes, 1; gimlets, 3; sledge-hammers, 3; small hammers, 3; hand hatchets, 218; Flanders kettles, 150; field ovens, 1; frying pans, 146; bags of bedding, 8; kegs of powder, 2; coil lashing rope, 1; coil Manila rope, 1; cross-cut saws, 7; hand-saws, 10; scales and weights, 1; shovels, 133; spades, 133; spike and nails, 50 lbs.; measuring tape, 1; tents, 155; large rope slings, 317; small rope slings, 44; portage straps, 616; spare bags, 1,246; tins of mosquito oil, 126; waterproof bags of blankets, 214; waterproof bags of accou-

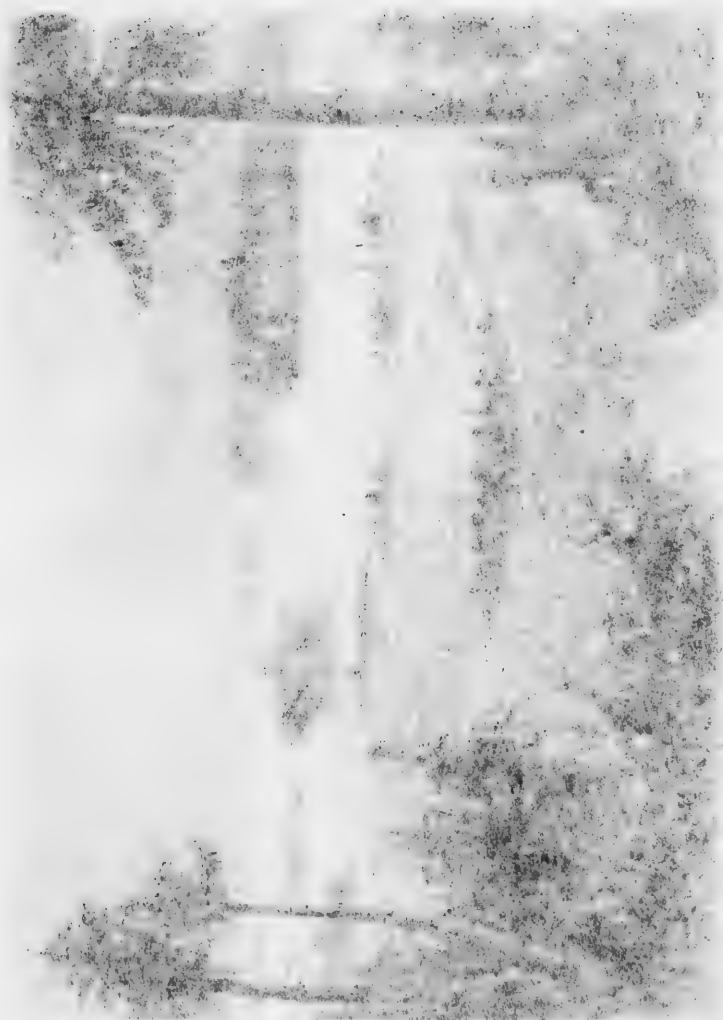
expedition in detail through its journey by water and land to Fort Garry—suffice it to say that the route followed was not more arduous than many other canoe or boat routes are,\* and that the men, although hard-worked at the portages, and sometimes at the oars, had a tolerably fair time of it, and, as the weather was fair most of the time, enjoyed the journey well. The record of one day's routine taken from the *Narrative*, already referred to, will give a pretty accurate idea of all. "At the first streak of daylight (occasionally long before it), the *reveille* was sounded, followed quickly by the cry of 'Fort Garry' from every tent or bivouac fire. This was the watchword of the force, as 'Arms, men and canoes' (*arma virumque cano*) was the punning motto adopted for us by our witty chaplain. Tents were struck and stowed away in the boats, and all were soon on board and working hard at the oar. We halted for an hour at 8 a. m. for breakfast, and again for another hour for dinner at 1 p. m., and finally, for the night, about 6 or 7 p. m. It was surprising, after the first week's practice, to see the rapidity with which the men cooked; they quickly became most expert at lighting fires, cutting down trees, &c. The sun soon burnt them a dark color—indeed, some became nearly black—the reflection from the water having a very bronzing effect upon the skin. The wear and tear upon the clothes was excessive—carrying loads on their backs tore their shirts and coats, whilst the constant friction of rowing soon

trements, 98; medical comforts and equipments, 41; tins, 547; canteens A. & B., 2; boxes linseed meal, 2; kegs of salt, 1; grindstones, 1; boxes of tobacco, 20; cases of soap, 1; bales of military clothing, 5.

\* "The route, generally, between the terminus of the Thunder Bay Road, Shebandowan Lake and Lake Winnipeg will compare very favourably with any other canoe or boat route of equal length in British North America. The entire distance is 488 miles, with some forty portages (more or less according to the stage of water), having an aggregate length of seven miles. Between these portages the navigation, excepting for a few miles in a narrow brook at French Portage, is the easiest conceivable. There are no difficult rapids to run; in fact, except on the Maline and at a few places on the Winnipeg, as regards the facility of getting over them with boats or canoes, the rapids are the merest ripples. The force, in getting through, had just seven miles of land carriage to get over with light boats, sixty days' rations (gradually diminishing) and their ammunition, and this in short sections so far separated as to make the fatigue less than it would have been had the portages been longer and fewer in number.—The labor on the portages was, no doubt, trying to men unaccustomed to such work, but it did not last long at a time, and all, besides, was the smoothest sailing conceivable."—*N. J. Dawson's Report*, page 22.

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wore large holes in their trousers, which, being patched with canvas from the bags in which the beans or other provisions had been carried, gave them a most motley appearance. Leading a sort of amphibious life, they were well nicknamed the 'canvas-backed ducks.' This constant pulling was very monotonous employment; but we had a goal to reach, and all felt that every stroke of the oar brought us nearer to it. The long portages were most trying to the pluck and endurance of our men, and it is very questionable whether the soldiers of any other nation would or could have gone through the same amount of physical labor that fell to our lot daily."

14.—The advance detachment under Colonel Fielden reached Fort Francis, situate on the right bank of Rainy River, on the 4th of August, having accomplished 208 miles in nineteen days: and, as the last detachment had left McNeill's Landing by that time, the Expedition was spread out to a length of over 150 miles. There were seventeen portages in this 208 miles of an aggregate length of three miles seventy-six chains, and at these the men had constructed, or improved, the roads, so that the troops following would have much less trouble and be able to move more rapidly. Fort Francis was, at that time, a small collection of wooden buildings, surrounded by a paling, and occupied by a Half-breed agent of the Hudson's Bay Company. The country, for the depth of about a mile on each bank of Rainy River, is fertile, but the only part under cultivation was a small portion adjoining the Fort, where the soldiers found peas, potatoes and onions growing, and arrangements had been made for supplying them with fresh meat here, which was a very agreeable change after three weeks of salt pork and biscuits.\* Colonel Wolseley arrived at Fort

Arrival at Fort Francis. The state of affairs in the Settlement.

Francis with the advance detachment, which he had overtaken on 29th July, and was joined there by Captain Butler of the 69th Regiment, and Mr. Joseph Monkman, a Half-breed, who had both come from Red River Settlement. Captain Butler had been sent by General Lindsay to Pembina, and had made his way to Lower Fort Garry, visiting some of the loyal portions of the Settlement, and left on the 24th July to meet Colonel Wolseley. He reported the people in the Settlement still very uneasy. Riel and his followers continued in possession of Fort Garry, and the loyal inhabitants were anxiously awaiting the arrival of the troops. While at Prince Arthur's Landing Colonel Wolseley had sent a proclamation to the chief officer of the Hudson's Bay Company and to the Roman Catholic and Protestant Bishops. This had been made public, and relieved the fears of a portion of the inhabitants, who felt a little nervous about the coming of the troops.† Mr. Monkman had left Thunder Bay in June, and gone into the Settlement by way of Fort Francis and the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, and commenced his return on 20th July. The report of both gentlemen was

2 lbs. both of biscuit and pork, and on any similar expedition the ration should be increased. The ration of tea might, perhaps, be reduced to  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. per man per day, if the troops are together in considerable numbers. The sugar should be increased to 3 oz."—*Assistant Controller Irving's Report, page 4.*

†The following is a copy of the Proclamation as it appeared in the *New Nation* of the twenty-third of July. The paragraph commencing "Courts of Law," &c., was subsequently omitted:—  
TO THE LOYAL INHABITANTS OF MANITOBA.

Her Majesty's Government having determined upon stationing some troops amongst you, I have been instructed by the Lieutenant-General Commanding in British North America to proceed to Fort Garry with the force under my command.

Our mission is one of peace, and the sole object of the expedition is to secure Her Majesty's Sovereign authority.

Courts of Law such as are common to every portion of Her Majesty's Empire will be duly established, and justice will be impartially administered to all races and all classes, the loyal Indians or Half-breeds being as dear to our Queen as any others of her loyal subjects.

The force which I have the honor of commanding will enter your Province representing no party either in religion or politics, and will afford equal protection to the lives and property of all races and of all creeds.

The strictest order and discipline will be maintained, and private property will be carefully respected. All supplies furnished by the inhabitants to the troops will be duly paid for. Should anyone consider himself injured by an individual belonging to the force, his grievance shall be promptly enquired into.

All loyal people are earnestly invited to aid me in carrying out the above-mentioned objects.

G. J. WOLSELEY, Colonel,  
Commanding Red River Force.

\*The rations, as laid down in the Standing Orders issued at Toronto on the 11th of May, 1870, by Col. Wolseley, consisted of 1 lb. of biscuit, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of bread or  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of flour; 1 lb. of salt pork, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of fresh meat; 2 oz. of sugar; 1 oz. of tea;  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. of salt with fresh meat;  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint of beans, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of preserved potatoes; 1-36 oz. of pepper. When fresh vegetables were obtainable, 1 lb. was issued as the ration. In camp, when no very hard work was being done, this ration was found to be ample; but when working on the roads and in the boats the men could eat from 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  to

to the effect that it was very uncertain whether Riel would offer any resistance or not. He was extremely anxious on the subject of an amnesty, and Bishop Taché had gone to Ottawa to urge on the authorities that a proclamation of amnesty should be issued, and, as long as this matter was in abeyance, it was doubtful whether Riel would show fight or run away while he had a chance. Under these circumstances Colonel Wolseley had to be prepared for any emergency, and to be ready either to "go forth on an errand of peace" or to fight for the maintenance of law and order, if necessary. \*

15.—Colonel Wolseley remained at Fort Francis until the 10th, but the different detachments moved forward as they arrived, the first under Colonel Fielden, arriving at 10 a.m., and leaving at 3.30 p.m. on the 4th. Some of the *voyageurs* taken on at Shebandowan had proved incompetent; these were dismissed and replaced by some brought up the Winnipeg by Lieutenant Butler and Mr. Monkman, and some obtained from the Hudson's Bay post. All surplus stores were discharged here, and an hospital established, although there was, fortunately, no sickness, and left as a reserve, and one company of the Ontario Battalion remained as a guard. The field-oven was set to work here, and the men greatly relished a supply of soft bread, as a change from the "hard tack" rations they had been having for over two weeks. "From Fort Francis, the Expedition had before it 131 miles of unbroken navigation, ending at Rat Portage. First, Rainy River, winding for sixty-seven miles with a gentle current through forests of the most luxuriant growth, broken here and there by slopes of green sward, where the Indians of former times had practised the art of cultivation so long forgotten to their descendants, and then the Lake of the Woods, where the course lay for sixty-four miles farther, through islands, which,

\*Sir John Young, in closing the Dominion Parliament on the twelfth of May, said:—"Her Majesty's troops go forth on an errand of peace, and will serve as an assurance to the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement, and the numerous Indian tribes that occupy the North-West, that they have a place in the regard and council of England, and may rely on the impartial protection of the British Empire."

although the lake is large, afford sheltered channels where the stiffest breeze is hardly felt."† The journey to Rat Portage was accomplished without accident, or special incident, and Colonel Fielden arrived at the Portage on the 9th, and was met by a party from the Red River Settlement which had come up the Winnipeg in six boats of the Hudson's Bay Company to meet the Expedition. This party was under the guidance of the Rev. Mr. Gardiner, and their arrival was most welcome, not only as an evidence of active sympathy in the settlement, but because the party had brought up a number of experienced guides to the river, in which the Expedition was rather deficient.

16.—The third and most toilsome part of the journey was from Rat Portage, at the outlet of the Lake of the Woods, down the Winnipeg river to Fort Alexander, at the entrance to Lake Winnipeg, a distance of 149 miles, in which there are twenty-five portages, with an aggregate length of three miles six chains. The difference in level between the Lake of the Woods and Lake Winnipeg is 340 feet, and the river is very broken and rapid for the greater part of its course, but with good guides is tolerably safe. It was long used by the North-West Company, and more recently by the Hudson's Bay Company; and although the expedition had hard work at some of the portages, and were in a little danger in running some of the rapids, it reached Fort Alexander without serious mishap. "The journey down the Winnipeg River can never be forgotten if once made. For the first fifty miles there are numerous islands—so much so, that the river is a succession of lakes, or as if there were four or five rivers running side by side, uniting here and there only to separate a few miles lower down. At some points it is, however, contracted into one or two comparatively narrow channels, where the great rush of water resembles a magnificent mill-race. The passage of such places is always more or less dangerous, particularly if small islands or large

The toilsome journey down the Winnipeg. Arrival at Stone Fort.

†S. J. Dawson's Report, page 21.

"Narrative of the February, 1871.

rocks divide the rapids into several channels, crossing one another before they meet in the boiling cauldron of foaming water below. Numerous were the hair-breadth escapes: in many instances the lives of boat's crews seemed held in the balance for some moments—more awful for those who watched the scene from the bank, than for the soldiers actually in the boat. Providence—a noble term, which this war in France has taught newspaper writers to sneer at—watched over us in a remarkable manner; for, although we had one or two boats wrecked on this mighty river, and many more were for minutes in imminent danger, the whole force reached Lake Winnipeg without any loss of life.\* The leading brigade of boats reached Fort Alexander on the 18th, and proceeded no further until the arrival of the other brigades containing regulars. By Sunday, 21st, all the regulars had arrived, and, after attending Divine service in the morning, embarkation took place at 3 p. m., and about fifty boats conveyed the companies of the 60th, the Artillery and Engineers down the river to Lake Winnipeg. At Fort Alexander the force had been joined by Mr. Donald A. Smith, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who accompanied it on the remainder of its journey. The troops passed the night on Elk Island, and started at 5 a. m. on the 22nd for the mouth of the Red River, which was reached by the fastest boats about noon. It was hoped that Stone Fort would be reached before dark, but at sunset it was still eleven miles distant, and the Expedition halted for the night, camping on the right bank of the river. Every precaution had been taken to prevent any information of the arrival of the Expedition reaching Riel, and with such success that he had not the slightest idea the Expedition was so near him. The boats started again at 3.30 on the morning of the 23rd in a drizzling rain, which continued all day, and made their journey very uncomfortable. The people along the banks of the Red River now began to know

that the Expedition had arrived, as it was greeted with discharges of musketry as it passed along. Stone Fort was reached at 8 o'clock, and here a good breakfast had been prepared by the Hudson's Bay Company officials, and was keenly relished. After breakfast the boats were relieved of all superfluous stores, only four days' rations being left, and the advance on Fort Garry was recommenced.

17.—As the expedition was now fairly "in the enemy's country," and it was still thought probable that Riel would show fight, preparation was made, in the event of his disputing the passage of the river to give him

Arrival of the Expedition at Fort Garry. Peaceful occupation of the Fort. Hoisting the Union Jack.

a warm reception. The two seven-pounder guns were placed in the bows of two boats, and an advance guard proceeded along the shore about a quarter of a mile ahead of the boats. The company of Captain Wallace was detailed for this purpose, and was mounted on such ponies as could be procured, and, failing those, in country carts, presenting rather a ludicrous appearance.\* This company had orders to prevent any persons passing up the river, but not to interfere with those coming down, and many who came down to meet the boats were surprised, and a little angry, to find they could not return; but it could not be helped. Colonel Wolseley had information that up to noon it was vaguely rumored in Winnipeg that the boats were in the river, and that Riel discredited the report altogether, not thinking it possible that they could have reached there so soon, and it was important to keep him in ignorance as long as possible. The boats continued on up the river all day through the rain, only halting an hour for dinner, and stopped for the night about two miles below

\* "Nothing could exceed the picturesque appearance of Captain Wallace and his company of mounted Rifles. They started with a limited number of horses but as the day wore on fresh captures were made, and fresh men mounted. Each steed that was ridden had a long dragging tail, which trailed in the mud as its owner slouched rather than cantered along; nearly all of them were mares, and nearly all of them had foals running at their heels, so that one saw swinging across the prairie a long straggling animal running with her foal, and a rifleman with his rifle on his back holding on to the saddle. They dismounted for the night, and remained as an outlying picket, where, like the rest of the force, they got drenched through."—Correspondence *Toronto Globe*, 6th September, 1870.

\* "Narrative of the Red River Expedition."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, February, 1871.



the English Cathedral, about 6 miles by land and nine by water, from Fort Garry, camp being formed on the right bank. About nine o'clock the drizzle turned to a heavy rain which continued all night, converting the prairie into a sea of mud, so that, next morning, Colonel Wolseley had to abandon his idea of advancing by land and keep to the river until Point Douglas was reached, about eight o'clock, two miles from the Fort, where the troops were landed. "The troops were disembarked on the left bank, and formed up in open column of companies. A few ponies that were brought by the inhabitants were useful in mounting the Colonel and his staff, and two country carts were used for drawing the guns, which were limbered up behind them. A line of skirmishers was thrown out about 400 yards in advance of the column, which immediately commenced its move in the direction of the village of Winnipeg, in column of fours, the 60th Rifles leading, Artillery and Engineers next, and a Company of 60th Rifles as a rear guard. In this formation the column passed over a small creek, and keeping outside the village, wheeled slightly to its left, and advanced on the Fort, having the Assiniboine River on its right flank, and the village on its left. Some half-dozen loyal inhabitants, mounted on horseback, accompanied the column, and were useful as scouts and guides. The latest information obtained in the village was to the effect that Riel and his party were still inside the Fort, that the gates were shut, and that they intended resisting the troops. No flag was flying from the flagstaff in the Fort,\* and there was no sign of life visible; everything looked grim and frowning, and the gun mounted over the gateway that commanded the village and the prairie over which the troops were advancing, was expected momentarily to open fire. But the hopes of the troops were doomed to disappointment. On nearing the Fort some of the mounted men were sent forward to ascertain the state of affairs; they

were followed by three of the staff, and soon returned, having ridden all around the Fort and found the gate opening on the bridge over the Assiniboine River wide open. The troops were marched in by this gateway, having stopped and detained three men who were making off up the Assiniboine River. The Fort was found to be emptied of its late defenders, Riel, Lépine, and O'Donohue having ridden off up the Red River about a quarter of an hour previously. The troops then formed line outside the Fort, the Union Jack was hoisted, a royal salute fired, and three cheers given for the Queen, which were caught up and heartily re-echoed by many of the civilians and settlers who had followed the troops from the village.†

18.—The "errand of peace" had been accomplished. Through 600 miles of "rocks and water" the gallant little expedition had manfully made its way, overcoming difficulties of nature which may well have deterred less bold and persevering men; disheartened at times, dispirited and confused by rumors of recall, with the elements warring against them and but little save a sense of duty to cheer them on, the men had still heartily, cheerfully, and willingly undergone all the trials and privations of that arduous advance; and now stood ankle-deep in the mud, victors without firing a shot, conscious that they had accomplished the object of their mission, that rebellion had fled to hide its diminished head, that peace and order would be restored, and that the insult to the British flag was wiped out, and that it once more replaced the rebel banner which for ten long weary months had floated over Fort Garry. The condition in which everything was found was miserable in the extreme. The rain still continued, and it being impossible to find a spot free from mud on which to pitch tents, the troops were accommodated, in the best manner possible, in the buildings of the Fort, lately occupied by the Company. All inside the Fort was in confusion and gave evidence of hasty flight, the "President's" unfinished breakfast being on a

\* Archbishop Taché, in his evidence before the Select Committee, said that there was a British flag flying when he arrived, on 23rd, but that it was taken down on account of the rain.

† Colonel Wolseley's Official Journal, 24th August, 1870.

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table; and "Adjutant-General" Lépine having departed in such haste that he had forgotten to take with him a pot of pomatum with which he was wont to oil his moustache. Bishop Taché had arrived on the previous day, accompanied by Messrs. M. A. Girard of Varennes, and Joseph Royal of Montreal, who went up to fill positions in the new Government, and Riel and some others had interviews with him on the night of the 23rd.\* It was then the intention of Riel to remain, but as soon as he heard the bugles of the Sixtieth, his courage failed him and he crossed the Assiniboine to Bishop Taché's, afterwards going to St. Joseph, Minnesota. The

"I arrived at Fort Garry on August 23rd. Soon after my arrival some members of the Provisional Government crossed over to my place at St. Boniface. They began to talk about the difficulties in which the country was involved; and I represented to them that there was not the slightest danger for them, that my conversations with the civil and military authorities had convinced me that there was not the slightest danger. In fact that the 19th clause of the articles submitted by Father Riel and the other delegates had been accepted. I think they were still in my house when some one came and reported that the troops had arrived at the mouth of the Red River. At first I hardly believed this, because it was so soon, from what I heard in Canada, for the arrival of the troops. The report which was spread over the country proved to be true. The next report was that they had not only arrived at the mouth of the river, but that they had also passed Lower Fort Garry. I may perhaps observe that the British flag was floating over Fort Garry. I heard that some one had been dispatched to ascertain if it was a fact that the troops had arrived, and that the Provisional Government had since sent a man to see if they were coming up, and it was reported that the troops had arrived. It proved true. Part of the expedition, the Canadian Militia were behind, and it was only the regulars that had come up. In the course of the night Riel himself went to ascertain where they were. He found that they were camped within a few miles of Fort Garry. It has been reported that there was an intention to resist. I may contradict that statement, because there was only ten or twelve men in the Fort the day I arrived, and three or four of them were invalided and old and unable to make any resistance. I am satisfied that there was not the slightest intention to resist. Some persons came to the Fort that evening, but they were chiefly persons who came to see me at my place on my arrival, and for purposes of conversation, without the least notion of resistance. Mr. Royal and Mr. Girard were among the visitors.

"During the night the rain poured very heavily, and they took down the British flag on that account that morning. I had myself seen it flying the previous evening. I was in my house in the morning when I saw horsemen coming at full speed, and I saw it was Mr. Riel, O'Donohue, and two others, who were not members of the Provisional Government. They came to my house, and I asked them what news they had. They said the troops were just approaching the Fort. I opened the door, and saw that the troops were approaching the Fort. I said: 'You have left the Fort.' Riel replied: 'Yes, we have fled for life, because it appears we have been deceived.' 'Why,' said I. He replied: 'Because no later than last evening we were told by Your Lordship that there was no fear, and this morning a gentleman arrived at Fort Garry, who told us we had to leave at the risk of our lives.' He said: 'If you do not leave the Fort it is an actual fact that you will be killed.' They at once left the Fort, leaving some of their things behind them. They said: 'Rather than run the risk of being killed or murdered, we prefer to leave the Fort previous to the arrival of the troops.' Two or three members of the Provisional Government who left by another door, were arrested by some members of the Expedition, but were released as soon as Colonel Wolseley was made aware of the facts, as the Colonel himself told me."—*Archbishop Taché's evidence before Select Committee, 18th April, 1874.*

militia were only a short distance behind the regulars, and arrived in a few days in good health and spirits. One of the most noticeable features of the Expedition was that not a life was lost in any way, and that there was an almost entire absence of sickness. This is, to a great extent attributable to the fact that, after the expedition left Shebandowan, no spirits of any kind were allowed. There had been two canteens at Prince Arthur's Landing when camp was first formed there, one for the regulars and one for the militia; the latter was closed at the request of Mr. Von Nostrand, Stipendiary Magistrate, it being contrary to law to sell spirits in the vicinity of Public Works, but the other was kept open. From the time of embarkation to the arrival at Fort Garry, no spirits could be obtained, and the good health of the troops may, in some measure, be fairly attributed to that cause. Colonel Wolseley in his report to the Military Secretary, dated 26th September, says: "From first to last there was a total absence of crime; and I may add of sickness also. Never has any body of men on active service been more cheerful or more healthy. This has been one of the few military expeditions where spirits have formed no part of the daily ration, and where no intoxicating liquor was obtainable. I consider that the above-mentioned happy results are in a great measure to be attributed to this fact; a large ration of tea was issued instead, and I found that the men worked better than I had ever seen soldiers do upon any previous occasion where rum formed part of their daily allowance."

19.—The position of Colonel Wolseley on his arrival was a difficult one. The purchase money for the North-West had been paid over to the Hudson's Bay Company, (11th May); the Order in Council transferring the territory to Canada had been passed (23rd June), and the Hon. Adams G. Archibald had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the New Province (20th May), but he had not arrived, and Colonel Wolseley found that there was no Civil Government, no provision having been made for any

The difficult position of Colonel Wolseley. No civil authority.

interregnum between the overthrow of Riel and the installation of Governor Archibald. He had no civil authority, and to have proclaimed Martial law would have been most injudicious, especially as there was not the least semblance of resistance, and not a shot had been fired except those of welcome to the troops. Many of those who had suffered imprisonment or other wrongs at the hands of Riel and his followers were anxious for revenge, and endeavoured to persuade the Commanding officer to issue warrants for the arrest of Riel and others; but he, wisely, refused to assume any civil power, and held that the Hudson's Bay Company was the only civil authority until the arrival of Governor Archibald. A few arrests had been made when the troops arrived, but the prisoners were ordered to be released.\* Colonel Wolseley in his Official Journal says: "No arrests were made by the Military, and no attempt to pursue and capture Riel and his friends. The three or four prisoners who were detained when the troops marched into the Fort were released during the day, there being no warrant out against them and no sworn information. Colonel Wolseley did not desire to trench on the civil authority in any way, not having been invested with power to do so, or to act as Lieutenant Governor pending Mr. Archibald's arrival. The conduct of civil affairs devolved on Mr. Smith,

\* Few, except those who have had revolutionary experiences, can form a just idea of the condition of affairs on the Red River for some days after our arrival. There were no police to maintain order; all those who had during the past winter suffered in body or in property from Riel's tyranny, considered they were justified in avenging themselves upon those who had had any connection with rebel affairs. The reaction from the state of fear and trembling in which all had lived for the preceding ten months was too great for many, and there was some little trouble in keeping them in proper restraint. The rebel leaders had disappeared, but many of their adherents had merely gone home, hoping to be forgotten through the insignificance of their position. Those who had remained loyal were loud in expressing their discontent at these rebels being allowed to live at large. Every precaution was taken by the military to prevent any serious disturbance. Armed parties patrolled about the Fort and through the village each night until everything was quiet, and a few special constables were sworn in as policemen to assist in preserving order in the town. Unfortunately, whiskey was to be had in every shop in the village; and the Indians who had served with us as *compagnons* added to the excitement by their noisy drunkenness. The Lieutenant-Governor was hourly expected; but as day after day passed without his being heard of, a good deal of nice management was required to keep things quiet, and prevent any collision between the loyalists and those who had recently been in arms against Her Majesty."—"Narrative of the Red River Expedition," *Blackwood's Magazine*, February, 1871.

as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Colonel Wolseley informed him that he looked to him as representing the only civil authority he could recognize, and that any prisoners handed over by him for safe-keeping, should be taken care of. Many came forward volunteering to take Riel and his gang, if Colonel Wolseley would only authorize them to do so; all received the same answer: 'Go to a magistrate for a warrant, and when obtained, Mr. Smith will provide the means for executing it.' A warrant was subsequently obtained from a Justice of the Peace, directing some one specified man to arrest Riel, O'Donohue and Lépine, on a charge of murder, false imprisonment and robbery. It proved to be informal, and was not executed. In fact no proper constables could be obtained for the purpose, and Colonel Wolseley positively refused to allow his soldiers being converted into policemen. Of course there is a considerable number of violent men who have old scores to pay off for themselves, and would be glad of the opportunity thus afforded to them by the arrival of the troops.\*

20.—On the twenty-seventh two companies of the Ontario Battalion, under command of Major Wainwright, arrived, having been wind bound for thirty-six hours on Lake Winnipeg, and after that the other brigades came up rapidly. The period of arrival being so much later than had been expected at the time the Expedition was planned, no time was lost by Colonel Wolseley, in having the regular troops start on their return to Canada, so that

\*The Imperial Government was extremely careful to avoid anything like reprisal or punishment by the people of Canada on the people of Red River, and even discouraged participation in the expedition by any who had suffered at the hands of Riel, wishing to avoid any appearance of retaliation for unlawful acts; the Crown reserving to itself the right of seeing justice done, and no more. With this object the following clause was inserted in the instructions issued to Colonel Wolseley by General Lindsay:—

"26.—It is most important that none of the persons who have, during the last winter, taken part in the troubles at Red River should accompany the expedition, and you will do all that lays in your power to prevent them doing so. I have to recall to your memory that, both in public and in private, certain of those gentlemen have expressed themselves anxious to take the opportunity of the advance of the Expedition to pay off their scores. You will, therefore, discountenance them in a public manner should they attempt so to fasten themselves upon you."

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they might be in time to embark for England, and two companies started on the return voyage on the twenty-ninth, the others following rapidly, so that the last company of the 60th left Fort Garry on the first of September, some going by boats, and some by Mr. Snow's road to the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods. Peace and order seemed to be perfectly restored, as far as the military could effect it, and Colonel Wolsley telegraphed General Lindsay, on 29th August, that he saw no necessity for detaining the regulars, and therefore sent them back. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald arrived about half-past eight on the evening of the second, having followed the route of the Expedition, but had been detained in the Lake of the Woods. A royal salute was fired in his honour next morning, after which the Royal Artillery and Engineers left by boat, and Colonel Wolsley started for the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, where he met the returning Expedition and accompanied it part of the way back to Montreal, which place was reached by the last of the regulars on 14th October. The militia battalions wintered in Fort Garry. Lt.-Colonel Jarvis of the Ontario Battalion being left in command. So ended the Red River Expedition. Necessitated by the distracted state of the country it executed a warlike journey for a peaceful purpose, which being accomplished the Imperial troops connected with it withdrew, and left the militia to assist the Civil authority, if necessary, in maintaining order; but, fortunately no such necessity arose, and that force also was withdrawn in the spring, as will be referred to in another chapter. Too much praise cannot be accorded to Colonel Wolsley for the able manner in which he led his troops through a difficult and dangerous country; and no small amount of the success of the Expedition was due to his personal example and untiring zeal; and it is to be regretted that he did not confine himself to the very able official journal of the expedition, which contains beyond mere military details an immense amount of useful information pertaining to the country, but saw fit to write an unofficial account of the

Expedition,\* in which he animadverted very severely on the conduct of the leading public men in Canada, and laid himself open to the suspicion that his strictures were mainly caused by pique at the action of the Government of the day in appointing a civilian as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba instead of following the advice of Earl Granville and appointing the Commander of the Expedition.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN YOUNG.—IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1870.

1. MARINE DISASTERS. LOSS OF THE "CITY OF BOSTON."—2. PROTECTION OF THE FISHERIES. SEIZURE OF AMERICAN VESSELS.—3. PRESIDENT GRANT IN HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ADVOCATES RETALIATORY MEASURES.—4. LARGE BUSH-FIRES. GREAT LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY IN THE OTTAWA DISTRICT.—5. DESTRUCTIVE FIRES IN TORONTO, QUEBEC AND MONTREAL.—6. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE IMPERIAL TROOPS.—7. THE REASON WHY CANADA SHOULD RECEIVE IMPERIAL AID AGAINST FENIANISM.—8. HON. ALEX. CAMPBELL'S MISSION TO ENGLAND.—9. DR. TUPPER ENTERS THE MINISTRY. OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS.

1.—The year 1870 was marked by several marine disasters on the coast of the Dominion and on the inland waters, the most distressing of which, on Marine disasters. Loss of the "City of Boston." account of the number of lives lost, and the uncertainty as to her fate, was the disappearance of the Inman Steamer *City of Boston* which left Halifax on 28th January, and has never been heard of since. The *City of Boston* was one of the finest ships of the Inman Line, built of iron, 2,278 tons register, and sailed from New York on 25th January with 12 cabin passengers, 45 steerage, and a crew of 96.

\* "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," in *Blackwood's Magazine*, for December 1870; January and February 1871.

She called at Halifax on the 27th, where thirty-six passengers\* were taken on board, and left that port on the following day, since which date nothing has been heard of her, and her fate remains a mystery to the present day, the general supposition being that she struck an iceberg in the night, or during a fog, and sank so suddenly that there was no opportunity to launch boats or save any of the unfortunate passengers or crew. Her loss caused deep anxiety and distress throughout the Maritime Provinces, so large a number of citizens of those Provinces being lost in her. For some time there was hope that she had become disabled by breaking her screw or from some other cause, and a report that a steamer had been seen showing signs of distress near Sable Island caused the Government Steamer *Druid* to be sent there; but nothing had been seen of her at the island, and as days grew into weeks and weeks into months without any tidings of the ill-fated vessel, hope died out, and it became certain that, in some unknown manner, she had met a fate, the mystery of which will, probably, never be cleared up. Very disastrous gales prevailed on the coast of Nova Scotia during the early part of September, and on the 3rd and 4th upwards of twenty-five vessels were stranded or foundered, involving a loss of over eighty lives and about \$150,000 worth of property. During the same storm the buildings connected with the Lighthouse Station at Egg Island, forty-five miles from Halifax, were considerably damaged. The keeper's dwelling was struck by the sea, which made a clean sweep over the island, and was washed away from its foundation a distance of 150 feet, and the keeper and his family barely escaped into the lighthouse tower, which they were afraid would also be carried away, but which stood the fury of the storm after receiving some damage. On the 16th October the

\*The passengers from Halifax were: E. Billing, E. J. Kenny, Capt. Sterling, wife and child; G. A. Knox, W. E. Potter, Lieut. Kildath, R.E., wife and child, Captain Hamilton, 15th Regiment, Thos. H. Robinson, Master F. R. Robinson, Wm. Murray, A. K. Doull, C. Stuart Silver, John Barron, Walter Barron, Patrick Power, Jr.; Lieut. Orange, R.E., wife and child; Henry C. Morrey, Mr. Leconte, J. W. Paint, Miss Paint, John Thompson, James Allan, J. B. Young, Capt. W. Forbes, Mr. Baker, R. E., and wife; John D. Parly, Charles Fisher, T. R. Montgomery, Wm. Parks.

schooner *Ocean Traveller* which was under charter to the Dominion Government to supply the lighthouses of Nova Scotia, and the life-saving establishment at Sable Island, left the latter place for Halifax, with a crew of nine and one of the staff from the island on board, and has never been heard of. The number of casualties to sea-going vessels during the year was 231, and the probable estimated loss about \$550,000. The number of casualties to lake and inland vessels was 104, estimated loss \$350,000. † The total number of lives known to be lost was 210. This does not include the loss of the *City of Boston*, the number of lives lost by which catastrophe was 189 and the value of property over \$500,000.

2.—The determination of the Canadian Government not to issue any more licenses to American vessels to fish in our waters, and the vigorous steps taken to protect our fisheries, had a very marked effect on the return from this branch of industry during the year, and the catch was very much above the average. This was partly owing to a good season, and partly to the greatly increased protection afforded our fishermen, which while by no means entirely preventing the Americans from encroaching on our inshore fisheries, still greatly checked their depredations, and allowed our own fishermen a better opportunity than they had been before afforded of prosecuting their calling. In addition to the British gun-boats placed on the station for the protection of the fisheries, the Department of Marine and Fisheries organized a Marine Police consisting of six chartered vessels, besides the Government steamers *La Canadienne* and *Lady Head*. ‡ These vessels were armed, and were intended to prevent smuggling as well as to protect the fisheries, a number of American vessels which frequented our waters for the purpose of fishing, being also in the habit

† Report of Minister of Marine and Fisheries for 1870, page 55.

‡ The chartered vessels were *Ida E.*, commanded by James A. Tor, *Enland*, commanded by G. V. Story, late R. N.; *Elta G. McLean*, commanded by Henry E. Betts, R. N. R.; *Sceptake*, commanded by J. C. Carmichael; *Water Lily*, commanded by Lieut. F. Stanley Ewen, R. N. R.; *Stella Maris*, commanded by L. H. Lachance.

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of carrying on a very considerable illicit trade. During the season upwards of four hundred American vessels were boarded on suspicion, and fifteen were seized for infringement of the fisheries laws, or for infractions of the Custom's Act. Some of these vessels were condemned and sold, and others released after trial. Of course this action caused a great deal of dissatisfaction in the United States, where a large amount of capital is invested in the fishing business, which threatened to become a dead loss to the ship-owners if American vessels were rigorously excluded from fishing in Canadian waters, and much ill-feeling was engendered; but the Americans had only their own Government to thank if they suffered loss and inconvenience by being excluded from our fisheries. Our fisheries clearly belonged to ourselves, and that right had not been disputed since the signing of the treaty of 1818, the only point at issue being whether the three marine miles mentioned in that treaty should be measured from the coast line or from the headlands, the Americans claiming the former and the British the latter interpretation. In 1854 our fisheries were thrown open to the Americans as part of the Reciprocity Treaty and so continued until the American Government abrogated that treaty in 1864. Then our fisheries rights reverted to us again as under the treaty of 1818. But the American fishermen could not exist without the Canadian inshore fisheries, their own waters being almost denuded of fish, and they had become so much accustomed to fishing in our bays that they began to consider as a right what was only accorded to them as a privilege in exchange for privileges extended to us. As long as there was any hope of a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, the Dominion Government allowed great latitude to American fishermen, but when it became evident that the Americans were determined to keep on fishing in our waters and give us nothing in return, the Dominion Government was compelled to take measures for the protection of our fisheries, and to exclude the Americans.

3.—As soon as notice was given by the

Dominion Government that no more fishing licenses would be granted, President Grant issued a Proclamation to all American fishermen

President Grant, in his message to Congress, advocates retaliatory measures.

warning them not to trespass on Canadian waters, and that if they did so they did it at their own risk and were liable to seizure, but very few of them paid any attention to either the Proclamation of the President or the warning of the Canadian Government and continued to fish as usual. Large numbers were warned off the fishing grounds and so watched by the British and Canadian cruisers that their business was rendered unprofitable, and a few were seized, but still numbers managed to get their cargoes, although not nearly so many as in former years. This was extremely annoying to the Americans, and the press was loud in its denunciations of both Great Britain and Canada, but we had right on our side, and if American fishermen would attempt to poach on our preserves they had to pay the penalty of being caught, hard as it seemed to confiscate these vessels and, perhaps, take from a number of hard-working men their only means of subsistence. The President devoted a considerable portion of his annual message to Congress to this subject,\* and, after indulging in a few ill-tempered remarks, advised a policy of retali-

\* The following is the portion of the Message referring to Canadian affairs:—

"The course pursued by the Canadian authorities towards the fishermen of the United States during the past season has not been marked by a friendly feeling. By the first article of the Convention of 1818, between Great Britain and the United States, it was agreed that the inhabitants of the United States should have forever, in common with British subjects, the right of taking fish in certain waters therein defined. In the waters not included in the limits named in the convention, within three miles of the ports of the British coast, it has been the custom for many years to give intending fishermen of the United States a reasonable warning of their violation of the technical rights of Great Britain. The Imperial Government is understood to have delegated the whole or a share of its jurisdiction or control of these in-shore fishery grounds to the colonial authority known as the Dominion of Canada, and this semi-independent but irresponsible agent has exercised its delegated powers in an unfriendly way. Vessels have been seized without notice or warning, in violation of the custom previously prevailing, and have been taken into the colonial ports, their voyages broken up, and the vessels condemned. There is reason to believe that this unfriendly and vexatious treatment was designed to bear harshly upon the hardy fishermen of the United States, with a view to political effect on this Government. The statutes of the Dominion of Canada assume a still broader and more untenable jurisdiction over the vessels of the United States, as they authorize officers or persons to bring vessels hovering within three marine miles of any of the bays, creeks, or harbors of Canada into port to search their cargo, to examine the master or mate touching the cargo and voyage, to inflict upon him a heavy pecuniary penalty if true answers are not given; and if such a vessel is found preparing to fish within three



ation, advocating an abolition of the bonding system by which goods are conveyed through American territory to Canadian ports without payment of duties; and made a most extraordinary claim to the right of Americans to navigate the St. Lawrence. Towards the end of the year, after the delivery of the President's Message, it looked for a while as if the fisheries question might lead to grave complications on the opening of the next season; but, happily,

marine miles of any of such coasts, bays, creeks or harbors without a license, or after the expiration of the period named in the last license granted to it, they provide that the vessel, with her tackle, &c., &c., shall be forfeited. It is not known that any condemnations have been made under this statute. Should the authorities of Canada attempt to enforce it, it will become my duty to take such steps as may be necessary to protect the rights of the citizens of the United States. It has been claimed by Her Majesty's officers that the fishing vessels of the United States have no right to enter the open ports of the British possessions in North America except for the purposes of shelter and repairing damages, of purchasing wood and obtaining water; that they have no right to enter at the British custom-houses or to trade, except the purchase of wood and water; and that they must depart within twenty-four hours after notice to leave. It is not known that any seizure of a fishing vessel carrying the flag of the United States has been made under this claim. So far as the claim is founded on an alleged construction of the convention of 1818, it cannot be acquiesced in by the United States. It is hoped that it will not be insisted on by Her Majesty's Government. During the conferences which preceded the convention of 1818, the British Commissioners proposed to expressly exclude the fishermen of the United States from the privilege of carrying on trade with any of His Britannic Majesty's subjects residing within the limits assigned for their use; and also that it should not be lawful for the vessels of the United States engaged in such fishery to have on board any goods, wares or merchandise whatever, except such as were necessary for the prosecution of their voyage to and from said fishing grounds, and any vessel of the United States which should contravene this regulation to be seized, condemned and confiscated with her cargo. This proposition, which is identical with the construction now put upon the language of the convention, was emphatically rejected by the American Commissioners, and therefore was abandoned by the British Plenipotentiaries, and Article I., as it stands in the convention, was substituted. If, however, it be said that the claim is founded on Provincial or Colonial statutes, and not upon the convention, this Government cannot but regard them as unfriendly and in contravention of the spirit, if not the letter of the treaty, for the faithful execution of which the Imperial Government is alone responsible.

"Anticipating that an attempt may possibly be made by the Canadian authorities in the coming season to repeat their unneighborly acts towards our fishermen, I recommend you to confer upon the Executive the power to suspend, by a proclamation, the operation of the laws authorizing the transit of goods, wares and merchandise in bond across the territory of the United States to Canada, and further, should such an extreme measure become necessary, to suspend the operation of any laws whereby the vessels of the Dominion of Canada are permitted to enter the waters of the United States. A like unfriendly disposition has been manifested on the part of Canada in the maintenance of a claim of right to exclude the citizens of the United States from the navigation of the St. Lawrence. This river constitutes a national outlet to the ocean for eight States with an aggregate population of about 17,000,000 inhabitants, and with an aggregate tonnage of 601,267 tons upon the waters which discharge into it. The foreign commerce of our ports on these waters is open to British competition, and the major part of it is done in British bottoms. If the American seamen be excluded from this natural avenue to the ocean the monopoly of the direct commerce of the lake ports with the Atlantic would be in foreign hands, their vessels on the transatlantic voyages having access to our lake ports, which would be denied to an American vessel on a similar voyage to the States. Such a proposition is to refute its justice. During the administration of Mr. John Quincy

before that time arrived a spirit of conciliation had been assumed by both nations, and the Joint High Commission was preparing the way for the definite settlement of the fisheries question for a number of years.

4.—The summer of 1870, was very dry in some sections, and was marked by unusually extensive forest fires, which devastated large tracts and destroyed great quantities of reaped and grow-

Large bush fires.  
Great loss of life and property in the Ottawa district.

Adams, Mr. Clay unquestionably demonstrated the natural right of the citizens of the United States to the navigation of the river, claiming that the Act of Congress of Vienna, in opening the Rhine and other rivers to all nations, showed the judgment of European jurists and statesmen that the inhabitants of a country through which a navigable river passes have a natural right to enjoy the navigation of that river to and into the sea, even though passing through the territory of another power. This right does not exclude the co-equal right of the sovereign possessing the territory through which the river debouches into the sea to make such regulations relative to the policy of the navigation as may be reasonably necessary. But those regulations should be formed in a liberal spirit of comity, and should not impose needless burdens upon the commerce which has the right of transit. It has been found in practice more advantageous to arrange these regulations by mutual agreement. The United States are ready to make any reasonable arrangement as to the navigation of the River St. Lawrence which may be suggested by Great Britain. If the claim made by Mr. Clay was just when the population of States bordering on the shores of the lakes was only 3,000,000, it now receives greater force and equity from the increased population, wealth, production and tonnage of the States on the Canadian frontier. Since Mr. Clay advanced his argument in behalf of our right, the principle for which he contended has been frequently and by various nations recognized by law or by treaty, has been extended to several other great rivers. By the treaty concluded at Mayence in 1833, the Rhine was declared free from the point where it is first navigable into the sea. By the convention between Spain and Portugal, concluded in 1835, the navigation of the Douro throughout its whole extent was made free for the subjects of both crowns. In 1853 the Argentine Confederation by treaty threw open the free navigation of the Parana and Uruguay to the merchant vessels of all nations. In 1856 the Crimean war was closed by a treaty which provided for the free navigation of the Danube. In 1858 Bolivia by treaty declared that it regarded the rivers Amazon and La Plata, in accordance with fixed principles of national law, as highways or channels opened by Nature for the commerce of all nations. In 1859 the Paraguay was made free by treaty, and in December, 1866, the Emperor of Brazil by Imperial decree declared the Amazon to be open to all the frontier of Brazil and to the merchant ships of all nations. The greatest living British authority on this subject, while asserting the abstract right of the British claim, says: It seems difficult to deny that Great Britain may ground her refusal upon strict law, but it is equally difficult to deny—First, that in so doing, she exercises harshly an extreme and hard law. Secondly, that her conduct with respect to the navigation of the St. Lawrence is in glaring and discreditable inconsistency with her conduct with respect to the navigation of the Mississippi: on the ground that she possessed a small domain in which the Mississippi took its rise she insisted on the right to navigate the entire volume of its waters; on the ground that she possesses both banks of the St. Lawrence where it disembouges itself into the sea, she denies to the United States the right of navigation, though about one-half of the waters of lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Superior, and the whole of Lake Michigan, through which the river flows, are the property of the United States. The whole nation is interested in securing cheap transportation from the agricultural States of the West to the Atlantic seaboard. To the citizens of these States it offers a greater return for their labor—to the inhabitants of the seaboard cheaper food—to the nation an increase to the annual surplus of wealth. It is to be hoped that the Government of Great Britain will see the justice of abandoning the narrow and inconsistent claim to which her Canadian Provinces have urged her adherence."

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ing grain, together with many farm houses and buildings, and caused the loss of several lives. In May the fires around Fort William and through Thunder Bay district swept over more than 20 miles of territory, but did little damage other than to the forest, while large tracts were also desolated in the Saguenay region; and, in July, great damage was done in New Brunswick by bush-fires. The greatest loss and suffering, was, however, experienced in the Ottawa district, where fires raged for weeks during July and August, and were extremely destructive, especially in the immediate neighborhood of Ottawa city. There had been no rain for two months and the country was so thoroughly parched that cattle were suffering severely for want of grass, when several bush-fires broke out in Carleton, Ottawa, Templeton, March and other counties, and for days devastated these flourishing districts. On the night of 17th of August there was a strong gale of wind which swept the flames with resistless fury before it and spread destruction everywhere. The village of Bell's Corners, nine miles from Ottawa, was entirely destroyed; of the twenty-six buildings which comprised it, only the two churches being left standing, and these were only saved after great exertion. In Central Hull a great billow of flame nearly two miles wide rolled through the township, licking up in its path, everything that would burn, and scarce a farm house or barn escaped its fury. The village of Stillville was destroyed, and the townships of March and Nepean also suffered heavily. The large piling grounds of Gilmour & Co., at Hull were burnt, and over 6,000,000 feet of lumber, valued at about \$75,000 destroyed. The works of the Hull Iron Mines were also burnt; and for upwards of a week the fires raged with unceasing fury. The City of Ottawa was at one time in great danger and the bank of the Rideau canal was cut and the water allowed to flood the low ground at the west end, so as to offer a slight obstruction to the flames which were advancing from the woods; but, fortunately, the danger was averted. Night and day for more than a week the farmers were kept hard at work fighting the fire for

their homes, and often their lives and the lives of those nearest and dearest to them. Nine lives altogether were lost, and large numbers of cattle, &c., perished; and there were numerous instances where whole families had to cower in potatoe-fields with their faces close to the ground to escape suffocation, whilst the fiery flames licked up all their household treasures, and the dense smoke rolled over them in dark masses threatening life itself should they inhale its heated breath. Ottawa was covered as with a pall, and the black masses of smoke hung over the river so as to stop navigation, and extended even as far as Montreal, which was shrouded as if in a mourning veil. On the twentieth it commenced to rain, and the great danger was passed, but the fires still continued in the woods for some time. The loss was estimated at over \$1,000,000, and hundreds of families were rendered homeless and destitute, who, a few short days before, had been in comfortable, if not affluent, circumstances. The people of both Provinces came forward at once to the relief of the sufferers; large sums were subscribed in the leading cities, and the Local Legislatures voted grants for the relief of the distressed.

5.—The large cities also suffered heavily from the Fire Fiend. On the 28th February the elevator of the Northern Railway at Toronto was entirely destroyed with its contents, involving a loss of \$200,000, and, on the morning of the 24th May, another of those large fires, which had apparently become periodical, broke out in Quebec, and did immense damage. The fire originated in the baker-shop of a man named Lortie, in St. Rochs, and spread with great rapidity to the adjoining buildings, which, being mostly of wood, and old, burned like tinder, and, despite the utmost exertions of the firemen and the military, 434 houses were destroyed before the fire was got under control. Of these houses 371 were of wood, 48 of brick and only 5 of stone, and upwards of 5,000 people—nearly all belonging to the poorer classes—were rendered homeless. Two large composite ships, nearly completed, were destroyed in the ship-

Destructive fires in  
Toronto, Quebec and  
Montreal.

yard of Mr. Baldwin, and the total loss by the fire was estimated at nearly half a million, the greater part of which fell on poor people, who had no insurance, and who lost their all. Montreal was especially unfortunate, being visited by a succession of large fires, which swept away immense quantities of valuable property. On the night of the 10th of June nearly the whole western wing of the Montreal Warehousing Company was destroyed, and 10,000 barrels of flour and 120,000 bushels of wheat either burnt or injured by water; the total loss being about \$200,000. On the same night the Dominion Glass-Works were burned; loss \$30,000. On the 25th a most disastrous fire broke out in Ostel & Co.'s sash and door factory on the canal bank, and quickly spread to Tucker & Son's saw-mill and Shearer's saw-mill and lumber-yard, where over 1,000,000 feet of lumber was piled, the whole of which, together with the buildings, was consumed. The fire burned fiercely for several hours, the flames covering an area of about ten acres, and the reflection being visible at a distance of forty-five miles. About twenty small houses on St. Patrick street and Manufacturers' lane were also burnt, and the total loss was over \$250,000. Nearly 400 hands were thrown out of employment. On the 26th another fire was discovered in that part of the Montreal Warehousing Company's stores which had been partially burnt on the 10th, which was supposed to have been caused by a portion of the grain partially burnt at the first fire bursting into a flame again after having smouldered for over two weeks. This time the western wing of the building was entirely destroyed, inflicting a loss of about \$50,000, and 12,000 bushels of wheat were also consumed. On the 29th the extensive flouring mill of Parkyn & Co., at Cote St. Paul—the largest establishment of the kind in the Province of Quebec—was burnt, and with it 80,000 bushels of wheat, 20,000 of which had been saved from the first fire at the Montreal Warehousing Company's store. The loss by this fire was about \$150,000. A large number of incendiary fires also occurred during the summer

and fall. Altogether, Montreal had more than her average number of fires—especially of large ones—during the year.

6.—One of the most important events of the year was the withdrawal of the Imperial troops, in pursuance of a policy which had been adopted in theory <sup>The withdrawal of the Imperial troops.</sup> many years before, but had not been put into practice on account of exceptional cases. The policy of the British Government towards her colonies may be briefly stated as that of requiring them to take measures for protecting themselves, as far as military protection was needed in time of peace, without its having the slightest intention of abandoning them to their own resources, or of lessening in any way the obligations for mutual assistance in time of war. As far back as 1851 Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, wrote to the Governor-General of the old Province of Canada to the effect that the British Government was of opinion that the colony was in a position to relieve the Mother Country of the expense of maintaining a large armed force there in time of peace; \* and, in 1853, the force in Canada was reduced from 4,110 to 3,170 bayonets, which was reducing the force to its standard of 1,792 and 1,822. The outbreak of the rebellion in the United States and the

\*The following extract from Earl Grey's despatch will show the feeling of the British Government on the question at that time, 1851:

"Canada (in common with the other British Provinces in North America) now possesses, in the most simple and complete manner in which it is possible that she should enjoy it, the advantages of self-government in all that relates to her internal affairs. It appears to Her Majesty's Government that this advantage ought to carry with it corresponding responsibilities, and that the time is now come when the people of Canada must be called upon to take upon themselves a larger share than they have hitherto done of expenses which are incurred on this account, and for their advantage. Of these expenses, by far the heaviest charge which falls upon this country is that incurred for the military protection of the Province. Regarding Canada as a most important and valuable part of the Empire, and believing the maintenance of the connection between the Mother Country and the Colony to be of the highest advantage to both, it is far from being the view of Her Majesty's Government that the general military power of the Empire is not to be used in the protection of this part of Her Majesty's Dominions; but looking at the rapid progress which Canada is now making in wealth and population, and to the prosperity which she at this moment enjoys, it is the conviction of Her Majesty's Government that it is only due to the people of this country that they should now be relieved from a large proportion of the charge which has hitherto been imposed upon them for the protection of a colony now well able to do much towards protecting itself. In adopting this principle, I need hardly observe to you that Her Majesty's Government would merely be reverting to the former colonial policy of this country."

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"Trent affair" showed very conclusively that England had no intention of abandoning her colonies or to leave them to protect themselves in time of war. Over 10,000 troops were at once thrown into Canada, and a very considerable army maintained here during the continuance of the war and after. The British Government constantly urged on the Canadian Government the necessity of providing for defence, and agreed to guarantee a loan of £1,100,000 for that purpose, but nothing was done in the matter of withdrawing the troops until 1868, when it was determined to greatly reduce the number of troops in Canada, and ultimately to withdraw them altogether, except from Halifax, which was to be considered as an Imperial naval and military station, and garrisoned by about 1,500 troops. At this time—1868-9—the war office "distribution of regiments" showed that there were altogether 50,025 troops stationed in the colonies, of which 16,185 or nearly one-third were stationed in Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.\* This number was reduced by 3,592 in 1868, and a still further reduction took place in 1869, by which about 8,500 men were left in the Dominion, and these were all withdrawn during the year 1870, except the force which was to be permanently stationed in Halifax, and a garrison which was left for the winter at Quebec. All the fortresses, barracks, &c., were handed over by the Imperial to the Dominion authorities, and a quantity of stores, ammunition, &c., for some of which the Dominion Government was charged, and the remainder being presented to it by the Imperial Government. Amongst the articles so presented were upwards of 43,000 muskets, which had been loaned to the local authorities for the purpose of arming the militia.

7.—The people of Canada felt this course of action not so much on account of the withdrawal

of the physical force, as on account of the implied withdrawal of moral support, and the supposed disposition of the Mother Country to sever the bond of connection with the Colonies, but this we were assured both in official despatches and in debate in the Imperial Parliament, was not the intention of the Home Government, and that it was influenced only by a spirit of economy, and an impression that the colonies were strong enough to bear themselves the burden of such military organizations as may be necessary in times of peace. The Dominion Government took even stronger ground than this, and urged that the only danger to which Canada was exposed was from the Fenians harbored in the United States, and from any difficulty into which England may be drawn with that power; a difficulty which would arise out of circumstances over which Canada had no control, and was in no way responsible—other than as an integral part of the British Empire. As to Fenianism, it was urged that the Fenians had no cause of complaint against Canada, and that their attacks on her were only caused by fancied injuries inflicted by the people of Great Britain on the people of Ireland, and Great Britain ought to afford at least a portion of the defence against these incursions which were caused by enmity to her instead of to Canada, although the latter had to bear the expense and annoyance of these attacks. Still the British Government held to its purpose; and Earl Granville even took occasion to impute the Fenian raids to what he was pleased to term "an accident of geographical position," rather than to the more serious cause of deep-rooted antipathy to Great Britain. In his despatch of 14th April, 1869, to the Governor-General, he says: "Her Majesty's Government trust that the annoyance arising from the organization of Fenianism in the United States is fast disappearing. This organization, founded on the hostile feelings entertained by numerous Irishmen in the United States against Great Britain, derived its substantial importance from the circumstance that large armies had recently been disbanded and were not yet thoroughly

The reason why Canada should receive Imperial aid against Fenianism.

\* DISTRIBUTION OF TROOPS 1868-9.

Canada .....	12,214
Nova Scotia .....	3,075
Newfoundland .....	296
Total .....	16,185

absorbed in the pursuits of peace. Such a state of things must always contain elements of danger to a neighboring country, and so far as the Canadians suffer from it, they suffer not so much from their connection with Great Britain as from an unhappy—I hope a passing—accident of their geographical position." When the Red River troubles occurred and an expedition was determined on, it was only on the distinct understanding that the troops should return in time to embark for England before the close of navigation, that regulars were allowed to participate in it, and they only remained in Fort Garry five days. Even the Fenian raid of 24th May did not alter the determination of the British Government; but, on the contrary, the ease with which the volunteers repulsed the marauders seemed to confirm the Imperial Government in its opinion that the Dominion was able to take care of itself.

8.—The Dominion Government, however, whilst quite ready and willing to do all that was

Hon. Alex.  
Campbell's mission  
to England.

necessary towards the defence of the country, was by no means inclined to undertake the whole responsibility if the Mother Country could be made to see that she was fairly entitled to assist in some measure, towards that defence; and, in June, 1870, the Hon. Alexander Campbell, Postmaster, was despatched to England to confer with the Home Government on the questions of the fisheries; Canadian claims against the United States for Fenian raids; the withdrawal of the troops, and the erection of fortifications. We shall refer to his success on the first two questions in our chapter on the Joint High Commission; on his want of success on the third question we cannot do better than to quote from his own report to the Governor-General, dated 10th Sept., 1870. He says:

"*The withdrawal of the Imperial troops and the relations of Canada to the Empire*—On this subject I submitted to Lord Kimberley that when the Confederation of the several Provinces of British North America was suggested, it was agreed on all sides that it was a matter of both Imperial and Colonial policy, that Canada felt assured in

carrying out the scheme that it would have the advantage of the moral and material support of the Empire. We had undertaken the task, and so far, carried it out successfully, but at very considerable sacrifice, and a sacrifice that was likely to be continuous. There was a growing feeling in Canada of distrust in the disposition of the Imperial Government to give us that support to which we thought ourselves entitled. It was somewhat difficult to point out the exact grounds which had occasioned this feeling, but generally it proceeded from the tone adopted by public men, and particularly by members of the Government, in reference to Colonial and Canadian topics. There seemed to us to be a disposition to overlook the exertions we had made for the purpose of preserving the connection, and to depreciate the strong feeling of attachment which subsisted towards the Mother Country, and we apprehended a tendency on the part of the Government to withhold from us that assistance and support so likely to cement the existing relations.

"Lord Kimberley said that his attention had been called to the feeling of distrust to which I had referred, but that he thought nothing had been done by the British Government to afford any grounds for it; there was no desire to separate Canada from the Empire, and so long as we desired to remain connected they could not either in duty or honour, do anything in the direction of severing the connection; he thought the feeling of distrust not justified by anything that had occurred. The Government did not wish to interfere with the freedom of Canada's future, but so long as she chose to remain connected with the Empire, so long under all circumstances of foreign aggression was the Empire bound to maintain the Union, and would do so; but, in internal affairs it was the duty of Canada to protect herself.

"I said that we had for many years undertaken the maintenance of the internal peace of the country, but that we did not consider the Fenian invasion an internal trouble, but one proceeding from Imperial causes, from which the Imperial Government should protect us, or against the

expense, urged that in Canada were to be accounted placed to be to us Empire. the maint troops the the deter existing useful eff pointed on used that Halifax w Quebec, w 600 miles Lord Gran was not co three years population the withd hope that the question

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Dr. Tupper enters the Ministry. Other important events.

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expense of which they should indemnify us. I urged that it would re-assure the public feeling in Canada very much if the garrison at Quebec were to be maintained; we did not ask this on account of the number of men which might be placed there, but because their presence would be to us a symbol of the sovereignty of the Empire. Quebec was an Imperial fortress, and the maintenance of the garrison of Her Majesty's troops there, would be looked upon as indicating the determination in England to maintain the existing relations, and would have the most useful effect on public feeling in Canada. I pointed out that the argument which had been used that the maintenance of a garrison at Halifax was much the same as retaining one at Quebec, was not just, inasmuch as Halifax was 600 miles from Quebec, and the Railway which Lord Granville had spoken of in Parliament, was not completed, and would not be for two or three years. I added that the French-Canadian population regarded with particular disfavour the withdrawal of the troops, and expressed a hope that the Government would reconsider the question.

“ Lord Kimberly said that the matter had been repeatedly and very fully considered, and that the decision that had been arrived at was not likely, he thought, to be departed from, but my representations should be considered.”

9.—Only one change in the Cabinet occurred during the year which was caused by the appointment of Sir Edward Kenny, President of the Privy Council, as Administrator of the Province of Nova Scotia, on 13th of May. On the 21st June Hon. Charles Tupper, C. B., was sworn of the Privy Council and accepted the portfolio of President: On appealing to his constituents in Cumberland he was returned by acclamation, which may be taken as fair evidence of the change of feeling which had taken place in Nova Scotia on the subject of Confederation since “ Better Terms ” had been obtained, for, it will be remembered, that Dr. Tupper was the only Union candidate returned at the general election of 1867, and then secured his seat by

the small majority of 97 in a poll of 2,639. On the 8th of October, Sir John Young was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom under the title of Baron Lisgar, an honor which was highly pleasing to the people of Canada, where he had made himself very popular. One very note-worthy event of the year was the reduction of the rate of postage to England from twelve and a half cents per half ounce to six cents, which went into effect on 1st of January. On the 20th October a very severe shock of earthquake was felt pretty nearly throughout Canada, but no damage was done. The year was marked by two events which although of a sporting character, had still a national interest: the first was the sending of a team of riflemen from Ontario to compete at Wimbledon, being the first appearance of a body of riflemen from Canada, and it is pleasant to think that their success, although not very great the first year, was still sufficient to encourage the sending of another team each year since then, selected from the different provinces of the Dominion, so that the “ Dominion Team ” has come to be regarded as an annual visitor at the great English Rifle ground, quite as naturally as either the English, Irish or Scotch teams. The second event was the International boat race which took place at Lachine, on the fifteenth of September, between the Renforth crew, of Tyne, Eng., and the “ Paris ” crew of St. John, N. B., for \$2,500 a side, and was won easily by the English crew. The event caused most intense excitement and an immense number of spectators witnessed it.

## CHAPTER XIX.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—SESSION OF PARLIAMENT, 1871.

1.—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—2. SIR A. T. GALT'S RESOLUTIONS ON JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.—3. QUESTION AS TO THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE MANITOBA ACT.—4. DEBATE ON MR. BLAKE'S

Dr. Tupper enters the Ministry, other important events.



RESOLUTIONS.—5. INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT. GOVERNMENT AGREES TO AMEND THE ACT.—6. ATTEMPT TO SECURE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SENATE.—7. THE BUDGET SPEECH. SATISFACTORY CONDITION OF THE FINANCES.—8. INTERIM ELECTION ACT.—9. ADDITIONS TO THE FREE CUSTOMS LIST.—10. COLLAPSE OF THE NATIONAL POLICY.—11. ASSIMILATION OF THE CURRENCY. BANKING ACTS.—12. MISCELLANEOUS ACTS PASSED.—13. DEBATE ON THE GUAGE OF THE INTER-COLONIAL.—14. PUBLIC LANDS IN MANITOBA.—15. THE QUESTION OF ADMITTING THE MANITOBA MEMBERS TO THE HOUSE.—16. MR. RYMAL'S MOTION ON THE MURDER OF SCOTT.—17. THE SUPPLY BILL, ETC.

1.—His Excellency Lord Lisgar opened the fourth session of the first Parliament of the Dominion on the 15th February, 1871, with the usual ceremonies. The Speech from the Throne referred to the Fenian Raid, complimenting the Militia Force on its gallant conduct; to the peaceful termination of the Red River troubles; to the passage of resolutions in favor of Union by the Legislature of British Columbia; to the appointment of a Joint High Commission to consider the fisheries and other questions; and to the importance of offering inducements to emigrants to settle in Manitoba. Acts were foreshadowed relating to the assimilation of the currency of the Dominion; to Parliamentary elections; Weights and Measures; Insurance Companies; Savings Banks, and for the consolidation and amendment of the Inspection Laws. During the recess nine vacancies had occurred from various causes, and the following new, or re-elected, members, were introduced to the House; L. De V. Chipman, for Kings, N. S., *vice* W. H. Chipman, deceased; G. Tourangeau, for Quebec East, *vice* P. G. Huot, appointed Postmaster of Quebec; Hon. Charles Tupper, re-elected for Cumberland on his appointment to the Presidency of the Privy Council; G. B. Baker, for Missisquoi, *vice* B. Chamberlin, appointed Queen's Printer; T. Fournier, for

Opening of  
Parliament. Speech  
from the Throne

Bellechase, *vice* L. E. N. Cassault, appointed Judge of the Superior Court; L. Delorme, for St. Hyacinthe, *vice* A. E. Kierzkowski, deceased; F. W. Pearson, for Colchester, *vice* Hon. A. G. Archibald, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and North West Territory; George Moffatt, for Restigouche, *vice* W. M. Caldwell, deceased; G. J. Barthe, for Richelieu, *vice* T. McCarthy, deceased.

2.—The address in reply to the speech from the Throne was moved in the Senate, on seventeenth, by Senator Mac-  
Sir A. T. Galt's resolutions on the appointment of the Joint High Commission.  
farlane, seconded by Senator Armand, and adopted after a short debate. In the House, on sixteenth, the address was moved by Dr. Lacerte, and seconded by Mr. Kirkpatrick. The debate was not lengthy nor important, and the address was adopted the same day, without amendment or division. The first debate of any importance occurred on the motion of Sir A. T. Galt relating to the appointment of the Joint High Commission.\* The discussion of this question at the moment the Joint High Commission was about to meet was not very favorably regarded by either the House or the general public, it being felt that that was not an opportune time to

\* The following is a copy of the resolutions:—

"Resolved,—That this House recognises, in the fullest manner, the importance to the cause of peace and civilization of the settlement of all questions in dispute between Great Britain and the United States, and in especial the interests of Canada; and will rejoice to find the result of the Joint High Commission productive of cordial and lasting friendship between the two nations.

"That this House regards the control and disposal of the in-shore fisheries, and the navigation of the inland waters of the Dominion as specially within the powers conveyed to the Parliament of Canada under the British North America Act, and will view with the utmost concern and apprehension any proposals to alter or diminish the just rights of the Dominion in these respects without their consent.

"That this House has always been, and now is, prepared to concede the most free and unrestricted use of the fisheries and inland navigation to the United States, upon receiving as an equivalent therefor complete compensation, in the modification of the United States commercial system directed to insure a free and liberal interchange of the product of labor in the two countries.

"That a concession to the United States of the freedom of the fisheries and of navigating the St. Lawrence without such compensation, would place Canada in a most disadvantageous position for future negotiations, by depriving her of the means of offering any adequate equivalent for those concessions she is desirous of obtaining from that nation.

"That this House willingly consents to the consideration by the Joint High Commission of all subjects in which Canada is concerned with the United States, and will cheerfully make any sacrifices that may be required at their hands in the interests of the Empire, so far as they do not compromise the national interest and security of this country, and directly tend to their undue subordination to the United States in the future."

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imply that the Mother Country had any idea of abandoning Canada, or of sacrificing her interests in any way in the impending negotiations; and, also, that it would weaken rather than strengthen the position of Sir John A. Macdonald if he went to Washington hampered with any special instructions from Parliament—which were quite unnecessary, as any action he might take there would have to be ratified by the Dominion Parliament before becoming operative. After the matter had been debated, therefore, the motion was withdrawn, and the Premier left for Washington immediately afterwards. The feeling of both the House and the country on the impropriety of submitting the resolutions at that time is very aptly set forth in an editorial in the *Globe* of 23rd February, from which we make the following extract: "However true in substance may be some of the propositions in Sir A. T. Galt's resolutions on the appointment of the Joint High Commission, we cannot but think that their introduction at this moment is ill-timed and inappropriate. The spirit and temper of the people of Canada with respect to their fisheries is perfectly well-understood. The action taken by the Government last year was a direct recognition of the popular sentiment. A formal declaration on that point, therefore, by Parliament, is altogether supererogatory; and to suggest by implication that any proposal will be made to alter or diminish the just rights of the Dominion without our consent is even more objectionable. What may be Sir Alexander T. Galt's views on the subject we are not much concerned to know, but we certainly fail to see the propriety of imputing to Great Britain an intention to sacrifice Canada in any respect to a desire for peace and friendly relations with the United States. \* \* \* The question then is, shall we weaken or strengthen the hands of the British Ministry by the formal record on the journals of the Parliament of Canada, of such resolutions as these having been assented to by a majority of the House? We cannot read them without recollecting what are the avowed and lately reiterated sentiments of their author. We look upon the interests of Great

Britain and Canada as identical and inseparable. Sir A. T. Galt's opinions are just the reverse of ours. We believe that our strength and safety consists in throwing upon Great Britain, and making her Ministers feel, the sole responsibility of ensuring the harmony of our relations with, and protecting our rights against, foreign powers. Sir A. T. Galt advocates a policy expressly intended to prepare us for what he terms independence. To hint broadly, and in the face of our watchful and greedy neighbor, that Great Britain may barter away the rights of her dependency, is surely a very strange mode of rendering support to Great Britain's or Canada's representatives on the Commission. Any eagerness to offer terms is pretty certain to encourage the Americans to try by whatever means they possess to secure what they desire without making any return for it. The Commission, as we understand it, is to act merely as a deliberative body. It will be time enough for us to protest when we find that its deliberations have resulted in any decision likely to compromise our National rights—an event not at all likely to arise. Public men who have been connected for years with the politics of this country and who have had experience of the questions that have arisen between Canada and the United States, should know the temper of the Americans better than to suppose that their Commissioners are at all more likely to recognise the justice of the position assumed by Canada because we publicly register a string of innuendoes suggestive of our own weakness and a want of confidence in the Imperial Government."

3.—During the debate on the Manitoba Act of 1870 the question was raised by the Opposition as to the constitutionality of that Act, Mr. D. Mills and others holding that the Parliament of the Dominion was exceeding the power bestowed on it by the British North America Act of 1867, by creating the Province of Manitoba and giving it representation in the Senate and House of Commons. This objection was overruled at the time, and the Act passed; but, on the recovery of Sir John A. Macdonald from the

Question as to the constitutionality of the Manitoba Act.

illness by which he was attacked at the close of the session of 1870, and his resumption of his duties as Minister of Justice, the matter was taken into consideration, and, becoming convinced that Parliament had exceeded its power, he submitted a report to the Privy Council on the 29th December, 1870, setting forth his reasons for so thinking; and suggested that the Imperial Parliament be requested, through the Colonial Secretary, to pass an Act giving constitutionality to the Act already passed by the Dominion Parliament. The principle reason was that no provision was made in the British North America Act for representation in the Senate or House of Commons of Rupert's Land, or the North-West Territories, or British Columbia, after they should have entered the Union, the number of members of each House being fixed without any reference to the changes which should take place on the entry of any new Province into the Union, except in the cases of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. The report of the Minister of Justice was adopted by Order-in-Council, on 2nd January, 1871, and the draft of an Act to be passed by Imperial Parliament, submitted by the Governor-General to the Colonial Secretary, on the 3rd January. On the 26th of January Earl Kimberley expressed his willingness to obtain from Imperial Parliament the necessary legislation, and submitted to the Governor-General the draft of an Act which he was prepared to introduce. On the 27th of February Sir George E. Cartier, acting on behalf of the Minister of Justice during his absence in Washington, submitted a memorandum to the Privy Council, with a copy of the Act to be passed by the Imperial Parliament. This memorandum was adopted by Order-in-Council, and subsequently forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, and passed by Imperial Parliament. It will be observed that this action was taken by the Government without consulting Parliament, although it was in session, a course which the Opposition was not likely to allow it to pursue without challenge; and on the 29th February Mr. Blake moved for the corres-

pondence between the Imperial and Dominion Governments in relation to the Manitoba Act. He maintained that the leader of the Government was bound to submit the views of his Government to the House before the Imperial Parliament was asked to legislate in the matter. He held that it was on the responsibility of Parliament, and not on that of the Government of the day, that steps should be taken which might be of the utmost importance to Manitoba. Sir John A. Macdonald said he had no objection to bring down the correspondence; but he doubted whether he could properly lay before the House an Act not yet submitted to the Parliament of England without consent. On the 1st of March Sir George E. Cartier submitted to the House a message from the Governor-General, with a copy of the correspondence between the Government and the Colonial Office, but not including the draft of the bill forwarded by Earl Kimberley. On the 16th Sir George E. Cartier, in reply to a question by Hon. W. Macdougall, said that the Draft Bill had been approved by the Governor-General and immediately forwarded; and, on the 23rd, Mr. Blake moved a series of resolutions to the effect that the bill should have been submitted to the Dominion Parliament before being forwarded to the Colonial Secretary for action by the Imperial Parliament.

4.—Mr. Blake, in moving his resolutions, said that he did not want to discuss the merits of the Bill to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, that was beside the question; the subject for the consideration of the House was whether or not the Government of the day had the right to request the Imperial Parliament to alter the Constitution of the country without consulting the Dominion Parliament. He held that it had not. The proper mode to be adopted to effect any change in the British North America Act, was laid down in the Act itself as by an Address from both Houses of Parliament; and this, he argued, was the course the Government should have adopted. The question for the represen-

*Debate on Mr. Blake's resolutions. The Government virtually passes a vote of censure on itself.*

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tatives of the people of Canada was this: whether they were prepared to surrender into the hands of the Government that power which the Government assumed to possess—the power to ask the Imperial Parliament to make laws for the people of this country. Sir George E. Cartier said that the meaning of the honorable gentleman's motion was, that Parliament should not have passed the Manitoba Act. He (Sir George) reviewed the condition of affairs at the time that Act was passed, and maintained that at that time Parliament had positive power of legislation for Rupert's Land, under the Rupert's Land Act of 1868; there was some doubt as to the power of the Dominion to deal with the North West Territory in the same manner, and to settle these doubts the Government had prepared a Bill which was before the Imperial Parliament. When that Act was passed the Constitution of Manitoba could not be changed without its own consent, and it would be placed in the same position as other Provinces. He promised that the House should have an opportunity of passing an opinion on the Bill, and concluded by moving a series of resolutions in amendment to those of Mr. Blake, to the effect that the draft of the Act to be submitted to Imperial Parliament had been submitted to the House, and that the House approved of it. Sir A. T. Galt complained of the action of the Minister of Militia in endeavouring to force the House into an expression of opinion on the policy of the Act submitted to the Imperial Parliament—which was not properly before the House—when the House thought it was discussing the propriety, or impropriety, of the Government's asking the Imperial Parliament to alter the Constitution, without first consulting the House. He held that Parliament had a right to legislate respecting the North West Territories; but he was not willing to let the Government have authority to move the Imperial Parliament to change the Constitution. This was not a question of policy, but one relating to one of the fundamental principles of the Constitution. He believed that the House was prepared to remove any doubt that

might exist respecting the legislation for the North-West; but he appealed to the House to lay down a rule that no attempt should be made to change the British North America Act, except by an Address to the Queen adopted by both Houses, which had been the universal practice. Hon. A. A. Dorion thought that if the Government was allowed to move the Imperial Parliament in an unimportant matter, it might do so in a matter of the utmost importance. He moved, in amendment to the amendment, "That on inspection of the measure proposed by the Government of Canada to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of confirming certain Canadian legislation, depriving the Parliament of Canada of certain existing powers, and altering the British North America Act of 1867, this House would be wanting in its duty if it did not express its decided opinion that no such Imperial legislation should be asked for by the Government of Canada, except after the details of such proposed legislation shall have been submitted to both Houses of Parliament of Canada for their judgment, and addresses of such Houses to the Queen, praying for such legislation, shall have been passed." The debate was adjourned; but, on the following day, Sir George E. Cartier gave notice of resolutions on which to found an address praying for legislation on the Manitoba Act—thus conceding what the Opposition had contended for. On the 27th the debate was resumed, and Hon. Mr. Dorion's amendment was defeated by a vote of 55 for to 77 against. Hon. Mr. Anglin and Messrs. Mills and Mackenzie supported Mr. Blake's motion, and Hon. Mr. Holton moved that the following words be added to Sir George E. Cartier's amendment: "That this House is of the opinion that no changes in the provisions of the British North America Act should be sought by the Executive Government without the previous assent of the Parliament of the Dominion." To this amendment Sir George E. Cartier assented, and it was adopted unanimously. Sir George E. Cartier's amendment, as amended, was then carried by a vote of 99 to 38. Later on in the

session an address to the Queen was adopted, praying that a bill should be submitted to the Imperial Parliament to legalize the Manitoba Act, and to allow of the erection of similar Provinces in future by the Dominion Parliament, but the Parliament not to have the power to amend the Constitutions of such Provinces without the consent of the Local Legislatures. Thus, it will be seen that, by adopting Hon. Mr. Holton's amendment, the Government virtually passed a vote of censure on itself, for it asserted that the very thing which had been done ought not to be done; and by submitting resolutions and adopting an address the Government admitted that it was wrong and the Opposition right. It would have been a wise policy to have moved for the address in the first instance without having been forced to do so.

5.—The question of the Independence of Parliament attracted the attention of the House

*Independence of  
Parliament. The  
Government agrees  
to amend the Act.*

at an early period of the session. By the Independence of Parliament Act, passed at the session of 1867-8, parties in the yearly employ of the Government were disqualified from sitting in the House, but the restriction did not apply to persons receiving monthly salaries. In 1868, the Hon. John Hamilton Gray, member of the House for the City and County of St. John, N.B., was appointed by the Minister of Justice to codify the laws of the different Provinces, at a salary of \$300 per month, and continued to draw such salary for about two years, at the same time receiving pay from both the Dominion and Ontario Governments as Arbitrator between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, in addition to his sessional allowance and mileage, although he resided in Ottawa and not St. John, N.B. Attention was called to this case by the Public Accounts' Committee in 1870, and on the 27th February, Mr. Blake moved, "That in the opinion of this House it is inexpedient that any member of this House should for the future be engaged in the service of the Government of Canada in any paid employment, such as that in respect of which the Hon. John Hamilton Gray, member for the City and County of St.

John, in 1868, entered into the receipt of \$300 per month of public moneys." He said that the existing Independence of Parliament Act was very defective, for while it disqualified any person receiving a yearly salary from the Government, it permitted members of the House to receive monthly salaries from the Government. With regard to Hon. Mr. Gray, he drew \$300 per month for two years, making \$7,200; during the same period he received \$5,500 from the Ontario Government as an Arbitrator, and \$400 from the Dominion Government for serving in the same capacity; \$1,200 for two years' sessional allowances, and \$581 for mileage, making a total of \$14,884, or \$3,884 more than was received by the first Minister of the Crown in the same time. He had no personal feeling against Colonel Gray, and was quite willing that he should receive public money for his services, but not while he remained a member of the House. Sir George E. Cartier defended the Act passed in 1868; and claimed that the Government had a right to select its servants where it pleased. He held that this was the practice in England, and instanced the case of Sir Stafford Northcote, then serving on the Joint High Commission, and of Mr. Gladstone, who was appointed Commissioner to the Ionian Isles in 1858. He claimed that Colonel Gray's employment was only temporary, and that the Government had a perfect right to employ him if it was thought desirable to do so; but concluded his speech (amid much laughter) by announcing that he intended to introduce a measure to re-establish the Independence of Parliament as it existed in the old Parliament of Canada. Mr. Savary moved, in amendment, that the last part of the paragraph referring to Colonel Gray be struck out, and that a rider be added to the effect that no member should be employed in the public service at a monthly salary. Sir George E. Cartier moved in amendment to the amendment, that all words after the word "that" be expunged, and the following substituted: "That the House will give its best consideration to any measure that may be introduced having for its object the further securing of the Independence

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of Parliament." After some further discussion Sir George E. Cartier's amendment was put and carried by a vote of 84 to 54. Later on in the session Sir George fulfilled his promise, and introduced a Bill securing the Independence of Parliament, which was passed. This Act provides that the holding of any office, commission, or employment, permanent or temporary, at the nomination of the Crown, to which any salary or other emolument is attached, disqualifies a person from being elected to, and sitting in the House of Commons. Thus, for the second time, the Government accepted a motion of the Opposition.

6.—The question of the Independence of Parliament came close on being an unfortunate one for the Government. Not content with endeavouring to secure the Independence of the House of Commons, the Opposition also endeavoured to provide for the Independence of the Senate; and Mr. Blake introduced a Bill on the 23rd February, which provided that no Senator should be appointed to any office of emolument. On the Bill coming up for second reading, on 27th March, Mr. Blake said that the duties of a Senator were of the highest importance; and as the electors had no opportunity of pronouncing periodically on the manner in which Senators had fulfilled those duties, it was all the more important that the independence of that body should be secured, and no opening left for the Government of the day to reward pliant Senators by appointing them to remunerative offices. He had been careful to avoid even a semblance of encroaching on the Constitution, and had not proposed that persons holding office should not be appointed to the Senate, but simply that Senators should not be appointed to office. He pointed out the evil effects of allowing the Government of the day to reward members of the House of Commons, who supported them, by appointing them to some office, and then elevating them to the Senate, and instanced the case of Mr. McLelan, who had been called to the Senate from the House, and appointed Railway Commissioner. He held that the utmost

Attempt to secure the Independence of the Senate. A close vote.

precaution ought to be taken to secure the independence of the Senate, so as to insure it that consideration and respect which it should receive at the hands of the public. Sir George E. Cartier opposed the bill on the grounds that a Senator in accepting his seat abandoned no other right that he possessed; and, also, that, if the bill was desirable, it ought to have originated in the Senate. He instanced the practice of the House of Lords, and condemned the bill as false in principle. Mr. Bodwell supported the bill; he was opposed to the Senate being made a refuge for worn-out politicians, and thought that the Government ought not to be allowed the opportunity of using its influence to hinder the independent action of the Senate. Mr. Mackenzie said that he had supported the nominative system for the Senate, but experience had partly satisfied him that he had made a mistake, as the Upper House had been made subservient to the Government of the day to serve their own purposes. He denied that there was any disrespect to the Senate implied by the bill, and held that it was of the utmost importance that both Houses should be free and independent of Executive influence. He said it was indecent, to say the least of it, to find a gentleman being elevated to the Senate who had belied his own professions, and who had suddenly become allied to the Government for a particular purpose, and who was understood to have been promised at the time a seat in the Senate. Mr. David Mills supported the bill and was opposed to the nominative system. He did not believe that the Senate should be converted into a Magdalene Asylum for prostituted politicians seduced by the Government. After a few remarks from Mr. Blake, a vote was taken and the second reading was defeated by only one vote, the figures standing 57 for and 58 against.

7.—On the 10th of March, Sir Francis Hincks made his Budget speech, showing that the country was in a prosperous condition, and that the revenue had exceeded the expenditure by \$209,656. He referred to various statements

The Budget speech. Satisfactory condition of the finances.



that had been made at Opposition meetings during recess, and said that the assertions that the Government was in financial difficulties were altogether unfounded. He had had a statement of the exact condition of the country prepared, by which it was shown that the total increase of debt since Confederation was \$2,481,101, while \$4,759,335 had been spent on public works, showing that \$2,278,234 had been expended out of income which should be charged to capital account. The expenditure on the Intercolonial had been \$1,787,451, and for acquiring and opening up the North-West, \$1,821,820. A great deal had been said about the money for building the Intercolonial; he begged to say that the money was all in Bank bearing interest. He admitted that there had been an increase in the Civil Service expenditure, but claimed that that was only the necessary consequence of the growth of the country, part of the increase being required for taking the census, and part for increased postal facilities. He called attention to the great increase of trade during the previous six months, and said Canada had risen from the position of the eleventh to that of the eighth country in the volume of her trade with the Mother Country. No country received so large an amount of goods per head from Great Britain as Canada did; and while the United States only imported about £20,000,000 from Great Britain, or ten shillings per head, Canada imported £6,000,000, or about one pound ten shillings per head of her population. Speaking of the increase of debt, he said that the assets had increased proportionately, and called attention to the rapid increase of value in various parts of the country, and especially in the Home district in Ontario, where the assessed value had risen from \$1,500,000 to \$69,000,000, in thirty years. The receipts for the previous year had amounted to \$15,512,225, being \$862,225 over the estimated receipts; the expenditure had been larger than had been expected, but still left a balance of \$209,656 to be applied to the Sinking Fund. For the then current year he estimated that the revenue would reach about \$17,300,000, which would

show a surplus of \$1,800,000, subject of course to any supplementary grants Parliament might vote. For the year ending 30th June, 1872, the estimate was \$25,682,372, of which \$7,846,910 was for public works chargeable to capital; there was also \$1,040,000 for redemption of debt, and \$400,000 for North-West expenses, leaving the actual estimated expenditure at \$16,394,808. This was a large amount, but a portion of it was for exceptional expenses, such as taking the census. The estimated revenue was \$16,810,000, showing so considerable a surplus that the Government felt justified in making some reduction in taxes. It was proposed to remove the five per cent. duty on Customs imposed the previous year, and to place certain raw materials which entered into manufactures, and now paid duty, on the free list. Sir A. T. Galt expressed satisfaction at the exhibit made by the Finance Minister, but there was one point he had not touched on which was the increase in the volume of trade, which he found had risen from \$129,500,000 in 1867-8 to \$146,000,000 in 1869-70; but he regretted that the Government had not adopted the recommendations of the West India Trade Commission with regard to encouraging trade with those colonies. He complained that the financial policy of the Government, as shown by their Banking and Insurance legislation, had the effect of absorbing the floating capital which ought to be used in public enterprises. The effect he said might not be felt in time of prosperity, but if adversity should overtake us the result would be most disastrous. The result so far had been to enable the Government to show a plethora of money, and he feared this would lead to unnecessary extravagance. He regretted to see the Governments of Ontario and Quebec adopting a railroad policy which would be unremunerative for years; and was sorry to see that the General Government showed no example of economy. There were two sources of expenditure, one over which the Government had no control—the interest on the public debt and the subsidies to the Provinces; and one over which they did have control—the ordinary expenditures. He

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was sorry to see that these were steadily and rapidly increasing. In 1867-8 the expenditure over which the Government had control was \$5,516,000; in 1868-9 it had grown to \$5,634,000; in 1869-70 to \$6,243,000; in 1870-71 to \$7,018,000, and the estimate for the next year was \$8,060,000, showing an increase in five years of forty-five per cent., thirty per cent. of which had been made in the last year. He thought the Government was too much disposed to engage in large public works, many of which were not absolutely needed. The engagements which had been entered into were beyond our means, and, coupled with the absorption of the cash capital, would lead to financial embarrassments, which would lead to an increase of taxation at a time when the country would be less able to bear it. He thought that the House should interpose its influence to check this disposition towards lavish expenditure before it was too late; and he, therefore, moved the following amendment to Sir Francis Hinck's motion that the House go into Committee of Ways and Means: "That the Speaker do not leave the chair, but that it be resolved that this House regards the continuous and rapid increase of the ordinary expenses of the Government as excessive and uncalled for, and believes that unless strict economy is observed in the general outlay of the country, great evils will speedily follow." Hon. Mr. Tilley defended the action of the Government, and claimed a surplus of over \$1,000,000 a year since Confederation. He argued that the expenditures on public works, such as canals and railways, were of the utmost importance, and were absolutely necessary for the development of the country. He defended the Government from the charge of extravagance, and claimed that the cost of the Civil service was less than it had been the first year after Confederation. Mr. Cartwright argued that we could not expect to be always enjoying a period of prosperity, and it was unwise to enter into extensive engagements which might be severely felt should a period of depression overtake us. He thought that the country had undertaken to do quite as much as it could

safely guarantee, in agreeing to build the Intercolonial and open up the North West. Sir George E. Cartier claimed that the Government was only spending its surplus, and reducing instead of increasing taxation. After some further debate by Messrs. Oliver and Holton, who supported the amendment, and Sir Francis Hincks, who opposed it, a vote was taken and resulted in its defeat, 36 voting for it and 91 against. The House then went into Committee of Ways and Means, and, on motion of Sir Francis Hincks, the five per cent. tax on Customs duties imposed the previous year was taken off.

8.—The forty-first section of the British North America Act provided that all laws relating to elections in the various Provinces of members of <sup>Interim Election Act.</sup> Local Legislatures should be applicable to elections for members of the House of Commons until the Dominion Parliament should pass a general Act regulating the election of members of its own body, and the Government had promised such an Act at every session of Parliament, but had only submitted one, which contained so many objectionable features that it was withdrawn. As the general elections, however, were approaching, the Government could not very well postpone the matter over the present session, and, accordingly, on the 28th of February, Sir George E. Cartier introduced a bill to make temporary provision for the election of members of the House of Commons. In doing so, he explained that the Government thought it best that the approaching general election should take place under the laws existing in the several Provinces at the time of Confederation, and a general law could be passed later, the Act proposed being only intended to remain in force two years. The interim law provided that there should be only one day's polling; polling places to be provided for every 200 voters. Mr. Mackenzie congratulated the Government on having adopted some of the suggestions made by the Opposition of the previous Parliament, but regretted that the principle had not been adopted of having the elections all take place on the same day, as was

the law in Ontario. He objected to an election taking place in one constituency on one day and in another several weeks after, as it opened the door for corruption. He opposed the bill because it enacted neither one thing nor the other: it adopted parts of the electoral laws in the different Provinces, but not the whole of them. He thought the simplest way would be to adopt not only the franchise, but the whole electoral law of each Province, and let the elections for the House of Commons be conducted in the same manner as the local elections. On the second reading Hon. Mr. Dorion moved an amendment to the effect that Returning Officers should not have the right to question the validity of the voters' lists, and disfranchise municipalities, as had been the case in Kamouraska. A short debate ensued—in the course of which Mr. Geoffrion stated that not less than twenty constituencies in Quebec had had some of their municipalities disfranchised by Returning Officers—after which Sir George E. Cartier agreed to accept Hon. Mr. Dorion's amendment. On the third reading Sir George E. Cartier said that, as regarded Nova Scotia, the law of 1867 would prevail. He referred to the action of the Local Legislature of that province in disqualifying Dominion officials, and said that Dominion officials in Nova Scotia would be allowed by the Act to vote at elections for the House of Commons. Mr. Jones (Halifax) said he was not prepared to let pass undisputed the unfair action of the Government with regard to Nova Scotia. The Government was about to take from Nova Scotia the control over its own affairs. He asked why the Government allowed New Brunswick to retain the ballot, and took it away from Nova Scotia. He pointed out that Dominion officials were prevented from voting in Ontario and Quebec, and claimed that Nova Scotia should be allowed the same privilege. On concurrence, several amendments were proposed and lost, the most important being one by Mr. Young—that the elections throughout the Dominion should take place on one day; and one by Mr. Mills—that there should be only one polling-day in each Province—the latter being only lost

by seven votes. The bill was then passed.

9.—In accordance with the policy foreshadowed in his budget speech, Sir Francis Hincks, on the 14th of March, moved the House into Committee on a series of resolutions giving to the Governor-in-Council the power to place on the Free List, from time to time, raw materials to be used in Canadian Manufactures, and also machinery on proof being adduced that the same could not be manufactured in Canada. The resolutions met with considerable opposition from Hon. Mr. Holton and others partly on the ground that it was an immense power to place in the hands of the Government on the eve of a general election, the right to favor certain classes by placing goods on the Free List; and partly on the ground of general opposition to anything approaching protection. On the motion to concur in the resolutions Hon. Mr. Holton desired to take the sense of the House, and moved in amendment: "That the resolutions be not concurred in, but that it be resolved that in the opinion of this House it is inexpedient to clothe the Executive with power to determine what articles shall be admitted free of duty." The amendment was lost by a vote of 37 for to 84 against, and the resolutions adopted, a bill founded on them being subsequently introduced and passed. On the same day the Government sustained what was a virtual defeat and again showed how little united the Cabinet was on some questions of fiscal policy. Very general complaints had been made, by parties interested, of the wholesale destruction of hemlock trees which was going on in order to obtain the bark for export to the United States where there was a large demand for it for tanning purposes; and grave fears were entertained that the supply would become so exhausted as to seriously inconvenience our own tanners. With a view to protecting our own manufactures of leather, Sir Francis Hincks introduced a resolution imposing a tax of one dollar and a half per cord on hemlock bark. The proposal was not very favorably received by the House, several members who generally supported the Govern-

Additions to the Free List. The duty on Hemlock bark.

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ment opposing it, the principal arguments being that the farmers ought to be allowed to make all they could while clearing their lands, and that the duty proposed was not high enough to afford any real protection to the hemlock forests, but would simply have the result of putting a little money into the pockets of the tanners. The resolution was adopted, but on the following day Sir Francis Hincks announced that the Government had decided to withdraw the resolution, on account of the expression of feeling against it, and also because the members from the Eastern Townships—which was the locality most interested in the matter—did not seem to agree on the subject. Hon. Mr. Holton called for the yeas and nays on the motion to withdraw, which was carried by 112 to 14.

10.—The fiscal policy of the Government was a question on which the members of the Cabinet seemed to find it hard to agree amongst themselves, and on it the Government was destined to suffer a defeat this session. The "National Policy"—as the imposition of taxes on flour, coal, salt wheat and other grains at last session of Parliament was called—had not proved very successful. Adopted more as a retaliatory measure against the Americans for their obstinacy in refusing reciprocity than from any idea of adopting a professedly and effectively Protective Tariff, it no sooner became apparent that there was a possibility of satisfactory arrangements for a renewal of reciprocity being arrived at by the Joint High Commission, than a disposition to repeal the Act was shown. The amount of revenue derived from it was not very large; but imposing a tax at all on flour and coal proved more annoying than beneficial to both Nova Scotia and Ontario—the two provinces it was intended most to benefit by an interchange of their staples,—and although the Inter-Provincial trade was increased, and more Nova Scotia coal found its way into Canada than had ever done before, still both sections were quite willing to repeal the Act and allow both flour and coal to be again admitted duty free.\* During the session peti-

tions praying for the repeal of the duties were presented from the Dominion Board of Trade and other commercial bodies; and on Sir Francis Hincks moving the second reading of the Customs Bill, on 22nd March, Hon. Mr. Holton moved, in amendment, "That the bill be referred back to Committee of the Whole forthwith to repeal the duties on flour, coal, coke and wheat." Sir Francis Hincks said that whatever might be the opinion as to the propriety of these duties there could be no doubt as to the impropriety of repealing them at the present moment, when the Joint High Commission was sitting in Washington and this very subject would doubtless be under consideration, and he thought it would be very ill-advised for the House to take any course which might interfere with the proposed action of the Commissioners.† Hon. Mr. Holton argued that there was no evidence to show that the subject was under consideration by the Joint High Commission at all; and held that the question really was whether the experience of the past year justified the retention of these duties or not, and not what the Joint High Commission might do or say on the subject. Sir George E. Cartier claimed that the imposition of these duties had been productive of much good to Nova Scotia, Ontario and Quebec; and, also, that they had had one good result in making the United States Congress more willing to reduce the duties on these articles. Hon. Mr. Holton claimed that Congress had not been influenced at all by the imposition of these duties, but had only acted in the interests

total value of flour, meal, wheat and grains imported up to 7th April, 1870, was \$196,440. On that day the "National Policy" went into effect, and the imports and entries for consumption from that date to the end of the year were as follows:—Flour, of wheat and rye, 312,314 barrels, valued at \$1,140,955; entered for consumption, 210,617 barrels, valued at \$777,408; duty collected, \$52,654.30. All other kinds of flour and meal, 27,725 barrels, valued at \$121,049; entered for consumption, 25,860 barrels, valued at \$110,762; duty collected, \$3,879.03. Wheat, 8,080,759 bushels; entered for consumption, 647,630 bushels, valued at \$645,311; duty collected, \$25,905.24. Grain other than wheat, 1,061,565 bushels, valued at \$305,381; entered for consumption, 916,236 bushels; valued at \$703,051; duty collected, \$7,488.07.

† As a matter of fact, a proposition to renew the Reciprocity Treaty on the basis of mutually admitting coal, salt and fish free at once and timber after 1st July, 1874, had been made by the American Commissioners to the Joint High Commission, and was under consideration at the very time this discussion occurred in the Dominion Parliament on account of the fate of which proposition will be found in our chapter on the Treaty of Washington.

\* By a return laid before Parliament at this session, it appears that the

of its own people. Messrs. Workman, Magill, Beatty, Oliver, Galt, Harrison, Cartwright, Mills, Kirkpatrick, Blake and Currie spoke in favor of the abolition of the duties; and Messrs Tilley, Tupper, Howe, Whitehead, Gibbs, Cameron, (Huron) Jackson, Gray and Colby in favor of retaining them, the two latter arguing that one year was not sufficient to judge by as to whether the policy was advantageous or not. Dr. Blanchet moved, seconded by Mr. M. P. Ryan, in amendment to the amendment that the duty be also removed from salt, peas, bran, barley, rye, oats, Indian-corn, buckwheat, and all grain; and from Indian-meal, oatmeal, and flour. Sir Francis Hincks then said that the Government was of opinion that if the duties were to be removed they should be taken *en bloc* from all the articles on which duties had been imposed last year; the Government would, therefore, support Dr. Blanchet's amendment, but would oppose Mr. Holton's. Dr. Blanchet's amendment was then carried by 102 for to 28 against, all the Ministers voting for it. After some further debate Hon. Mr. Holton's amendment was put and carried by a vote of 83 to 55, the Ministers voting against it, but many of their general supporters voting for it; as Mr. D. Mills exclaimed, "Thus died, aged eleven months, the 'National Policy.'"\*

11.—Four financial measures of considerable importance were passed during the session, one

\* YEAS—Anglin, Barthé, Beatty, Beaubien, Bechard, Benoit, Blake, Blanchet, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowman, Brousseau, Burpee, Caron, Cartwright, Cheval, Chipman, Cimon, Coffin, Coupal, Crawford (Leeds), Carrier, Delorme, Dufresne, Ferris, Forbes, Fortier, Fournier, Galt, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Hager, Harrison, Bolton, Irvine, Jones (Halifax), Kempt, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langlois, Little, Macdonald (Glengarry), Macgill, Masson (Soulages), Masson (Terrebonne), Macdonald (Lanark), Macdonald (Renfrew), McMonies, Merritt, Mills, Moffatt, Morrison (Victoria, O.), Oliver, Paquet, Perry, Pearson, Pelletier, Pickard, Pouliot, Poser, Ray, Redford, Renaud, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Victoria, N.S.), Ross (Wellington), Ryan (Montreal West), Senechal, Smith, Snider, Stirling, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tourangeau, Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, Workman, Wright, (Ottawa Co.), Wright (York, Ont.)—83.

NAYS—Archambault, Ault, Baker, Bellerose, Bertrand, Bown, Cameron (Huron), Campbell, Cartier, Colby, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Daoust, Dobie, Dunkin, Fortin, Gaucher, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Hincks, Holmes, Howe, Jackson, Jones (Leeds), Keeler, Langevin, Lapin, Lawson, McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Lanenburg), McDonald (Three Rivers), McKenney, McMillan, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Perry, Pinsonneault, Robitaille, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ryan (Kings, N.B.), Savary, Scriver, Simard, Simpson, Street, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Webb, White, Whitehead, Willson—55.

assimilating the currency of the Dominion, another relating to Banks and Banking, and two with reference to Savings Banks. The Banking Act was a general one extending for ten years the charters of banks about to expire, and making provision for the New Brunswick Banks to continue under existing charters, or to accept the provisions of the bill, if they so desired. The Savings Banks Bills provided that the Nova Scotia system was to remain as it was only allowing the banks to have branches in the different towns. In New Brunswick, the St. John's Bank was put on the same footing as that of Halifax, the other banks being made subsidiary to it. In Ontario and Quebec the existing Savings Banks were given the option of three courses to pursue: 1st. To arrange their matters with the Government, hand over their assets and allow the Government to manage them as a Government Savings Bank; 2nd. To incorporate themselves with any chartered bank in the Dominion; 3rd. To become incorporated themselves with a paid-up capital, twenty-five per cent. of such capital to be paid by instalments; any surplus they may possess to be invested in Government funds for charitable purposes. The question of assimilating the currency had occupied the attention of the House at previous sessions, but had been postponed out of deference to the wishes of the Nova Scotia members; now it was felt that the inconvenience of having one kind of currency in Nova Scotia and another in the other Provinces was too great, and the bill providing a uniform currency for the Dominion was passed by the Government. One object of the bill was to force British as well as American silver out of circulation, and substitute Canadian silver. Mr. Chipman and a few others endeavoured to have the currency of Nova Scotia allowed to remain as it was, and, failing that, to have the date of the act coming into force extended to 1st January, 1872, instead of 1st July, 1871, but without success, an amendment to that effect by Mr. Jones of Halifax, being defeated by a vote of 27 to 90, and the bill was passed.

Assimilation of the currency. Banking Acts.

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12.—Amongst the other public bills passed, was one extending the Census Act to Manitoba and British Columbia, and allowing the time for taking in Algoma, the Magdalen Islands and other remote places to be extended to 1st September. An Act indemnifying the Government for the amount expended in repelling the Fenian raid of 1870, was passed, as also an Act making the loan for payment of the Hudson's Bay Company for the purchase of the North-West, the first charge on the Consolidated Revenue Fund after the loan for fortifications. An Insurance Act was passed providing that Canadian companies may make their deposits in Dominion or Provincial securities; British companies in securities of the United Kingdom; and American companies in United States securities. It also prescribes the manner in which a company may retire from business, so as to provide for the security of policy-holders, and also the manner of procedure in the event of the failure of a company. Acts were also passed extending the statutes to Manitoba and British Columbia; and for the establishment of militia districts in those Provinces. A bill was introduced in the Senate with reference to the seizure of foreign vessels fishing in Canadian waters, providing that they may be taken to certain designated ports instead of to the nearest port, and regulating the distribution of the proceeds of the sale of such confiscated vessels. Amongst the private bills were acts incorporating the Metropolitan Bank, Montreal, with \$1,000,000 capital; the Bedford District Bank of Waterloo, Q., with \$500,000 capital; the Western Bank, of Yarmouth, N. S., with \$500,000 capital; and the Bank of Liverpool, of Liverpool, N. S., with \$500,000 capital. The following Railway Companies were also incorporated, the Montreal and Ottawa Junction Railway Company, with \$1,000,000 capital, to construct a road from Ottawa to Coteau Landing; the Ontario and Quebec Railway Company, with \$1,250,000 capital, to construct a road from Toronto, by way of Peterborough, Madoc and Carleton Place, to connect with the North Shore Railway of

Quebec; the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company, with \$1,250,000 to build a road from Kingston to Pembroke. The Sault Ste. Marie Railway and Bridge Company, with \$10,000,000 capital, to build a railway from Sault Ste. Marie to connect with projected railways at Nipissing, extend a branch to connect the Toronto, Simcoe and Muskoka Junction Railway at Bracebridge, and to construct a railway bridge across the river St. Mary, and connect with the Michigan Railways. The Fredrickton and St. Mary's Bridge Company, with a capital of \$300,000, for bridging the St. John River; and the Dominion Telegraph Company, with \$1,000,000 capital, were also incorporated. Altogether thirty public and twenty-eight private Acts were passed.

13.—Two of the most important subjects discussed at this session were the Arbitration between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec with regard to the allotment of the surplus debt of the Province of Canada at the time of Confederation, and the admission of British Columbia, both of which we treat of in separate chapters. Amongst the important debates were one on the question of the Intercolonial, and another on the distribution of land in Manitoba. In the former the Opposition strongly urged the adoption of the four feet, eight and a half inch gauge at once, instead of the five feet six inches which was being put down, as it would be cheaper to change it at once than to do so after the road was completed. It was argued that the narrow-gauge was being universally adopted throughout the continent, and that all the trunk lines must eventually adopt that gauge in order to make through connections, and that the Great Western Company had already changed their gauge. Hon. Mr. Langevin said that the Government had taken the subject of gauge into consideration, and it was found that it would cost about \$1,000,000 to change the gauge of the lines running from Halifax to Truro, and from Amherst to Moncton; but the serious obstacle in the way of adopting the narrow gauge was the Grand Trunk. It was most desirable that the Intercolonial and

Debate on the gauge of the Intercolonial.



the Grand Trunk should be the same gauge, so as to avoid breaking bulk, and he did not consider that the Grand Trunk could afford the expense of changing its gauge, which would involve an expenditure of about \$3,000,000. The subject was then dropped after some further discussion.

14.—On the second of March, Sir George E. Cartier laid on the table a message from the Governor-General containing an Order in Council respecting the regulation of public lands in Manitoba. These related to the system of survey; distribution of the 1,400,000 acres reserved for Half-breeds; settlement of Crown Lands; pre-emption rights; homestead rights; exemption of certain lands and reservation for Pacific Railway.\* Sir George

\* The following is a synopsis of the regulations adopted:—

**SURVEY.**—The system to be rectangular. The townships to consist of thirty-six sections of one mile square each; and road allowance one chain wide shall be allowed between all townships and sections. The International boundary line to form the basis of townships 1 and 2. The Winnipeg meridian to be adopted, is the line from which townships shall number east and west. In the survey of any and every township the deficiency or surplus, as the case may be, resulting from convergence of meridians, shall be set out and allowed in the quarter sections on the west boundary—the area of which shall in the survey be returned according to their actual contents.

**DISTRIBUTION OF HALF-BREED LANDS.**—Every Half-breed resident in Manitoba on 15th July, 1870, and every child of such Half-breed, shall be entitled to share in the 1,400,000 acres Half-breed reserve, the most liberal construction being put on the word "resident." No restrictions as to settlement are imposed, and the grantee may do as he pleases with his land. The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba shall designate the township or parts of townships in which the allotments to Half-breeds shall be made. A census shall be taken of all who are entitled to grants, and the land divided into as many lots as there are claimants; these lots to be distributed by the Lieutenant-Governor, the tickets for the lots being drawn at random from a box, and as they are drawn, numbered and registered in the order in which the claimants have previously registered their names. Claimants of the age of eighteen or more to receive their patents at once, minors to have theirs on coming of age. There shall be no distinction of sex in the distribution. After allotment, the lands to be governed entirely by the laws of Manitoba.

**SETTLEMENT OF CROWN LANDS.**—These provisions to apply only to surveyed lands. All unappropriated public land to be open to sale at one dollar per acre. All sales to be for cash.

**PRE-EMPTION RIGHTS.**—Any person being the head of a family, or a single man above the age of twenty-one years, being a British subject by birth or naturalization, who has made, or shall hereafter make, a settlement in person on the public lands, and who has inhabited and improved the same, and who has erected or shall erect a dwelling thereon, may have himself entered with the Land Officer of the division in which such land is, any number of acres not exceeding 160 or one-quarter section of land, to include the residence of the claimant, and obtain a patent therefor, upon paying to the Crown the price of such lands. Before the right of pre-emption can be exercised, the person so applying must produce proof to the Land Officer of settlement and improvement, and make oath to that officer that he has not previously pre-empted any land under these regulations, and that he intends them for his own use, and not for speculative purposes. Any person swearing falsely shall forfeit what money he has deposited, and be liable to prosecution for perjury. Any question as to the rights of settlers to be settled by the Land Officer.

**HOMESTEAD RIGHTS.**—Any head of a family, or person over twenty-one years of age, who is a British subject by birth or naturalization, shall be

entitled to be entered for one-quarter section, or a less quantity, of unappropriated public land for the purpose of securing a homestead. Members of the Ontario and Quebec battalions of volunteers who settle in Manitoba shall be entitled to an extra free grant, without actual residence, of one-quarter section. No other person shall be entitled to more than one homestead right, which shall not exceed 160 acres. The settler, on applying to the Land Officer, must make an affidavit that he is a British subject, is twenty-one years old, that the application is for his exclusive benefit, and that he actually intends to settle. On payment of five dollars, proof of residence or cultivation, to the satisfaction of the Land Agent, he receives a patent for the land. A patent may be obtained at any time on payment of pre-emption price.

**EXEMPTIONS OF CERTAIN LANDS.**—The following lands are not subject to pre-emption or homestead rights:—Lands allotted to the Hudson's Bay Company under the terms of the transfer of the North West to Canada; lands reserved for schools; wood lands set apart for supplying fuel; selected sites of towns or villages; lands actually settled and occupied for the purposes of trade; mineral lands.

**RESERVATION FOR PACIFIC RAILWAY.**—At any time after the 1st May, 1874 the Governor-in-Council may, subject to then existing rights, withdraw from the operation of the above system land to the width of three full townships on each side of the line finally sanctioned for the Inter-Oceanic Railway, and may also terminate after the same day the free homestead system.

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tion of the size of the townships from nine to six miles, as it would make municipal privileges more expensive, or force several townships to unite. He opposed the Government plan of laying out roads, and thought the settlers ought to have the right to make roads where they liked. Hon. Mr. Morris defended the Government policy, and said settlers could pre-empt their land on payment of one dollar an acre, while they had to pay one dollar and twenty-five cents in the States. In answer to Mr. Bowell, Sir George E. Cartier said that the regulations would be amended so that every volunteer, except those dismissed for bad conduct—and he was glad to say there were very few of those—should receive a free grant, whether he had actually gone to Manitoba or had remained in depot, and he could have another grant by settling. He defended the Government policy and said it was necessary to put a price of one dollar per acre on the land to prevent it falling into the hands of speculators. Dr. Schultz said that the people he represented were well pleased with the land policy of the Government, which was much better than that of any other portion of the Dominion, and the system was excellently adapted to a prairie country. He would have preferred to see Manitoba made a large Province, and the lots two hundred acres each; but in view of its small size and the large land reserve he thought 160 acres enough. He approved of the system of laying out roads between the sections, but thought the roads should be at least a chain and a half wide; the existing roads were two chains wide. He was instructed by his constituents to thank the Government for the grant of 1,400,000 acres of land; and he may say on their behalf that they were principally Half-breeds, but were very anxious to have the Volunteers settle amongst them. He could say this, notwithstanding the unfounded reports of riots and misconduct by the Volunteers. The Half-breeds were, however, somewhat doubtful about taking these lands until the Indian title was extinguished, lest it should bring them into conflict with that race; he hoped, therefore, that the Government would

adopt a liberal Indian policy as speedily as possible. He thought that the Government should be very careful in trying to keep land out of the hands of speculators, and approved of the policy of keeping reserves for fuel. On the debate being resumed, on the tenth, Hon. Mr. Morris said that the Government had consented to the suggestion made that patents could be taken out in three years instead of five. Mr. Ferguson suggested that conditions of settlement should be attached to the grants to the Half-breeds. Sir George E. Cartier said it was too soon to talk of conditions; the first thing was to get the blocks of land selected for the Half-breed reserve, and then the balance of the country could be thrown open for general settlement. On the subject coming up again, on the thirteenth, Mr. Ferguson pressed his point that the Half-breeds should be required to settle. Sir George E. Cartier said that had better be left to the Government; many of the Half-breeds were babies and their lands would have to be kept for them; when they came of age they could do as they pleased with them. He also said that the Government would adopt the suggestion of Dr. Schultz and make the roads wider. Hon. Mr. Macdougall having intimated his intention not to press his resolutions, the order was then discharged.

15.—The propriety of the admission of the members elected to represent Manitoba in the House of Commons, was ques-  
The question of admitting the Manitoba members to the House.  
tioned by the Opposition on account of the doubt raised as to the constitutionality of the Manitoba Act, under which their election took place. These elections were held on the 2nd of March, and on the twenty-seventh of that month Mr. Speaker informed the House that he had received returns of the election of Mr. Donald A. Smith, Dr. Schultz, and Mr. Delorme, for the Province of Manitoba; and also a special return from the Returning Officer for Marquette.\* Mr. Mackenzie asked what the Government intended to do

\*This return showed that the election had resulted in a tie, the candidates, Dr. Lynch and Mr. Angus McKay, receiving 282 votes each. On a subsequent election, Mr. Robert Cunningham was returned.

about the returns, as they ought not to be entered on the Journals. The Government had announced its intention of moving an address to Her Majesty, praying the Imperial Parliament to pass an Act to legalize the Manitoba Act, under which these elections took place, and it would be impossible for the House to recognize the legality of the elections while the legality of the Act under which they were held was questioned. Sir George E. Cartier said that the House had passed the Manitoba Act under which these elections were held, and it was not for the Government, or the House either, to say that the gentlemen elected could not take their seats. The position the Government took was that the Manitoba Act was valid, and the legislation of the Imperial Parliament was only asked to remove any doubts such as had been expressed by the Opposition. The returns were entered on the Journal. On the twenty-ninth, Mr. Donald A. Smith, member for Selkirk, was introduced by Sir George E. Cartier and Mr. Simpson. Mr. Mackenzie desired to call the attention of the Government to the fact that a gentleman had been introduced to the House who had been elected under an Act of Parliament which was awaiting confirmation by the Imperial Parliament, and said that, as there was some doubt as to members from Manitoba being entitled to their seats, he thought the Government should follow the precedent created by itself at the opening of the present Parliament, when a similar doubt was raised, and refer the matter to a Committee. Sir George E. Cartier said that the honorable gentleman took his seat under an Act of Parliament, which had neither been disallowed nor declared null by any legal process, and therefore was entitled to his seat. If the honorable member for Lambton liked to raise a question of privilege, he could do so, and the Government would then advise the House what course to pursue, but not before. The subject then dropped. On the 5th of April Dr. Schultz and Mr. Delorme, members from Lisgar and Provencher, took their seats. On the 8th Mr. Speaker read a communication from William

Dease, claiming to be the proper representative of the District of Provencher. On the 10th Mr. Ross (Prince Edward) called attention to certain rumors which were in circulation to the effect that the member for Provencher (Mr. Delorme) had been a member of Riel's Council, and also of the Court Martial that condemned Scott. If he was guilty of the first charge, he was guilty of high treason; if of the second, of murder. He (Mr. Ross) therefore thought it was only just that the gentleman should have an opportunity to clear himself, and for that reason he called attention to the rumors. Mr. Delorme said the rumors were entirely incorrect; he knew nothing of the murder until two days after it took place. He was elected a delegate to the Convention called by Mr. Smith, and that was the first thing he had to do with affairs at Red River. M<sup>r</sup>. D. A. Smith said he knew that Mr. Delorme was not a member of Riel's Council, nor of the Court Martial which condemned Scott. Hon. W. Macdougall said that Mr. Ross having stated that there was reason to believe that Mr. Delorme had been connected with the rebellion, he would move "That a Select Committee be appointed to enquire into the truth of these allegations, and to report the proceedings which ought to be taken, in order to relieve this House from the disgrace and dishonor of receiving amongst its members any one guilty of such offenses; and the committee to consist of Messrs. Morris, Dorion, Street, D. A. Macdonald, J. H. Cameron, Blake, and Gibbs." Sir George E. Cartier moved, in amendment, "That the matter be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections." Hon. Mr. Dorion considered that the explanation of the member for Provencher was perfectly satisfactory, and moved in amendment to the amendment, "That, the member for Provencher having declared that he took no part in the unfortunate event at Red River at the time Scott was put to death, and was only informed of it two days after it had taken place, and his statement having been corroborated by the member for Selkirk, there is no case which would require to be sent to a Committee." Hon. Mr. Holton said there was no case for

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a Committee. Mr. O'Connor said that the Manitoba Act laid down the qualifications for members of the House from that Province; and he argued that even if the charges against the member for Provencher were proved true, he could not be disqualified. After some further debate, Hon. Mr. Dorion's motion was carried by a vote of 94 to 46, and the matter was dropped. On the 12th, Mr. Blake called attention to a very serious question of privilege; three members had been returned for Manitoba, and petitions against the return of two of them, (Donald A. Smith and Pierre Delorme) had been presented; the Manitoba Act made no provision for trying controverted elections, and it was so near the end of the session that it was impossible to get evidence in the cases from Manitoba before the close, and, therefore, it seemed as if these gentlemen would hold their seats, although the petitioners declared they were not entitled to them. He thought that the Government should have taken some steps in the matter, but as they had not he would move "That petitions have been presented to and received by this House against the election and return of Donald A. Smith, the sitting member for Selkirk, and Pierre Delorme, the sitting member for Provencher; that no provision has been made for the trial of controverted elections in Manitoba; that the expense and delay involved in the trials of the said elections, would render such trials abortive; that in order to prevent a failure of justice, provision should be made to render it possible to take evidence in the matter of the said controverted elections on the spot, during the recess of Parliament." Sir Geo. E. Cartier said it was not in the power of the House to pass statutory enactments with respect to controverted elections in Manitoba, such enactments to have force when the House was not in session. He moved, in amendment, "That the petitions against the election of Messrs. Donald A. Smith, and Pierre Delorme, be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, with instructions to meet without delay and report to the House the procedure to be adopted with regard to the said petitions, in order that the

rights of all parties concerned therein may be fully protected." Hon. Mr. Holton said the practical effect of this amendment would be to defeat the ends of justice, unless it was certain that the Committee would be called together at once. Mr. Blake suggested that the Minister of Militia should withdraw his amendment, and substitute a short Bill to meet the requirements of the case. Hon. J. H. Cameron thought that the Committee might meet during recess and report a Bill to the House in the evening. Sir George E. Cartier's amendment was then put and carried. The fears of the Opposition were well grounded, for the Committee did not meet and no report was made before Parliament was prorogued.

16.—The strong feeling aroused in Ontario, by the murder of Scott, had rather strengthened during the past year, and after the arrival of the troops at Fort Garry, when no steps were taken by the Government to arrest Riel and others implicated in that murder, the feeling increased, and was as much directed against the Government as against the murderers. This feeling had been turned to good account by the Opposition press, and it was expected that Mr. Blake, who had moved resolutions on the subject in the Ontario House, would test the feeling of the House of Commons on the subject, but he refrained from doing so, and Mr. Joseph Rymal undertook the task. On the 11th of April he moved the following amendment to the motion, to go into Committee of Supply: "That this House regrets that the Government of the day have done nothing towards procuring the punishment of the murderers of Thomas Scott, and that an humble address be presented to His Excellency, praying that he will take such steps and make such representations as will be best calculated to bring these men to justice." He complained of the murderers of Scott being allowed to go at large, and declared that, if no attempt was made to arrest them, it was a bitter mockery of British justice. He then criticised the appointments made by the Government, and charged that loyal men were ignored, and

Mr. Rymal's motion  
on the murder of  
Scott.

those who had favored and assisted the rebellion appointed to places of honor and emolument. Sir George E. Cartier said he was sure all the members of the Government deeply lamented the death of the unfortunate man Scott; but he thought the motion should not have been made in this House. The Government of the Dominion had no more right to interfere in the matter than they would in the case of a murder committed in Ontario. At the time of the occurrence the Dominion had no jurisdiction in the Red River country; it had not yet been transferred, and it had no authority; now local Courts of Justice had been established, and they, and they alone, were competent to deal with the case. As to the question of patronage, the Dominion Government appointed only two officers—the Lieutenant-Governor and the Recorder;—all others were appointed by the Local Government. Mr. Rymal said that when the Hon. D'Arcy McGee was shot the Government had offered a reward for the apprehension of his murderers, and he thought they might do the same in the case of Scott. Mr. Bowell supported the motion, and severely criticised the appointments made in Manitoba. Dr. Tupper defended the course of the Government and of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, who, he said, had, by his wise measures, restored peace and order. He stigmatised the motion as a mere party dodge brought forward on the eve of a general election for political purposes, and maintained that the Dominion Government had no jurisdiction in the case. Hon. E. B. Wood maintained that Lower Canada had had jurisdiction over the North-West in criminal matters since 1803, and instanced the trial of two men, named Brown and Boucher, at Toronto in 1818 for crimes committed in the North-West. Mr. D. A. Smith said that after the troops entered Fort Garry some persons wanted him to issue warrants for the arrest of Riel and others, but he did not think he had authority. The debate was continued by Messrs. Blake, Ferguson and Jackson, who followed the same tone of argument—that the Dominion Government had jurisdiction, and ought to exert its authority,

after which a vote was taken, and Mr. Rymal's motion defeated by a vote of 40 for to 75 against.

17.—Amongst the business of minor interest transacted was the passing of a congratulatory address, on the 21st February, by both Houses, to His Excellency

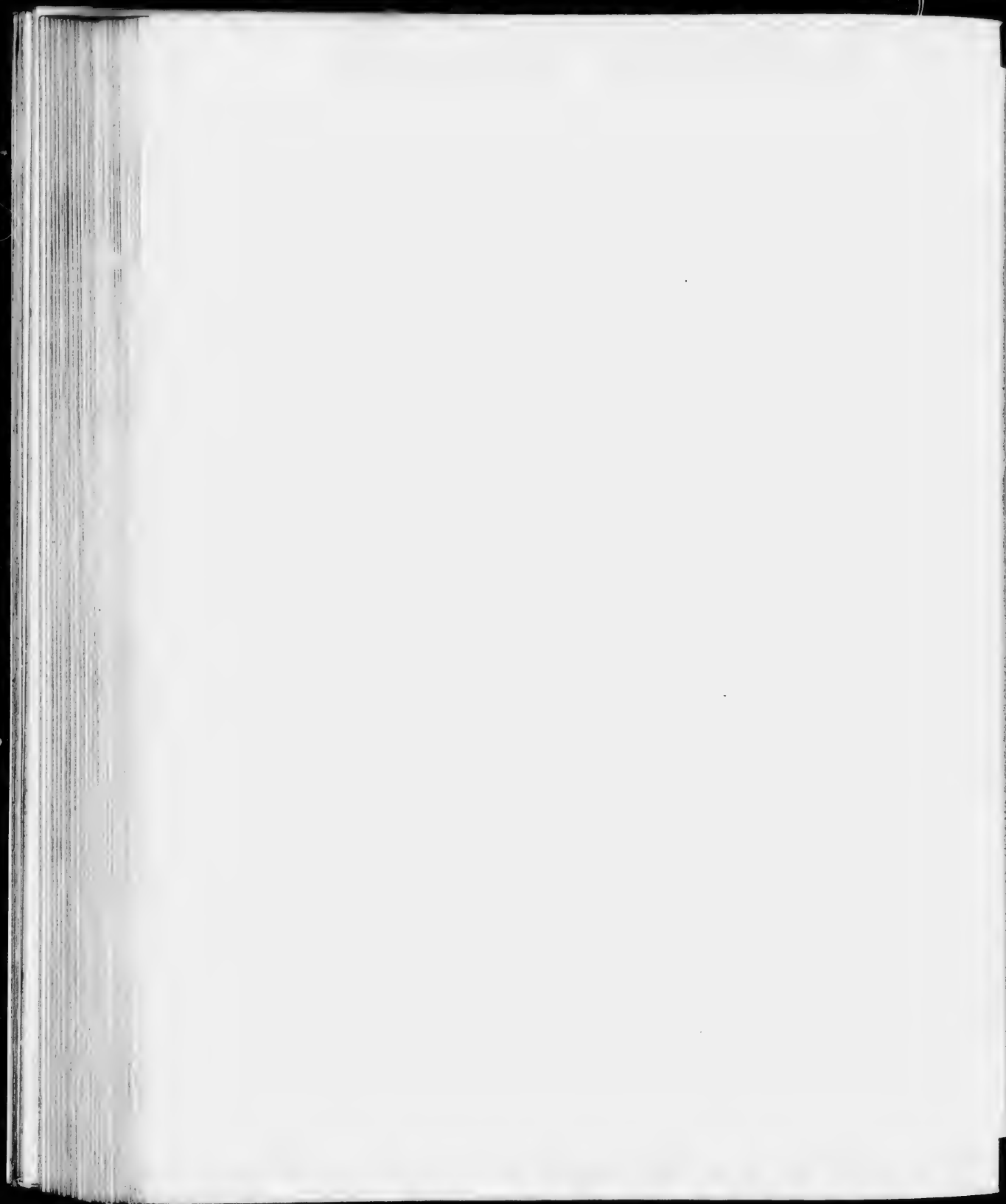
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Prorogation.*

the Governor-General, on the occasion of his being raised to the peerage. The address was moved in the Senate by Hon. Alexander Campbell, seconded by Hon. Letellier De St. Just; and in the Commons by Sir John A. Macdonald, seconded by Mr. A. Mackenzie. The Supply Bill granted \$16,399,856 for the year 1871-2, and \$1,099,263 supplementary for the year 1870-1. In the former amount was included nearly \$8,000,000 for public works, \$6,000,000 being for the Intercolonial. \$624,000 was granted for canals; \$326,000 for harbor improvements; \$297,880 for the Parliamentary Buildings, Library and Grounds; \$400,000 for opening up the North-West, and \$200,000 for a Post Office at Halifax. There was considerable debate on this item in Committee, and it was finally agreed that before any steps were taken to expend the money, the question between the Dominion and Nova Scotia Governments with regard to the cost of the Provincial building at Halifax should be submitted to arbitration, and if a sum not exceeding \$66,385 was agreed on it should be accepted, the buildings taken over and the \$200,000 grant not used. The point at issue between the two Governments was the amount which had been expended on the building since "Better terms" were agreed on, the Local Government claiming that it should be reimbursed by the Dominion, and the latter declining to pay any more than the stipulated price. The matter was subsequently compromised. The sum of \$260,000 was granted for taking the census, in addition to \$150,000 voted last year. In the Supplementary Estimates was included \$250,000 for surveys for Pacific Railway; \$50,000 for taking census in Manitoba and British Columbia; \$120,000 for Post Offices at Toronto, Quebec and London; \$120,000 for a Reformatory near Montreal. The House was prorogued on 14th April.

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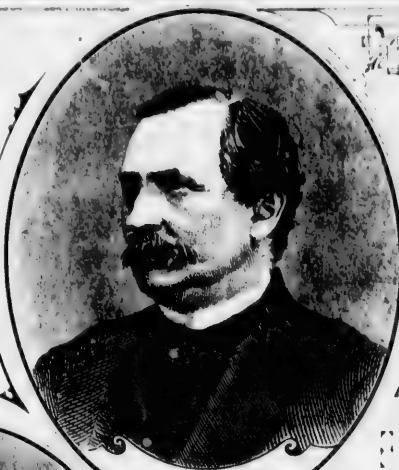


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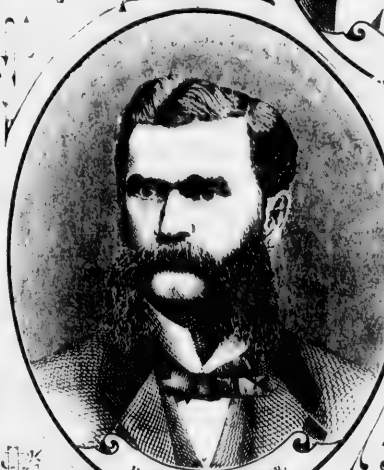
A. W. OGILVIE, ESQ.



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## CHAPTER XX.

## GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—THE ADMISSION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

1. RESOLUTIONS IN FAVOR OF UNION PASSED BY THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.—2. CHANGES IN THE ORIGINAL PROPOSITION MADE BY THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT.—3. QUESTIONS AS TO TERMS OF UNION ASKED IN THE SENATE.—4. SIR GEORGE E. CARTIER DEFINES THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.—5. SIR A. T. GALT'S OBJECTIONS TO THE RESOLUTIONS.—6. HON. MR. TILLEY DEFENDS THE GOVERNMENT POLICY.—7. MR. MACKENZIE OFFERS AN AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTIONS.—8. MR. CARTWRIGHT CONDEMNNS THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.—9. COLONEL GRAY DEFENDS THE RESOLUTIONS. MR. JOLY CONDEMNNS THEM.—10. MR. MILLS' OBJECTIONS. HON. MR. LANGEVIN UPHOLDS THE RESOLUTIONS.—11. MR. JONES MOVES AN AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT.—12. SIR FRANCIS HINCKS' EXPLANATION. HON. MR. MACDOUGALL ATTACKS THE GOVERNMENT POLICY.—13. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.—14. ON MOTION TO CONCUR, MR. MACKENZIE OFFERS ANOTHER AMENDMENT.—15. SEVERAL AMENDMENTS PUT AND LOST.—16. THE ADDRESS FINALLY ADOPTED WITHOUT AMENDMENT.—17. THE RESOLUTIONS IN THE SENATE.—18. THE ADDRESS ADOPTED IN THE SENATE.

1.—One of the main objects of the Imperial Government in promoting the scheme of Confederation—and one always kept in view—was the confederation of all the British North American colonies; and every influence which could legitimately be brought to bear on the various governments was used to accomplish this object. With the larger Provinces there was little difficulty, as they were anxious and willing to be united, but with the smaller ones there was much trouble, as they were somewhat afraid of being swallowed up in a great Confederacy with the more populous Provinces,

Resolutions in favor of Union passed by Legislative Council of British Columbia.

and thus lose all trace of their individuality. Both Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were diffident about casting in their lot with the Dominion, and public opinion had to be "educated" a little before it could be brought to see the advantages which would arise from one comprehensive union, in place of the scattered and individually weak colonies.—The people of Prince Edward Island, at this time, were still opposed to Confederation; the people of Newfoundland had defeated at the polls the party which favored Confederation, and had rejected the liberal terms which the Dominion Government had agreed on with the Commissioners sent to Ottawa for that purpose, and considerable interest was centered in British Columbia to see how the people there regarded the scheme of union. Earl Musgrave, who had shown himself a clever diplomatist in persuading the Legislature of Newfoundland to accept Confederation, was transferred to British Columbia, then a Crown Colony, and at once set himself zealously to work to affect an union. In his message to the Legislative Council on the 15th of February, 1870, he strongly urged an union with the Dominion, and a Government measure was adopted by the Council in favor of Confederation. The terms proposed by the Council, and subsequently submitted to the Government of Canada, did not differ materially from those ultimately agreed to, except, in two particulars, the first being that the Council desired the population computed at 120,000, and the second that a coach road should be built pending the completion of the railroad which it was proposed to build to the Pacific.\* On the 7th of May, Messrs. J. W. Trutch, J. S. Helmcken, and R. W.

\* The eighth resolution read as follows:—"Inasmuch as no real Union can subsist between this Colony and Canada without the speedy establishment of communication across the Rocky Mountains by Coach Road and Railway, the Dominion shall, within three years from the date of Union, construct and open for traffic such Coach Road from some point on the line of the Main Trunk Road of this Colony to Fort Garry, of similar character to the said Main Trunk Road; and shall further engage to use all means in her power to complete such Railway communication at the earliest practicable date, and that surveys to determine the proper line for such Railway shall be at once commenced; and that a sum of not less than one million dollars shall be expended in every year, from and after three years from the date of Union, in actually constructing the initial sections of such Railway from the Seaboard of British Columbia to connect with the Railway system of Canada."

W. Carrall, members of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Colony, were appointed by Governor Musgrave a delegation to proceed to Ottawa and confer with the Dominion Ministry as to the terms proposed by the British Columbia Council. They arrived in Ottawa on the 3rd of June, and had several interviews with the Ministry, the result of which was that somewhat different, but rather more favorable terms, were agreed to. These terms were embodied in an Order-in-Council passed in the Privy Council of the Dominion on the 1st of July, 1870, and submitted to the British Columbia Council for ratification.

The following is the report :

"The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch dated the 7th of May, 1870, from the Governor of British Columbia, together with certain resolutions submitted by the Government of that Colony to the Legislative Council thereof—both hereunto annexed—on the subject of the proposed union of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada; and after several interviews between them and the Honorable Messrs. Trutch, Helmcken, and Carrall, the Delegates from British Columbia, and full discussion with them of the various questions connected with that important subject, the Committee now respectfully submit for Your Excellency's approval the following terms and conditions to form the basis of a political union between British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada.

I. Canada shall be liable for the debts and liabilities of British Columbia at the time of the Union.

II. British Columbia not having incurred debts equal to those of the other Provinces now constituting the Dominion, shall be entitled to receive by half-yearly payments in advance from the General Government, interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, on the difference between the actual amount of its indebtedness at the date of the union, and the indebtedness per head of the population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (\$27.77), the population of British Columbia being taken at 60,000.

III. The following sums shall be paid by Canada to British Columbia for the support of its Government and Legislature, to wit: an annual subsidy of \$35,000, and an annual grant equal to eighty cents per head of the said population of 60,000, both half-yearly in advance, such grant of eighty cents per head to be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by each subsequent decennial census, until the population amounts to 400,000, at which rate such grant shall thereafter remain, it being understood that the first census shall be taken in the year 1881.

IV. The Dominion will provide an efficient mail service fortnightly by steam communication between Victoria and San Francisco, and twice a week between Victoria and Olympia, the vessels to be adapted for the conveyance of freight and passengers.

V. Canada will assume and defray the charges for the following services:—

A. Salary of the Lieutenant-Governor.

B. Salaries and allowances of the Judges of the Superior Courts and the County or District Courts.

C. The charges in respect to the Department of Customs.

D. The postal and telegraphic services.

E. Protection and encouragement of fisheries.

F. Provision for Militia.

G. Lighthouses, buoys and beacons, shipwrecked crews, Quarantine and Marine Hospitals, including a Marine Hospital at Victoria.

H. The Geological Survey.

I. The Penitentiary.

And such further charges as may be incident to and connected with the services which, by the British North America Act of 1867, appertain to the General Government, and as are or may be allowed to the other Provinces.

VI. Suitable pensions, such as shall be approved of by Her Majesty's Government, shall be provided by the Government of the Dominion for those of Her Majesty's servants in the Colony whose position and emoluments derived therefrom would be affected by political changes on the admission of British

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VII. It is agreed that the existing Customs, tariff and Excise duties shall continue in force in British Columbia until the railway from the Pacific coast and the system of railways in Canada are connected, unless the Legislature of British Columbia should sooner decide to accept the tariff and excise laws of Canada. Where Customs and Excise duties are at the time leviable on any goods, wares or merchandises in British Columbia, or in the other Provinces of the Dominion, these goods, wares and merchandises may from and after the union be imported into British Columbia from the Provinces now composing the Dominion, or from either of these Provinces into British Columbia, on proof of payment of the Customs or Excise duties leviable thereon in the Province of exportation, and on payment of such further amount (if any) of Customs or Excise duties as are leviable thereon in the Province of importation. This arrangement to have no force or effect after the assimilation of the tariff and excise duties of British Columbia with those of the Dominion.

VIII. British Columbia shall be entitled to be represented in the Senate by three members, and by six members in the House of Commons. The representation to be increased under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867.

IX. The influence of the Dominion Government will be used to secure the continued maintenance of the naval station at Esquimaux.

X. The provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, shall (except those parts thereof which are in terms made, or by reasonable intendment may be held to be specially applicable to, and only effect one and not the whole of the Provinces now comprising the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this minute) be applicable to British Columbia, in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the other Provinces of the Dominion, and as if the Colony of British Columbia had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act.

XI. The Government of the Dominion under-

take to secure the commencement, simultaneously, within two years from the date of the Union, of the construction of a Railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and, further, to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of the union. And the Government of British Columbia agree to convey to the Dominion Government, in trust, to be appropriated in such manner as the Dominion Government may deem advisable in furtherance of the construction of the said railway, a similar extent of public lands along the line of railway throughout its entire length in British Columbia, not to exceed, however, twenty (20) miles on each side of said line, as may be appropriated for the same purpose by the Dominion Government from the public lands in the North-West Territories and the Province of Manitoba. Provided that the quantity of land which may be held under pre-emption right or by Crown grant within the limits of the tract of land in British Columbia to be so conveyed to the Dominion Government, shall be made good to the Dominion from contiguous public lands; and provided further, that until the commencement within two years as aforesaid from the date of the union, of the construction of the said railway, the Government of British Columbia shall not sell or alienate any further portion of the public lands of British Columbia in any other way than under right of pre-emption requiring actual residence of the pre-emptor on the land claimed by him. In consideration of the land so to be conveyed in aid of the construction of the said railway, the Dominion Government agree to pay to British Columbia, from the date of the union, the sum of \$100,000 per annum in half-yearly payments in advance.

XII. The Dominion Government shall guarantee the interest for ten years from the date of the completion of the works at the rate of five per centum per annum on such sum, not



exceeding £100,000 stg, as may be required for the construction of a first-class graving dock of Esquimalt.

XIII. The charge of the Indians and the trusteeship and management of the lands reserved for their use and benefit shall be assumed by the Dominion Government, and a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government shall be continued by the Dominion Government after the union. To carry out such policy, tracts of land of such extent as it has hitherto been the practice of the British Columbia Government to appropriate for that purpose, shall, from time to time, be conveyed by the Local Government to the Dominion Government in trust for the use and benefit of the Indians, on application of the Dominion Government, and in case of disagreement between the two Governments respecting the quantity of such tracts of land to be so granted, the matter shall be referred for the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

XIV. The constitution of the Executive authority, and of the Legislature of British Columbia, shall, subject to the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, continue as existing at the time of the union until altered under the authority of the said Act, it being at the same time understood that the Government of the Dominion will readily consent to the introduction of Responsible Government when desired by the inhabitants of British Columbia, and it being likewise understood that it is the intention of the Governor of British Columbia, under the authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to amend the existing Constitution of the Legislature by providing that a majority of its members shall be elective.

The union shall take effect according to the foregoing terms and conditions on such day as Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Most Honorable Privy Council, may appoint (on addresses from the Legislature of the Colony of British Columbia, and of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, in the terms of the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867), and British Columbia may, in its address, specify

the electoral districts for which the first election of members to serve in the House of Commons shall take place.

(Certified)

WM. H. LEE,

Clerk Privy Council.

2.—It will be noticed that important changes were made with regard to the population, and the building of the railway.

With regard to the population Changes in the original proposition made by Dominion Government. being fixed at 60,000 instead of 120,000, it may be said that neither figures really represented the actual population, which by the most liberal estimate did not exceed 15,000 whites, and about 25,000 Indians and Chinese; but the delegates claimed that the population should be estimated on the basis of contribution to the revenue, and that as the Customs and Excise duties paid in British Columbia were equal to what would be paid by 120,000 persons on the *per capita* collection in Canada, the population ought to be estimated at that number for all financial purposes. By this arrangement British Columbia would have received \$96,000 per annum *per capita* allowance, and \$82,000 a year interest on debt. The Dominion Government could not see its way very clearly towards asking Parliament to pay eighty cents per head per annum for so many imaginary people; but by putting an exceedingly liberal construction on the estimated population, agreed to call it 60,000, which included Chinamen and Indians. On the subject of the railway, the Dominion Government was also very liberal, for it agreed to commence it in two years instead of three as asked for, and to complete it in ten, while no specific time was stipulated for by the British Columbians; but this was partly done on account of the abandonment of the Coach Road, which was considered an unnecessary and useless expense in view of the rapid completion of the railroad. With regard to the \$100,000 a year granted as interest on the nominal value of the land to be given up for the railway, this was given to fill the deficiency which would otherwise have occurred on account of cutting down the number of the population, it being pretty well understood that the Dominion would have

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to be liberal in its terms to induce the people to vote for Union, and Governor Musgrave very plainly states so in his letter to Sir John Young, under date 20th February, 1870. He says: "In some of the terms proposed, this Colony may be thought by your Government to ask too much; but they must be prepared to be liberal, if they desire the Union. \* \* \* It will be necessary, if Union is to be real and entered upon cordially, that present visible advantage and local improvement should spring from the measure." The "present visible advantage" was made very plain by showing that British Columbia would have upwards of \$150,000 a year more to spend on local improvements if she entered the Union than if she remained out of it; and the British Columbians were soon convinced that it was to their interest to enter the Dominion. On the 24th of January, 1871, Governor Musgrave telegraphed to Lord Lisgar, "Address to Queen for Union with Canada on terms agreed upon, passed Legislative Council unanimously to-day," and on the 28th of February, Sir George E. Cartier laid on the table of the Dominion House a message from the Governor-General, transmitting the address.

3.—The debate on the admission of British Columbia was commenced for the 28th March.

In the Senate, Senator Hazen inquired of the Government what evidence it had to show that the population was 60,000, as stated in the second section of the terms agreed on; what would be the cost of the mail service guaranteed; what would be the scale of salaries, &c., provided for in section five; what would be the probable amount of pensions to be granted under section six; what would be the estimated cost of the railway; was the graving dock at Esquimaux to be the property of the Province or of the Dominion after the £100,000 was paid; to what extent was the Legislative Council an elective body; and what evidence was there to show that the terms proposed would be generally acceptable to the people of the colony? Hon. Mr. Campbell replied that the Government had no evidence as to the

population, but had accepted the statements of Messrs. Trutch and Carrall, who gave the population as 16,000 whites, 1,000 Chinese, and 45,000 Indians; the exact amount of the mail service had not been ascertained, but the present cost was about \$13,000 for the lake service and \$15,000 for the gulf service; the salaries under the fifth section would amount to about \$109,000; there were four gentlemen to be pensioned, but the amounts had not yet been fixed; the total would, probably, be between three and four thousand pounds; he could not say what the road would cost, but it was not the intention of the Government to build it as a public work; the Government would give a subsidy of land and money to a private company to build the road; the graving dock would be the property of the Province if it was built by the Province; with regard to the constitution of the Council and the expression of public opinion, he said that the Council consisted of fifteen members, six appointed by the Crown and nine elected, and that as an election had just taken place and Confederation was the main question at issue, it was evident that the people favored it by returning members who adopted the Union resolutions unanimously.

4.—In the House, Sir George E. Cartier, in moving the House into Committee on a series of resolutions on which to frame an address to Her Majesty, praying for the admission of British

Columbia, entered into an explanation of the policy of the Government. He traced the history of Confederation from 1858, and showed how at every stage the union of all the Colonies had been steadily kept in view. In 1865, while the Delegates were in England, the question of including the Pacific Colonies in the Dominion had been discussed, and provision made in the British North America Act for the admission of British Columbia. That union they were now called upon to perfect, the terms had been agreed to with the Delegates, and were offered for ratification by Parliament; but he may say that the terms agreed on were of the

Sir George E. Cartier defines the policy of the Government.

nature of a treaty, and although the fullest and freest discussion would be allowed, there could be no amendment, the terms must either be accepted or rejected as a whole. He proceeded to explain the various sections of the agreement and said that it was fair to estimate the population at the number fixed on (60,000), as the returns from Customs and Excise showed that on that basis the people were paying about \$6 per head, while in Canada the rate was only about \$3. The representatives of British Columbia had claimed that they were entitled to estimate the population at 120,000 on the basis of taxation, but had finally agreed to the number named in the resolutions. The next point which was peculiar to British Columbia was the sixth section, which provided that certain pensions should be paid. He explained that under the existing system of Government in British Columbia there were a number of Crown appointments which were for life; but in anticipation of Confederation, the people had determined to adopt Responsible Government as soon as the union was perfected, and many of these officers would lose their places of emolument. He had no doubt but that the services of some of them could be utilized by the Federal Government, but he thought that it was only just that those who could not be so provided for should be pensioned. With regard to the 7th section, he said that it had been inserted at the request of the Delegates, and as the Dominion would derive larger Customs duties under the British Columbia tariff than under the Canadian, there was no objection to allowing it to remain as it was if the people wished it. He next referred to section 11, which guarantees the building of a railway to the Pacific. He said that there had been a great deal of misconception about this railway, and it was thought the Government intended to build it itself at an enormous cost, which would entail very heavy taxation. The Government had no idea of building the road itself, but would build it by the aid of companies, which would receive large grants of land, and, perhaps, a small money subsidy. They relied principally on the land to build the road.

The length of the road would be about 2,500 miles, and it was proposed to give twenty miles of public land to each mile of railway, which would give 64,000,000 acres of land, worth, on an average, one dollar per acre, which would of itself be almost enough to build the road. It was absolutely necessary that the Government should have complete control of these lands, and for that purpose British Columbia had agreed to give up such lands as should be required on payment of \$100,000 per annum. There would be about 15,360,000 acres of land so given up, which was worth one dollar per acre; and as the Government only guaranteed what would be the interest on \$2,000,000, it was a clear gainer of \$13,360,000. If any money subsidy was given it would be in annual instalments, in such manner as not to increase the burden of taxation. In reply to questions, he said that the estimated cost would be about \$100,000,000. With regard to the clause relating to the care of the Indians, he said it embodied the policy always pursued by the Canadian and British Governments with regard to them. He concluded by again referring to the importance of the scheme before the House, particularly instancing the importance to a nation of the maritime element. The union of British Columbia would give Canada double maritime strength, and would lay the foundation of a maritime power that would be second only to England. He felt that this country was destined to be a great power, and the admission of British Columbia was a great and necessary step towards reaching our ultimate destiny.

5.—Hon. Mr. Holton said this was essentially a financial question. The Minister of Militia had told the House that the Government intended to have a railway built which would cost \$100,000,000, but it was not to increase the burdens of the people; he would like to hear from the Finance Minister how this great financial feat was to be accomplished. Sir Francis Hincks said he was not prepared to go into details on the financial arrangements

Sir A. T. Galt's  
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involved in the resolutions; but he may say in general terms that the Government proposed to give a large land grant, and a liberal money subsidy, for building the railway; it was not expected that the subsidy would exceed one million to one million and a quarter dollars per annum, and he thought that could be met out of revenue, without increasing taxation. The Government would pay the cost of preliminary surveys, but it would be made a first charge against the subsidy. With regard to financial arrangements other than the railway, he thought that the whole payments to British Columbia would be about \$460,000, and the receipts from the Province \$360,000, leaving a charge of \$100,000 per annum upon Canada, which could be met out of revenue. Sir A. T. Galt said that, with two restrictions, he was willing to accept almost any terms which would bring the Pacific Colony into the Union. These two restrictions were that the constitutional rights defined by the British North America Act should not be infringed on; and the Dominion should not enter into heavier financial engagements than it was able to sustain. He thought that with the construction of the Intercolonial, the enlargement of the canals and the obligations of defence, the four millions of people had already about as many burdens as they could bear. He pointed out the difference between the original proposal of British Columbia to have a Coach Road, and the terms agreed on to build a railway; also that the proposed terminus of the road had been changed from Fort Garry to Lake Nipissing. The new arrangement was much more than British Columbia had asked for, and much more burdensome. He had hoped that the Finance Minister would have been more explicit in his statement, for he (Sir A. T. Galt) thought that British Columbia would prove far more expensive than was shown by the statement of the Finance Minister. The population a year before was estimated at 10,000 whites, and 10,000 Indians. The revenue in 1868 was \$585,000; in 1869, \$573,000; in 1870, \$537,000, of which \$350,000 was estimated to be from Customs and Excise. He calculated that under

the existing tariff Canada would receive about \$386,700 from British Columbia, and pay about \$526,000; but the adoption of the Canadian tariff would reduce the receipts by about \$90,000, so that there would be an annual charge against Canada of about \$250,000. He could not see how the Government expected to build the road without increasing the burden of taxation, when the House was told that the agreement was of the nature of a treaty, and that the road must be built in ten years. With regard to the fact that the representation of British Columbia was not based on population, he would merely remark that every such departure from the principle of the Confederation Act was calculated to revive complaints of past times. He thought it would be far better for new Provinces to pass through a probationary period, similar to the Territorial Government of the States, and then there need be no violation of the constitution.

6.—Hon. Mr. Tilley desired to make some explanations with reference to the action of the Government. The British Columbia delegates had wanted a guarantee of a loan of £100,000 sterling, in perpetuity, to build a graving dock; but the Dominion Government had refused to give a guarantee for more than ten years, as it was thought that in that time there would be a railway, and the dock ought to be self-sustaining. With regard to the Coach Road, it was found that it would be so expensive, on account of the cost of labour in British Columbia, that it was thought better to push on the railway and not have the Coach Road at all. With regard to the railway, that was a necessity. As soon as the Dominion Government acquired the North-West Territory it incurred the responsibility of building a railway to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, as a necessity to opening up that territory, and the union with British Columbia would only cause an extension of the road to the Pacific. He argued that the opening of the road would greatly reduce the cost of freight, which was then from twelve to fourteen cents per pound, and

Hon. Mr. Tilley  
defends the  
Government policy.

so encourage immigration, and that in a few years British Columbia would have a very large population to assist in bearing the burden of the cost of the road. He thought the railway could be built very cheaply if fifty millions of acres of land was given to aid it. He thought that Parliament could afford almost any quantity of land and a liberal grant of money to get the road built. He did not believe that the engineering difficulties would be great; and dwelt at some length on the importance of having the road and effecting an union with British Columbia, intimating his fear that if the Dominion lost this opportunity of uniting the Province with itself, British Columbia would be looking elsewhere for union.

7.—Mr. Mackenzie said that, as an ardent friend of Confederation, no one desired more

Mr. Mackenzie offers an amendment to the resolutions.

strongly than himself to see the federation of all the Provinces accomplished; still there were very serious considerations to be looked at in reviewing the propositions submitted to the House. He regretted that the gentlemen on the Government side of the House could not discuss the matter for half an hour without threatening that if the proposition was rejected British Columbia would seek annexation to the United States. If the Government was in possession of information which authorized the assertion, the House ought to be given that information; but he did not suppose there was any real ground for the assertion, and that it was a mere piece of empty declamation. He was not disposed to accept the assertion of the Government that these resolutions must be regarded in the light of a treaty, and that the House must not alter them. He could not consent to the view that the House was only to express its opinion, but make no change. He thought that it was the duty of the House to very carefully consider this matter, and to eliminate anything that might tend to cause trouble in the future. He held that one of the most essential ingredients in national prosperity was a strict regard for constitutional obligations and the position we occupy relatively to other powers, whether

they be Provinces or Independent Nations; and yet the House was asked yearly, if not daily, to disregard the principles of the British North America Act, which was the basis of our political system. One of the great principles which had been struggled for for years, and which was gained by the British North America Act, was Representation by Population; and the resolutions now before the House were a very grave infringement of that principle. He did not insist that the principle should be rigidly applied to the Senate, and although there was disproportion in allowing British Columbia three representatives in that body, he should not make it a ground of serious objection; but he strongly protested against the direct violation of the principle of Representation by Population shown by giving the scanty population of British Columbia six representatives in the House of Commons. It must be remembered that there was a vast tract of country between Manitoba and British Columbia, where new Provinces would spring up; and if the same rule was applied to them as was now proposed towards British Columbia, the principle of Representation by Population would be destroyed. The House had been told that four-sixths of the alleged population was made up of Chinese and Indians; but it must be remembered that the political system of Canada had never given representation to Indians; and it was unfair to ask to give to a new Province what had never been granted to the old ones. He favored a liberal policy towards a young Colony sparsely populated, and would favor a large grant of money; but he did not think the land to be acquired by the Government so valuable as it was represented to be; indeed, he was of opinion that most of the land west of the Rocky Mountains was of poor quality, and this impression was borne out by the large importation of articles of food which showed that very little was produced. He looked upon the acquisition of the Colony as a political necessity; and although he did not share the fears of the Minister of Customs with regard to annexation, still he thought the sooner the Colony was united

to Canada too much been done more time have had arisen with the question. build a good land kept for F that the po railway we ment had millions of was no even if sh the railway not good f ing of the there were given no difficulties. great east the Rocky much diffic tains the difficulties was quite liberal gran he was tota immense b gigantic ra believe it c sidered it m British Col done. He c that all the and the fo terms of U the Dominio and complet way, the ro nor its exp also pledge yearly paym of \$100,000

to Canada the better. Yet he would not urge too much haste or mistakes may be made, as had been done at Confederation, for he thought if more time had been taken then we should not have had the trouble which had subsequently arisen with Nova Scotia. He differed entirely with the Government policy on the railway question. He did not think that the right way to build a great railway was to give away all the good lands; he considered that they should be kept for Free Grants to immigrants, and thought that the policy of giving all the best lands to the railway would retard immigration. The Government had asserted that Ontario would give nine millions of acres to aid the enterprise, but there was no evidence that Ontario would do so; and even if she did, the land in the section where the railway would run was of poor quality and not good for much. With regard to the building of the road the House had no information; there were no surveys, and the Government had given no information as to the engineering difficulties. These, he believed, would be very great east of Winnipeg; west of that place to the Rocky Mountains he did not anticipate much difficulty, but west of the Rocky Mountains the country was very rough and the difficulties would, probably, be very great. He was quite willing to give British Columbia a liberal grant to carry on her local services, but he was totally opposed to undertaking such an immense burden as guaranteeing to build this gigantic railway in ten years. He did not believe it could be accomplished, and he considered it most unjust to delude the people of British Columbia with the idea that it could be done. He concluded by moving in amendment, that all the words after "that" be struck out and the following inserted: "The proposed terms of Union with British Columbia pledge the Dominion to commence within two years, and complete within ten years the Pacific Railway, the route for which has not been surveyed nor its expense calculated. The said terms also pledge the Government of Canada to a yearly payment to British Columbia of the sum of \$100,000 in perpetuity, equal to a capital

sum of \$2,000,000, for the cession of a tract of waste land on the route of the Pacific Railway to aid in its construction, which British Columbia ought to cede without charge in like manner as the lands of Canada are proposed to be ceded for the same purpose. This House is of opinion that Canada should not be pledged to do more than proceed at once with the necessary surveys, and, after the route is determined, to prosecute the work at as early a period as the state of the finances will justify."

8.—Dr. Grant and Mr. Masson (Terrebonne) supported the policy of the Government, the former advocating protection of the fur trade; and the latter Mr. Cartwright condemns the policy of the Government. arguing that British Columbia would be a more valuable acquisition than Manitoba. Mr. Cartwright dwelt on the immensity of the undertaking and the great increase to the debt which it would necessitate. The debt at present, with the obligations which the country had pledged itself to fulfill, amounted to \$130,000,000; the present resolutions would add about \$1,000,000 to that, and the railway—according to the estimate of the Government—would cost \$100,000,000 more, making a total of \$236,000,000. If instead of building the railway itself, the Government turned it over to a Company and gave the immense grant of land spoken of, it was a very serious thing for the House to consider the importance of placing in the hands of a single Corporation a tract of land equal in area to the New England States. He was confident that the acquisition of the Colony would involve expense in the way of defence, not a standing army exactly, but some force something like the Irish Constabulary, for it must be remembered that the Colony was 2,500 miles from the Central Government, and would be liable to have its peace disturbed either by the Indians within its own borders or by incursions of Indians from the United States. He counselled the House to pause and reflect before pledging itself to build a railway which would cost more than our present national debt. Mr. Young said that as a friend of Confederation, he was glad to see British



Columbia asking to be taken in; but he would have preferred to have seen all the Atlantic Provinces united first. There were many objectionable features in the resolutions, such as allowing a subsidy of eighty cents per head on a population of 60,000, while the actual population was only 12,000; of pensioning Government officials, and of allowing three representatives in the Senate and six in the House of Commons—which was giving one representative in the House to every 2000 inhabitants, while in the other Provinces there was only one to every 20,000,—but he could have allowed all these, as he wished to deal in a liberal spirit with the Colony, had it not been for the guarantee to commence to build a railway to the Pacific in two years, and complete it in ten. This was more than British Columbia asked, and a great deal more than should have been agreed to. He then quoted from Mr. Sandford Fleming to show that the railway would cost \$100,000,000 to build, and \$8,000,000 a year to maintain, Mr. Fleming holding that it would need an income of \$14,000,000 a year to make it pay. He was not opposed to the Pacific railway, but what was objectionable and dangerous was the guarantee to finish it in ten years. Unless a Company could be found willing to undertake it for the land grant, the Dominion would have to build the road itself, and this he did not consider it was in a position to do. He objected to the payment of \$100,000 a year for the wild lands granted, and showed that British Columbia would draw \$614,726 per annum from the Treasury, and only contribute \$386,700 to it, and this would be reduced to \$257,800 if the Canadian tariff was adopted. He was willing to be liberal, but he did not think the Dominion was in a position to pay the new Province two dollars for every one it contributed. Mr. Blake said it appeared to him as if the Government was not honest in its professed desire to have British Columbia enter the union, and had purposely proposed preposterous terms, which the House was bound to reject, so as to defeat the scheme. These terms irrevocably bound the House to build a railway in ten years, without having

the slightest information on the subject. It was utterly vain for the Government to suppose that it would realize any considerable sum from these lands, whether the country was settled or not; and it must be borne in mind that the Government was pledging that it would build the railway itself in ten years—the idea of a Company was an after-thought, and if no Company was found the Government was bound to complete the road itself in ten years. He objected very strongly to the limitation of time, and urged that it was amply sufficient that the Government should pledge itself to build the road as speedily as the financial position of the country would justify. British Columbia had not asked more than that, and that was all any reasonable man could expect. He maintained that Parliament ought not to be asked to pledge itself to carry out so vast an undertaking without the fullest possible information as to its cost and the ability of the country to meet it, and the House had really no information at all before it. He strongly urged the adoption of the amendment. Mr. Bolton briefly pointed out the enormous charges involved in the resolutions without any adequate information, and declared his intention to support the amendment. The debate was then adjourned.

9.—On the following day the debate was resumed by Colonel Gray, who, in a lengthy argument, defended the policy of the Government. He agreed, Col. Gray defends the resolutions. Mr. Joly condemns them. with the member for Sherbrooke, that the two most important considerations were that the constitution should not be infringed, and that Canada should not undertake too great financial responsibilities. As to the first point, he argued that the British North America Act did not limit representation to whites, and that there was nothing in it to prevent Indians from being represented. If the strict letter of the Act with regard to Representation by Population was followed, British Columbia, if allowed any representation at all, would only have one member; and he called attention to the fact that the Province was divided into two sections, the island of Vancouver and the Mainland,

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the interests of which were very dissimilar, and pointed out that if only one member was allowed, one section must go unrepresented. He argued that the admission of Manitoba with a larger representation than was in accordance with the British North America Act had established a precedent, and held that the argument then advanced, that the population would rapidly increase, was equally applicable to British Columbia. The position he took was that a Province could not be governed by the provisions of the British North America Act until after it had entered the Union; and if British Columbia pleased to stipulate before entering that its interests required six representatives in the House of Commons, there was nothing in the British North America Act to prevent six members being allowed. With regard to the ability of Canada to build the road he entered into a detailed account of the cost of the Union Pacific road, showing the difficulties which had to be overcome, and argued that the Canadian Pacific would be much easier to construct, and that the prosperous condition of the country fully justified the undertaking. He said there was much misconception about the cost, as it was made to appear that the Dominion would have to bear the whole expense of the road—some \$100,000,000—which was not the case, as the road would be built by a private Company, with the aid of public lands, &c., which was a very different thing from the Government undertaking the whole expense. Mr. Joly said that the policy of the Government reminded him of the fable of the frog and the ox; the frog tried to emulate the ox, and went on swelling and swelling himself until he burst, and when he (Mr. Joly) heard the Minister of Militia he thought that the Dominion was like the frog, and only hoped it would not share the same fate. He contended that the great advantage which Canada had possessed over the United States was its lighter taxation; but, if we added \$100,000,000 for this railway to the debt we already had, we should have a larger debt in proportion than the States had, and taxation

would accordingly be higher. He pointed out that the land grant to the railway was only half that of the United States to their Pacific road; that neither the freight nor passenger traffic was likely to be as much, while the cost of the road would be greater, and argued that, under these circumstances, it was not at all likely that any Company would undertake to build it, and the result would be that the road would have to be built by the Government. He considered the railway at least a quarter of a century in advance of the resources of the country; and he thought it would be most honest to tell British Columbia so, and, if she still pleased to enter the Union, let her do so. If British Columbia was only waiting to see who would offer her the best terms, the United States or Canada, he for one was not prepared to offer so much as the resolutions called for. He considered that the Northern Pacific Railway, now being built in the United States, would meet all the requirements of the North-West for many years to come.

10.—Mr. Jackson said that, while the abstract principle of Representation by Population may be right, he thought there were other considerations which should be taken into account in dealing with the new Province. If the present prosperity continued, he had no doubt of the ability of Canada to build the road in the specified time. Mr. Mills attacked the argument of the member for St. John (Col. Gray) with regard to taking the case of Manitoba as a precedent. He (Mr. Mills) held that the Manitoba Act was a breach of the articles of Confederation, and could not be regarded as a precedent. With regard to giving representation to Indians, that was contrary to the usage of all the other Provinces. He held that the principle of Representation by Population was expressly laid down by the Quebec Conference and the British North America Act as the basis of representation in Parliament, and no other basis was constitutional. He would ask the House whether it was just, for the sake of a population of ten thousand which had been languishing for years,

Mr. Mills' objections.  
Hon. Mr. Langevin  
upholds the  
resolutions.

to incur a greater amount of debt than had been incurred by the whole of British North America since its settlement. He did not consider the cases of the American and Canadian Pacific Railways at all parallel, for the Americans had a population of one million on the Pacific and thirty millions east of the Rocky Mountains, while we had only ten thousand on the Pacific and four millions east of the Rocky Mountains; besides which the American railway system extended one thousand miles further west than ours before they began to build their road. It was said that the road could be built in ten years, but, at the same time, it was seen that the Intercolonial, which was not over one-fifth of the length, would take seven years to complete, and, at the same rate, it would require thirty-seven years to finish the Pacific Railway, and he did not think it right of Parliament to pledge posterity so far ahead as that. He thought the proposal of the Government would not only cripple Canada but British Columbia as well, and so injure the whole country as to render it unable to take advantage of any favorable opportunities that may arise in the future. Hon. Mr. Langevin reminded the House that the resolutions had been passed unanimously by the Legislative Council of British Columbia on the understanding that they would be accepted by the House without amendment. He contended that the present terms were not less favorable to Canada than those originally proposed, as they only gave three representatives in the Senate instead of four, and six in the Commons instead of eight. There was no comparison between the Intercolonial and the Pacific Road, as the former had to be a Government work, while the latter would be built by a private Company. He thought there was no doubt of a private Company being found when such liberal grants of land and money were offered. He contended that the country was already pledged to build a road to the Rocky Mountains, and it would be very short-sighted policy not to extend it to the Pacific. The present debt was only \$80,000,000, not \$100,000,000 as had been stated, and it would not be increased

anything like another \$100,000,000 by the railway, as the greater part of the cost of that would be paid by land grants. It was absurd to suppose that we could ever people the North-West by the aid of the Northern Pacific, a road which was distant from our frontier all the way from one hundred to two hundred miles. It was necessary to fix a period for the completion of the road in order to give confidence to British capitalists as well as British Columbia; but he had no doubt but that British Columbia would agree to an extension of the period if it was found that it could not be built in the time specified. Hon. Mr. Smith took strong exception to the clause which required the road to be built in ten years, no matter what ruin it brought upon the country, and said that no verbal assurances of Ministers could extend the time after the terms had been accepted by the House and ratified by the Imperial Parliament. It had been argued that the road was a political necessity, but no Company would build it for that reason; it must be shown that it would pay as a commercial enterprise, and the only evidence on that point was Mr. Fleming's, which showed that it would not pay one-tenth of working expenses; it would therefore follow that no Company would undertake it, and the Dominion would have to build the road itself. It had been stated that if the Dominion did not grant the terms, British Columbia demanded that Colony would annex itself to the United States. He would ask the House if it was seriously expected to believe that these ten thousand white people on the Pacific coast would be quietly permitted to disrupt the British Empire? And even if they were, that was an Imperial question and not one to be settled by the Parliament of Canada. Canada could not reasonably be expected to buy the loyalty of these people at such a heavy cost. The improvement of our canals was a part, and a very important part, of Confederation. And the work had not been commenced yet because the country could not afford it, and yet the House was asked to sanction a scheme which would add \$100,000,000 to our debt. Mr. Rymal

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opposed the resolutions on the grounds that they violated the constitution by giving British Columbia one representative for every two thousand inhabitants, which was from ten to twenty times the proportion of representation in the other parts of the Dominion. With regard to the financial aspect he said that the present debt was \$116,000,000; it would require \$15,000,000 more to finish the Intercolonial; \$20,000,000 would be needed to improve the canals and the proposed railway would cost \$150,000,000, making a total debt of over \$300,000,000, which at five per cent. would require \$15,500,000 a year to pay interest. The present income was \$15,500,000 and the expenditure \$14,345,000, and he feared that such wholesale additions to our burdens would lead to national bankruptcy. Hon. Mr. Dunkin argued at considerable length in favor of the resolutions, on the ground that the country was already pledged to the policy of building a Pacific Railway as a completion of Confederation. He argued that a through road to the Pacific could be built at a cheaper rate than one only to the Rocky Mountains, which must be had to open up the North-West. The debate was then adjourned.

11.—On the resumption of the debate, on the 30th, Mr. Jones (Halifax) moved, in amendment to the amendment, that the following words be added, "The proposed engagement respecting the said Pacific Railway, would, in the opinion of this House, press too heavily on the resources of Canada." He said it would be well for the Government to pause and consider before adding the proposed immense burden of taxation. It must be remembered that there were other Provinces yet to be added to the Dominion, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and this large accession of debt would be very apt to deter them. It had been stated that the building of this road was necessary to prevent British Columbia from annexing itself to the United States; but he would ask why Canada should pay such an immense sum to prevent this consummation. Far from preventing annexation, however, he

thought this action would rather tend towards it; hitherto, one of the principal arguments against annexation had been that we were so much more lightly taxed than the United States; that while their debt equalled \$60 per head of the population, ours was only \$27; but if this enormous liability was incurred the tables would soon be turned, and our taxation would be greater than that of the United States. He asked the House to take a business-like view of the matter and say whether the country was in a condition to assume such a heavy responsibility. Mr. Bodwell, in seconding the amendment, ridiculed the idea of a rejection of the terms causing British Columbia to seek annexation, and said the argument was only used to frighten some of the doubtful supporters of the Government to vote for the measure; he did not object to a land grant to aid in constructing a railway, but thought the proposed quantity too small, and that a very large money grant would be needed in addition; he thought, also, that the Hudson's Bay Company should give at least 2,000,000 acres as it was largely interested in opening up the North-West. He considered it immoral in any Government to undertake obligations it could not fulfil; and he did not see how the Government could reasonably expect to fulfil the obligations it was asking the House to assume. Hon. Mr. Morris expressed surprise that two such professed advocates of Confederation as the members for Sherbrooke and Lambton, should oppose a scheme which would effectually perfect Confederation. The honorable member for Sherbrooke had said that he preferred the terms originally proposed by British Columbia; these terms had stipulated for the building of a Coach Road in three years, and the expenditure of at least \$1,000,000 per annum on the railway; he (Mr. Morris) was sure the House would not think these terms preferable to those proposed by the Government. The honorable member for Lambton had said that he was opposed to locking up lands by putting them in the hands of a Company, yet, by his amendment, he was taking the most effectual way to lock them up by denying access to them,

Mr. Jones moves an amendment to the amendment.

for how could settlement be encouraged unless means were found to get at the lands? It had been said that there was very little arable land in British Columbia, but he could state on the authority of the Hon. Mr. Trutch, Surveyor-General of the Province, that fully one-third of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, or 50,000,000 acres was good farming land. He considered the railway more of a necessity to Canada than it was to British Columbia, and argued that if the Northern Pacific could be built on a land grant alone there would be no difficulty in inducing capitalists to undertake the Canadian Pacific where the natural obstacles were fewer, and a money grant would be added to the land. Mr. Oliver thought that no better terms should be given to British Columbia than to the other Provinces, and it was manifestly unjust to pledge \$100,000 a year for lands which had not been shown to be worth anything, and which would only be a source of expense to the Dominion. He thought these lands should have been left in the hands of the Local Government to encourage immigration with by liberal free grants. He favored the admission of British Columbia and the building of the railway, but opposed the resolutions as giving too liberal terms and imposing too heavy obligations on Canada. Mr. Magill opposed the resolutions on the grounds that they unduly favored British Columbia at the expense of the other Provinces, and imposed too heavy burdens on the people. Mr. Colby supported the policy of the Government, and thought that the finances of the country had never been in a better condition to undertake the construction of the railway. Hon. Mr. Anglin said he fully and freely accepted Confederation and all the obligations which it entailed, one of which was the admission of British Columbia, but he did not consider the scheme proposed one of the legitimate results of Confederation at all. Taken on its merits, the scheme was objectionable in every way. He objected to violating the Constitution to give British Columbia six members in the Commons; to pensioning officials, and to grant-

ing \$100,000 a year—under a shallow pretence of buying land—to keep a corrupt and extravagant Government in power; and he objected still more strongly to building the railway on any such terms as those proposed. He wished that the House could have the secret history of the measure before it, for he was convinced that no Canadian Government, of its own free will, would dare take the responsibility of making so monstrous a proposition. The House was asked to pledge itself blindfold to build a railway within a given time without even knowing whether it was not an impossibility to build one at all. The experience of the Red River Expedition had shown the region through which the road must pass to be little better than a mass of rocks and water; and beyond the Rocky Mountains the country was again very difficult. He read extracts from the Victoria (B.C.) *Colonist* to show the difficult nature of the country through which the road would pass, and said that the cost of forwarding supplies would be enormous, and that the Government ought, at least, to have brought down a complete survey of the road to show where it was to be built, and what its cost would be. He considered the Government estimate of the cost altogether too low, and said some authorities placed it as high as \$200,000,000 to \$240,000,000. The Government was fast driving the country into the American system of debt and taxation, and when we had those what barrier would then be between us and annexation? The building of this road would enormously increase taxation, and although it might also increase immigration, no one would pretend that it would induce anything like a sufficient immigration in ten years to compensate for the immense outlay. Referring to the present condition of the country and the apparent surplus, he said that was mostly caused by the interest on the Intercolonial Railway loan and the debt repaid by the Great Western Railway, and the House should not be misled by this seeming prosperity into undertaking any excessive responsibilities. A Company had been spoken of, but where

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was the Company, and how could it raise \$75,000,000 on 50,000,000 acres of barren land? He argued that British Columbia must be unfit for settlement, else why had the population decreased so much of late years? California had grown to be a great State after the gold fever died out, and why had not British Columbia? He could assign no other reason than that it was unsuited for cultivation.

12.—Sir Francis Hincks said he assumed that both sides of the House favored Confederation:

and he desired to call attention to the fact that all the proceedings were of the character of negotiations between two parties, as to the best means of accomplishing an object on which both were agreed. The Government had entered into negotiations, and the whole House, with one or two exceptions, seemed in favor of connection with British Columbia and the building of the railway, although they may differ as to terms. It had never been intended that the Government should build the road itself, but that it should be done by a Company, and all calculations had been based on that understanding. The Government scheme was a modification of that proposed by British Columbia, and although the Government would not agree to a stipulated annual expenditure, it fully admitted the necessity of building the railway. In reply to a question by Mr. Satcherd as to whether the road would be built if the land would not build it, he replied that the Government had not expected to be able to build the road on the land grant alone; it would be necessary to give a money subsidy as well, and he supposed that would amount to a million or a million and a quarter per annum, but whether it would be given as a subsidy or as a guarantee on the share capital of the Company had not been determined. The Government had no intention of incurring any such debt as \$100,000,000, and if there was no other way of building the road he may say that the scheme would be abandoned; he did not consider that they would be bound to go on at all hazards of ruin to the Dominion; and if the

road could not be completed in the specified time he was sure British Columbia would not be dissatisfied as long as Canada had done all she could. Mr. Workman regretted that he should have to dissent from the Government on its railway policy. He thought the road would involve the country to the extent of \$50,000,000 at least, and that was more than the country could afford for a railway which would not pay. He ridiculed the idea of a trans-continental traffic for the products of the East, and said that any merchant knew those products would not bear railway travel. As to the Intercolonial, he believed it would be a source of expense and anxiety for many years to come, and thought it would be better to get one elephant off our hands before taking up another and a larger one. Hon. Mr. Macdougall accused the Government of failing in the final step towards the completion of Confederation. Taking an impartial view of the case, he must charge them with having struck a fatal blow at the great measure with which for the past few years they had been connected, and for the success of which they were pledged to this House and responsible to the country. They proposed for the sake of completing the Union, as they alleged, to load the Dominion with a debt of double the amount the people now labored under; and he claimed that no such sacrifice was needed to accomplish that object. Under the British North America Act the Government had no right to enter into any such agreement as the one proposed with British Columbia, and tell the House that it was of the nature of a treaty and could not be altered. If it could not be changed, what was the good of submitting it to the House at all, and wasting days in discussing it? British Columbia was a Crown Colony with a very limited population, which was constantly changing; and it was absurd to say that the future destinies of that Colony rested in the hands of the few thousand miners and adventurers who happened to be there now and may be away to-morrow. But the power had been given them to ask unreasonable terms, and

Sir Francis Hincks' explanation. Hon. Mr. Macdougall attacks the Government policy.



they had done so, although he did not believe that the majority of the people desired to force from Canada the terms proposed. What right had the people of that Colony, he would like to know, to stipulate that public works should be undertaken in the North-West Territories and in the Province of Ontario? That was clearly exceeding their power and infringing on the rights of the Dominion Parliament. The line of the proposed railway might be divided into three sections, the first of which through Ontario was barren, rocky, presenting many difficulties in the way of constructing a railway, and totally unsuited for settlement; the middle section was fertile and offered few obstacles, but was too sparsely settled to offer any hope of a railway paying for some years; and the last section was through a mountainous, difficult country, the agricultural resources of which were very doubtful. It was not at all probable that any Company would undertake to build a road through such a country, and if no Company could be found he would like to know whether the Government would undertake to build the road? He thought it would be a far better plan to build a railway through the Fertile Belt from Pembina to the Rocky Mountains, and from thence have a good post road to the Pacific. From Pembina connection could be had with the other parts of the Dominion by the Northern Pacific; and the Dominion would soon have a mixed road, part land, part water, through its own territory, which he thought would be amply sufficient for many years. Objection might be taken to the excessive representation allowed, and to the large money payments to be made to the Colony; but he was not disposed to be niggardly towards new Provinces, thinking that they should have liberal means at their disposal for local improvements. The excessive representation was a violation of the British North America Act, but it was an evil which would, probably, cure itself in a few years by the increase of population.

13.—Mr. Beatty would support the resolutions, as he had every confidence in the Government

and fully endorsed their policy of opening up the North-West for settlement. As for the Op-

*Division. The resolutions adopted without amendment.*

position it seemed to him that they had no policy except that they ought to sit on the Treasury benches, and then the North-West could open up itself. Hon. Mr. Dorion said that of the two aspects presented by the question, the political and the financial, the latter was the most important, and he had hoped to have heard some full explanations from the Government on that point; but beyond a vague statement by the Finance Minister that the cost of the railway would be not less than \$100,000,000, no information had been given. It was with humiliation that he had heard a Minister of the Crown say that after entering into a solemn compact to build the road in ten years, the agreement could be broken if it was found inconvenient to carry it out. He referred to the heavy obligations the Dominion was already under, and the necessity of improving the canals, and said that if he was desirous of seeing Confederation broken up he could think of no surer way than adopting these resolutions. He had been opposed to Confederation, and was not in favor of an indefinite extension of the Dominion; but if the Dominion must be enlarged in some direction, it would be far better to extend it in the direction of Newfoundland with its 150,000 inhabitants, and Prince Edward Island, with its 100,000 settled residents than to British Columbia with its 10,000 nomads. He quoted from Mr. Sanford Fleming to show that a macadamised road would take seventeen years to build, and that a railway was a commercial absurdity, which would require eight millions a year to maintain it. He did not think there was any necessity for a Canadian Pacific Railway, as the American roads could give us all the accommodation we required, and our money could be much better employed. He considered that the four millions of people inhabiting the basin of the St. Lawrence were more worthy of consideration than the few residents in British Columbia, and that if this vast sum of money was to be spent it should be spent in improving

the canal to the coast railway. a vote to amend 98. Mr. "That, in consideration the present greater a given to important Lost: Yes taken on defeated then move in view into since ture urgent purposes, imposing enormous ten years by the re Lost: Yes was then resolutions

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the canals, which would be of vast importance to the country, instead of wasting it on a useless railway. The members were then called in and a vote taken on Mr. Jones' amendment to the amendment, which was lost: Yeas, 63; Nays, 98. Mr. Ross (Dundas) moved in amendment, "That, in the opinion of this House, the further consideration of the question be postponed for the present session of Parliament, in order that greater and more careful consideration may be given to a question of such magnitude and importance to the people of this Dominion." Lost: Yeas, 75; Nays, 85. The vote was then taken on Mr. Mackenzie's amendment which was defeated by a vote of 67 to 94. Hon. Mr. Dorion then moved in amendment, "That it be resolved in view of the engagements already entered into since Confederation and the large expenditure urgently required for canal and railway purposes, this House would not be justified in imposing upon the people of this Dominion the enormous burdens required to construct within ten years a railway to the Pacific, as proposed by the resolutions submitted to the House." Lost: Yeas, 70; Nays, 91. The main motion was then carried on the same division, and the resolutions passed through committee.

14.—On the following day (31st of March) on Sir George E. Cartier moving concurrence in the report of the Committee of the Whole on the resolutions, Mr. Mackenzie offers another amendment. Mackenzie reviewed some of the speeches made by the members of the Ministry in support of the resolutions. He was surprised that the Minister of Inland Revenue with all the sources of information at his command could only find that one-third of the Province was arable, and had to include Vancouver Island at that. Now in dealing with the question of the railway, Vancouver Island must not be included, for the railway would not run through it; and from all he (Mr. Mackenzie) could learn, not more than one-fourth or one-fifth of the Mainland was fit for agricultural purposes, and it had yet to be shown whether or not the other four-fifths of the country through which the road must run was good for mining

purposes. He ridiculed as absurd the statement of the Minister of Militia that the land purchased from British Columbia for \$2,000,000 would be taken in account by any railway company as \$15,600,000. He characterised the statement made by Ministers that the condition to build the road in ten years need not be complied with unless the Government pleased, as the greatest piece of political immorality he had ever heard uttered in the House. Parliament could not afford to loosely enter into engagements it did not mean to perform, and he for one would never give his consent to any measure he was not prepared to fully carry out when the time came. He had been charged with saying that the railway was a political necessity. He denied ever having said so. What he had said, and was willing to admit, was that it was desirable to have communication with British Columbia as soon as the financial condition of the country would admit of; but to undertake to build in ten years a railway from the Ottawa Valley, through a rocky and difficult country, to the Pacific Ocean would be an act of stupendous folly. He pointed out that the Northern Pacific Railway could not pay the interest on its bonds; that the Grand Trunk had never yet paid one cent, and yet the House was asked to believe that this proposed railway, which for two-thirds of its route would pass through an uninhabited country, would be a grand success at once. We had two hundred miles of uninhabitable country lying between the head of Lake Superior and Winnipeg; and he would suggest a cheap narrow gauge railway and steamers on the stretches of navigable waters as all the means of communication which would be needed for years to come. He considered the railway scheme one of the most foolish imaginable; and what was it for? To get some 10,000 people into the Union, who would cost the country over \$10,000 per head! Such terms argued either insane recklessness on the part of the Government, or a painful want of patriotism which would greatly damage the country. He declared that it was monstrous to suppose that a small body like the

British Columbia Council should be allowed to draw up propositions binding on the Parliament of the Dominion, and they were to be told that they must not alter them. He concluded by moving that all the words after "that" be omitted, and the following inserted; "That having regard to the vast importance of questions involved in the said resolutions, including the obligation to construct within ten years the Pacific Railway, the cost of which is estimated to exceed \$100,000,000, time should be afforded to the people and their representatives for consultation before coming to a final decision, and that the consideration of the said resolution should therefore be postponed till next session."

15.—Sir George E. Cartier said he had hoped that the three days discussion would have exhausted the matter, and he would not have had to speak again, but he felt compelled to reply to the remarks of the member for Lambton. The honorable gentleman objected to binding the country to build 2,500 miles of railway in ten years, and said we could not afford it. Did he forget that years ago when Canada was much more sparsely settled than it was now we had built 2,000 miles of road in eight years? Had Canada been ruined by those works, or had her agricultural interests suffered? Besides the railway she had also built the Victoria Bridge at Montreal, which alone cost as much as 500 miles of railway, and several other large bridges. If the railway could be built at all, it could be done in ten years, and for his part, he rather considered the time too long than too short. The hundred millions expenditure was a bugbear, a phantom raised by the opposition; there was no idea of spending any such sum, the Government purposely keeping control of its public lands to facilitate railway enterprises. He could not see that there was any object to be gained by postponing the matter, as proposed in the amendment, and should therefore oppose it. Mr. Blake argued that the terms on which British Columbia was to be admitted had not been before the people, and therefore it was

Several amendments  
put and lost.

proper to postpone action until the people could have an opportunity of expressing an opinion. The Government had tried to make a point of the fact that the hundred millions was not to be all in cash; but it had not been disputed that the cost would be that sum, and that being admitted it made little difference whether it was paid in land or money, it was the same drain on the resources of the country. The Government argument was that we would not be expected to perform impossibilities; but an honest man would fulfil his obligations if it involved bankruptcy, and if the Government undertook these obligations it ought to be with the expectation of honestly fulfilling them. He thought it would be better to take more time to consider the matter, and would therefore support the amendment. Hon. Mr. Tilley maintained that there was no necessity for delay: the scheme had been before the public for three months and had been favorably received, indeed it had been agitated through the press ever since Confederation. He thought that a money subsidy of \$10,000 per mile would put the building of the road beyond question. Hon. Mr. Macdougall quoted from a report made by Mr. Hind, an officer of the Government, to show that there was only 40,000,000 acres of arable land in the Fertile Belt of the North-West; and taking the arable land in British Columbia as 10,000,000, that would only make 50,000,000 acres, all of which was to be given to the Railway Company, and the Government would have no good land left for settlement. He denied that the scheme had been before the public for months, as it was only after the debate was commenced, on the twenty-seventh, that its full magnitude was made known. Mr. Jones (Leeds) said that although both sides deprecated party considerations he had never heard a question made a more thoroughly party one. He opposed the resolutions because he did not think the country could afford the expenditure; and he was also of opinion that the Imperial Government ought to assist in any scheme for opening up the North-West. He did not consider that the land in British

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Columbia could be very good, or there would have been more settlement there. He was in favor of consideration of the matter being postponed, and should vote for the amendment. Mr. Mackenzie's amendment was then put and lost by a vote of 65 to 85. Mr. Cartwright moved an amendment to the eleventh resolution to the effect that the Dominion Government pledged itself to use its best endeavours to complete the railway in ten years. Lost, Yeas 7, Nays 135. Mr. Bodwell moved in amendment to strike out all words after "that" and insert the following: "That the proposed terms of union with British Columbia provide for representation in the Senate by three members, and in the House of Commons by six members, while the white population is about 10,000, and such representation in the House of Commons is enormously in excess of the proper number according to the population, and is in violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution, a principle which ought not to be disturbed without the consent of the Provinces, and that the said resolutions be referred back to a Committee of the whole House for the purpose of reducing the number of representatives in the House of Commons." Mr. Killam moved, in amendment to the amendment, that the words "population is about 10,000" in the amendment be struck out. Lost.—Yeas, 43; Nays, 100. Mr. Bodwell's amendment was then rejected. Yeas 58, Nays 87. Mr. Blake moved, in amendment, to strike out all words after "that," and insert the following: "That the proposed terms of union with British Columbia provide for payment by the Dominion to British Columbia of a yearly sum of \$100,000 in perpetuity, equal to a capital sum of \$2,000,000, for the cession of a tract of waste land on the route of the proposed Pacific railway, to aid in its construction, while any such land required for that purpose should be ceded without charge, in like manner as lands of the Dominion are to be ceded, and that the said resolutions be recommitted for the purpose of amending the same in accordance with this resolution." Lost; Yeas, 59; Nays, 84. The

resolutions were then adopted, and an address based on them introduced and read the first time.

16.—On the motion of Sir George E. Cartier, on the following day (1st of April) for the second reading of the address,

Mr. Mackenzie said that his side did not intend to delay the

The address finally adopted without amendment.

House any longer, but would take one more vote as a protest against some of the terms. Having made this protest, the Opposition would throw upon the Government the responsibility for the extraordinary terms which had been conceded in the address; he therefore moved, "That this House, while willing to give its best consideration to any reasonable terms of union with British Columbia, is of opinion that the terms embodied in the said address are so unreasonable and so unjust to Canada that this House should not agree thereto." Hon. Dr. Tupper said that he had not hitherto taken any part in the debate, but had listened with mingled pain and pleasure to the remarks of other members, pain at hearing some old friends of Confederation opposing the resolutions, and pleasure at the able expositions of the policy which he thought would bring Confederation to a great and glorious consummation. He argued at considerable length in favor of the resolutions, holding that the Canadian route to the Pacific was far better than either of the American routes, as it was easier of construction, and would bring Liverpool and China 1000 miles nearer together than any other route, thus securing a large amount of traffic. Mr. Scatcherd said he was opposed to admitting British Columbia on these terms, or on any terms that would increase taxation. He did not think Confederation had been a success for three sections—Nova Scotia, Quebec and Manitoba—were dissatisfied; and he did not find any difference between the position of the minority now and what it was in 1865. The Government was quite as arbitrary and unreasonable now as then. He should oppose the resolutions, for if they were passed everything we ate, drank or wore, for the next fifty years, would be stamped with Pacific Railway

taxes. Hon. Mr. Huntington said, that although he had voted against Confederation, still he desired to see the scheme since it had been adopted, carried to complete success; but Confederation was not a machine which would carry itself to success without careful and wise management. Already the national debt had been increased fifty per cent., and now it was proposed at one sweep to augment it \$100,000,000. He argued that Confederation was quite as much an Imperial as a Colonial policy; and if it was the duty of the Imperial Parliament to aid in constructing the Inter-colonial, it was a hundred times more its duty to assist in connecting the Eastern Provinces with the Pacific. He would be glad to know if the Government had any reason to give the House why they had forced the Empire from its share of this great work of consolidating the British power upon this continent? As the Honorable Minister of Militia did not seem disposed to answer this question, he would tell him what is being talked on this question outside of the House. It was stated that there were people outside of the House that were interested in this project. It was rumored that certain bankers and capitalists, who were able to bring great influence to bear upon the Government, were anxious that the Dominion Government should take such steps as would have the effect of convincing capitalists that Canada was determined to build this railway in order to defeat the scheme of the Northern Pacific Railway; and the observations of the Honorable President of the Council seemed to give some color to these rumors. It had been used as an argument in favor of the resolutions that if they were not passed British Columbia would annex herself to the United States. British Columbia was a Crown Colony, and if it were really a part of the Imperial policy to consolidate British interests on this continent, it would not make the difference of a feather's weight if every man, woman and child in British Columbia voted for annexation, they would not be annexed. If any of the British possessions ever became annexed to the United

States, it would be at the cannon's mouth, and as the result of the utter overthrow of British power on this continent. The British Government would never allow the 10,000 people in British Columbia to annex that vast and important country to the United States, and it was humiliating to hear Canadian Ministers advancing such an argument to act as a spur to hurry on their scheme. Mr. Rymal called attention to the fact that the Finance Minister had not yet explained how he proposed to raise the money; and proceeded to make a personal attack on Sir Francis Hincks. Mr. Thompson (Ontario) was opposed to accepting the terms without any evidence to show that we could carry them out. If it was intended to build the road with a land grant, it should be so expressed in the resolutions; or if it was proposed to give a money subsidy, that should be stated. A division was then taken on Mr. Mackenzie's amendment, which was lost; Yeas 68, Nays 86. Sir A. T. Galt said that the Government had stated that it was not their intention to build the road out of the money resources of the Dominion, but that they would aid a Company with land and money; in order to have this formally expressed he would offer the following amendment: "That the said address be not now read a second time, but that it be read a second time on Monday; and that, in the meantime, it be resolved that in accepting the terms of the union with British Columbia, this House understands that the engagement for the construction of the Pacific Railway within ten years is subject to an understanding had between the Government of the Dominion and the Commissioners from British Columbia, and that the said railway shall be constructed through the medium of private Companies receiving subsidies in money and land, and that it was not intended to pledge the Dominion beyond the obligation of its money resources to a loyal and earnest prosecution of the work, without entailing undue and excessive burdens on the people." Sir George E. Cartier opposed the resolution, but promised to bring down a resolution on Monday or Tuesday, explaining

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Hon. Mr. Cartier introduces the resolutions in the Senate.

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how the Government proposed to build the railway. Messrs. Mackenzie, Blake and Bowell expressed themselves unable to support the amendment. Sir A. T. Galt's amendment was then put and lost. Yeas, 7; Nays, 126. The main motion was then carried, the address passed and ordered to be engrossed. In accordance with his promise, Sir George E. Cartier, on 4th April, gave notice that on the next day he would move the following resolution: "That the Railway referred to in the address to Her Majesty concerning the Union of British Columbia with Canada, adopted by this House on Saturday, the 1st April instant,\* should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government; and that the public aid to be given to secure that undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy in money, or other aid, not unduly pressing on the industry and resources of the Dominion, as the Parliament of Canada shall hereinafter determine." Mr. Mackenzie raised the point of order that the House had already voted down a similar proposition made by Sir A. T. Galt. The Speaker reserved his decision until the resolution was moved; but the resolution was not brought up during the remainder of the session.

17.—The resolutions for the address were moved in the Senate, on the 3rd of April, by the Hon. Mr. Campbell who said that he was quite well aware of the vastness of the enterprise proposed, but it had formed part of the original plan for a Confederation of all the Provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and he did not know that anyone regarded an union with British Columbia as undesirable. The three most important propositions in the resolutions were representation; the financial arrangements other than the railway, and the railway itself. With regard to representation he did not think that the principle of Representation by Population could

be strictly applied in the case of new Provinces or they would have no representation at all on account of the sparseness of their populations. Their future growth and increase of population must be taken into account also. This principle had been admitted by both Houses in the case of Manitoba, and approved by the Government and Parliament of England, and the same principle had been admitted in the negotiations with Newfoundland, it was only fair, therefore, to apply it to British Columbia. It was a mistake to say that Indians were not taken into account in the matter of representation in Canada, for all the Indians were being included in the present census, and it was most likely that they would form an element in the readjustment of representation which would take place after the census was completed. With regard to the second proposition he said that the scheme had been before the public for three months, and he had not seen any objections raised to it in the public press. He entered into details to show that Canada would receive about \$363,500 per annum from British Columbia and pay out about \$361,000, exclusive of \$100,000 per annum for the land needed for the railway. As to the railway itself he said that Canada only guaranteed to *secure* its construction, not to build it herself. The ten years clause he did not consider as compulsory, but only as a guarantee of good faith, for Canada could not be expected to perform impossibilities; and if such an event as a foreign war, or any other unforeseen circumstance should arise to postpone the completion of the road, British Columbia could not object to the delay. Every one who had debated the question had admitted the necessity of building the road at some time, and the advantage of having British Columbia admitted to the Union; and he could not see that anything was to be gained by delay, we were in excellent financial condition now and were not likely to be any better off in ten years time, and he knew of no reason for delay. Canada had spent \$160,000,000 on railways since 1854 and no one could deny that the country had been immensely benefited thereby. It was true that the share-

\*It is worthy of notice that these resolutions, so full of importance to Canada and which led to the defeat of the Macdonald Ministry, were adopted on the 1st of April.



holders had not been very greatly benefited, but the advantage to the country was unquestionable; yet if it had been said twenty years ago that this vast sum would be expended on railways everybody would have predicted financial ruin for the country, but now who thought it a burden? He thought that the road could be built with a money subsidy of from \$7,000 to \$10,000 per mile in addition to the land grant, and said that it would not press heavily on the people, as it would be spread over a number of years; it would be 1873 before the surveys could be completed, and it would be built at the rate of, perhaps, 100 miles the first year, 200 the second, and so on. This question was one which concerned not British Columbia alone but the whole Dominion, and especially the North-West which would never be built up without railway communication.

18.—Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just said that since Confederation was an accomplished fact Hon. Mr. Letellier offers an amendment. he was willing to accept it and do all in his power to make it successful; but he could not support the extravagant financial policy contained in the resolutions. It had been urged that British Columbia might become annexed to the United States; he thought that if the people there were not loyal enough to want to join Canada on reasonable terms, it would be best not to have British Columbia at all. He considered the terms proposed most unreasonable; and from the manner in which they had been passed in the British Columbia Legislature, and the Parliament of Canada told that no alteration could be made, it looked as if British Columbia proposed to annex the Dominion instead of the Dominion annexing British Columbia. He argued that, taking the Intercolonial as a guide, the proposed railroad would cost \$150,000,000, that no Company could be found to build the road for the land grant and the proposed subsidy of seven or eight millions of dollars, and that the Government would have to build the road, which would involve the country in financial ruin. He criticised the entire absence of information on the part of the Government, as to cost, &c., and said that

no honest person would enter on a private enterprise without counting the cost to see if he could afford it; but the Government wanted the House to pledge itself to build the road without knowing what it would cost, or whether the country could afford it. He claimed that the scale of representation was unjust to the other Provinces, and especially to Quebec, which was already unfairly dealt with at Confederation by having the number of her representatives fixed at sixty-five for all time, while the other Provinces would increase their number. On the question of pensions, he thought it strange that the Government had at Confederation dismissed many old servants of the Province of Canada without pensions, and reduced the salaries of others, and could now undertake to pension Public Officers in British Columbia. He concluded by moving in amendment, "That in the opinion of this House, the further consideration of this question be postponed for the present session of Parliament, in order that greater and more careful consideration may be given to a question of such magnitude and importance to the people of this Dominion."

19.—Hon. Mr. Wilmot, in seconding the amendment, said that he was not indisposed to carry out Confederation by the admission of British Columbia, and if The address adopted in the Senate without amendment. the Government would embody in the resolutions, stipulations similar to those introduced in the House of Commons\* it would remove many objections that he had to the scheme as it stood. He did not object to the liberal financial terms, but was strongly opposed to incurring any such gigantic work as the railway, without better information on the subject. He quoted from Allison, and other authorities to show the evil effects of undue railway speculation; and urged that as business men they should carefully count the cost before entering upon such an enterprise, and pause before rushing into expenditures which may lead to National bankruptcy. He reviewed the experience of New Brunswick with regard to

\* See Notice of Motion given by Sir George E. Cartier in House of Commons on 14th April, page 236.



building railways, and said that if the Government had come down with a definite proposal to give so much a mile and such a quantity of land to a responsible Company to build the road he would have given it his support; but these general resolutions which pledged the country to more than it could perform, he was compelled to oppose. Hon. Mr. Miller dwelt on the many advantages which had already accrued from Confederation; and held that it was our duty to enlarge the union as rapidly as possible until every square mile of British territory in North America was united under one Government. He explained at length the great resources of British Columbia, its magnificent forests, rich mines, not only of the precious metals but of coal, and splendid fisheries; and argued that no time could be more favorable than the present for uniting with this fine Province. He warmly advocated the building of the railway, and thought that the advantage of having a road from the Atlantic to the Pacific on British territory was so great that there would be no difficulty in attracting sufficient capital to ensure the success of the enterprise, without pressing too heavily on the resources of the Dominion. Hon. Mr. Sanborn raised the constitutional objection to the resolutions that there was no provision made in the British North America Act for the appointment of Senators from British Columbia, while the resolutions allowed three to that Province. He thought that if this railway was a part of the Imperial policy we ought to have Imperial support and assistance; but instead of receiving assistance the troops were withdrawn, and it looked as if we were expected to shift for ourselves. He argued that the population of British Columbia—even including Indians—had been greatly over-estimated, and the cost of the railway very much underestimated. He put the cost at not less than \$150,000,000, and opposed the resolutions because he did not consider the Dominion could afford any such outlay as was required by them. Hon. Mr. Macpherson thought it was ridiculous to say that Parliament intended to incur a liability of \$100,000,000; no Government would be so reckless as to think of

such a thing; the people would not stand it, and even if they would they could not borrow the money. He favored the union of all the Provinces at once and the building of the road, and supported the resolutions. Hon. Mr. Dever said that the advantages of union being admitted by both sides, it was only left to consider the terms, and he was quite satisfied with those proposed by the Government. Hon. Mr. Dickey thought we had been rather unfortunate in our negotiations for admitting new Provinces: we had paid £300,000 for the North-West, and got nothing for it; we had offered far too liberal terms to Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and now the House was asked to consider the terms proposed for the admission of British Columbia. He thought it would have been better if the Government had simply agreed to secure the building of the road through Companies, but as the agreement had been made he was prepared to support the resolutions. Hon. Mr. Chapais defended the resolutions at great length, and showed that the cost of the road would be about \$94,000,000. He valued the land at \$1.50 per acre, so that, even if the proposed Company only received 32,000,000 acres, it would have \$48,000,000 worth of land, and, with a subsidy of \$25,000,000 from the Government, he thought there would be no difficulty in the Company's raising the balance. The debate was continued three days, and was participated in by Hon. Messrs. Smith, Holmes, Mitchell, Skead, Macfarlane, Botsford, Benson, and Flint, who supported the policy of the Government; and Hon. Messrs. Seymour, Wark, Reesor, MacMaster, Christie, McClellan, Odell, Olivier and Simpson, who opposed it. On the fifth a vote was taken on Hon. Mr. Letellier's amendment, which was lost—Yeas, 21; Nays, 38. Hon. Mr. Sanborn then moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. Reesor, to insert the following: "While this House desires the early union of British Columbia with the Dominion, and is prepared to adopt any plan consistent with a prudent and fair estimate of the resources of this country to secure this result, it cannot, with a due regard to our financial ability, concur in

the terms set forth in said address and report, imposing upon this Government the absolute obligation to secure the completion of a railway communication between the Pacific coast and the railway system of Canada." Lost—Yeas, 21; Nays, 39. Hon. Mr. Sanborn, seconded by Hon. Mr. Leonard, moved the following amendment: "That the railway referred to in the said address and approved Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government, and that the public aid to be given to secure that undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy in money, or other aid, not unduly pressing on the industry and resources of the Dominion as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine." Lost—Yeas, 21; Nays, 39. The main motion to adopt the resolutions was then carried. Yeas, 38; Nays, 21. We have given this chapter much the character of Parliamentary proceedings, but this has been thought desirable, inasmuch as the details of the admission of British Columbia to the Confederation are not only important as a subject of reference, but instructive as indicating the manner of the political growth of the Dominion.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—ARBITRATION BETWEEN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC.

1.—THE PROVISIONS UNDER WHICH THE ARBITRATORS WERE APPOINTED.—2. THE CASE AS PRESENTED BY ONTARIO.—3. THE CASE AS PRESENTED BY QUEBEC.—4. REPLIES TO CASES BY COUNSEL FOR BOTH PROVINCES.—5. INTERLOCUTORY JUDGMENT GIVEN BY A MAJORITY OF THE ARBITRATORS.—6. HON. JUDGE DAY RESIGNS.—7. THE REMAINING ARBITRATORS DECIDE TO PROCEED. A PRECEDENT FOR THE FISHERIES AWARD.—8. THE TERMS OF THE AWARD DIVIDING THE DEBT, LIABILITIES AND ASSETS.—9. THE QUEBEC GOVERNMENT, AND BOTH HOUSES OF THE LEGISLA-

TURE, PROTEST AGAINST THE AWARD.—10. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD DECIDES THAT THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT HAS NO POWER TO INTERFERE IN THE MATTER.—11. MR. BLAKE MOVES FOR PAPERS AND CORRESPONDENCE.—12. RESOLUTIONS THAT THE DOMINION ASSUME THE WHOLE DEBT INTRODUCED BY HON. MR. DORION, AND DECLARED OUT OF ORDER.—13. HON. MR. DORION RENEWS HIS MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.—14. SIR GEORGE E. CARTIER PROPOSES AN AMENDMENT TO THE MOTION.—15. HON. MR. HOLTON MOVES AN AMENDMENT EQUIVALENT TO A MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.—16. SYNOPSIS OF THE DEBATE. HON. MR. HOLTON'S MOTION DEFEATED. 16 FOR, 95 AGAINST.—17. OTHER AMENDMENTS LOST. THE GOVERNMENT SUSTAINED BY A VOTE OF 68 TO 40.

1.—A question which occupied a good deal of public attention at this time, and which was the subject of several debates in Parliament during the session of 1871, was the award of the Arbitrators appointed to determine how the debt of the Province of Canada at the time of Confederation should be divided between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. It will be remembered that the debt of the Province of Canada exceeded the amount to be assumed by the Dominion, and that such surplus debt was to be divided between the two Provinces.\* The manner in which such division was to be made was provided for in the 142nd section of the British North America Act, 1867, which is as follows: "The division and adjustment of the debts, credits, liabilities, properties and assets of Upper Canada and Lower Canada shall be referred to the arbitrament of three Arbitrators, one chosen by the Government of Ontario, one by the Government of Quebec, and one by the Government of Canada, and the selection of the Arbitrators shall not be made until the Parliament of Canada and the Legis-

The provisions under which the Arbitrators were appointed.

\*By sections 112, 114, 115, of the British North America Act, 1867, the debts of the three Provinces at Confederation were placed at \$62,000,000 for Canada, \$8,000,000 for Nova Scotia, and \$7,000,000 for New Brunswick, and by section 113 certain assets were declared to be the property of the Province of Canada.

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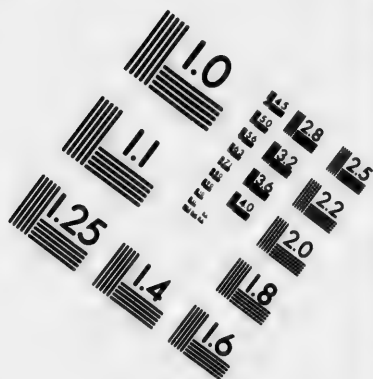
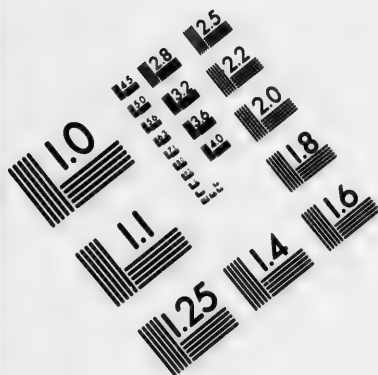
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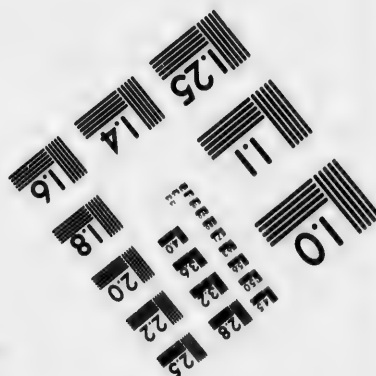
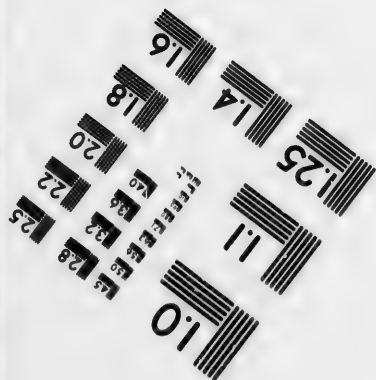
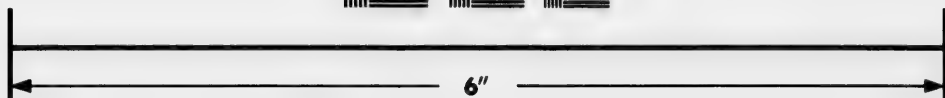
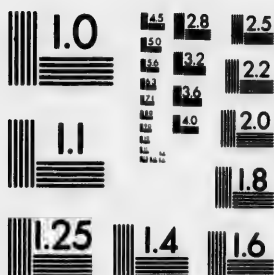
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latures of Ontario and Quebec have met; and the Arbitrator chosen by the Government of Canada shall not be a resident either in Ontario or Quebec." Under this authority the Honorable David Lewis Macpherson, Senator, was appointed Arbitrator on behalf of Ontario; the Honorable Charles Dewey Day on behalf of Quebec; and the Honorable John Hamilton Gray, M.P., on behalf of the Dominion, the date of the latter appointment being 21st March, 1868. The Honorable John Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., was counsel for Ontario, and Messrs. Lewis E. N. Casault,\* and Thomas W. Ritchie, Q.C., for Quebec. The cases for the respective Provinces were stated by printed factums.

2.—By the factum presented by the Province of Ontario the whole debt of the old Province of

The case as presented by Ontario.

Canada at the time of Confederation was placed at \$73,039,553.92, and, consequently, the sum to be apportioned between Ontario and Quebec at \$10,539,553.92 being the excess over \$62,500,000 assumed by the Dominion. Schedules were prepared giving the sums which had been spent on Local improvements in each Province since the Union, by which it was shown that \$9,833,733.33 had been so spent in Ontario, and \$7,401,046 in Quebec, making a total of \$17,235,579.52; and it was proposed that the excess at Confederation should be divided in the same ratio as the whole amount spent for local improvements bore to the amount spent in Ontario. This would have made the amount to be charged to Ontario \$5,845,416.01, and to Quebec \$4,694,137.90. Failing the acceptance of this proposition an offer was made to settle on the basis of population according to the last census (1861), which would have given the amounts as \$5,867,738.43 to be charged to Ontario, and \$4,675,805.49 to Quebec. Failing both of these a third proposition was made that the excess should be apportioned to the assets of Quebec and Ontario, capitalized at six per

cent, which would have made Ontario liable for \$5,304,184.42 and Quebec for \$5,235,369.53. It was contended that it was fair that the \$10,539,553.92 to be divided, should be borne by the respective Provinces in the proportion in which they received monies for local purposes, and of which the debt formed a part. With regard to the second proposition it was argued that this mode of apportionment had been already adopted by the Parliament of Canada with respect to the Municipalities Fund, and the Common School grants. With reference to the third scheme of division proposed it was held that this mode could only be used by agreement, but that it was just in itself, as these assets arose from and formed part of the debt of the late Province of Canada, and were not for general, but local purposes; and it was added on the part of Ontario that no other mode of apportionment than one of the three submitted could be suggested. In the matter of dividing the assets it was proposed that each asset should be left in the Province in which it arose. This to be done upon a capitalization of income for four and-a-half years. The nominal par value of the assets, as stated in the schedules, showed an excess for Ontario of \$2,826,571.40. The proposed capitalization gave Ontario \$30,319.86 more than Quebec. Ontario claimed all the school lands, as having been entirely derived from that Province and also a portion of the Seignioral Tenure arrangement, amounting to \$2,528.10.

3.—Council for Quebec, in setting forth their case, first remarked that from the terms of the British North America Act, 1867,

The case as presented by Quebec.

there was a question as to whether the Arbitrators had jurisdiction of over a portion of the assets of the late Province of Canada. They then contended that it would be manifestly unjust to make any division on the basis of population without taking into account the relative financial positions of the two Provinces at the time of their union in 1841; and also inquiring in whose interest, and in what proportion, the debt was incurred. They then proceeded to show that at the time

\*The Hon. L. E. N. Casault was appointed a Puisne Judge of the Superior Court, Quebec, on 27th May, 1870, and the Hon. George Irvine, Q.C., Solicitor-General of the Province of Quebec, took his place as one of the counsel for that Province.



of Union the debt of Upper Canada was \$5,925,779.54, while that of Lower Canada (less a contingent for Montreal Harbour, which was not likely to be ever called for) was only \$60,996, against which she had to her credit \$250,502.41, so that she actually had a surplus of \$189,306.41, which amount, it was claimed, should be added to the debt of Upper Canada, making it \$6,115,630.60. Taking the population of Upper Canada at that time as 465,377, and Lower Canada as 663,258, the counsel claimed that Lower Canada was entitled to a debt of \$8,716,032.20, at the time of union, to put her on an equal footing with Upper Canada. Counsel claimed that it was impracticable to go into the origin of the debt, so as to show, with any degree of accuracy, on whose account it was contracted; nor would it be just to take the assets as a basis, especially if only a part of them was taken into consideration. For instance, large sums of money were spent on the roads of Upper Canada, which were sold by the Government to private companies or to municipalities for mere nominal considerations. It was further urged that the sums set down as the value of public works, retained by the Dominion, may be fairly contested as between Ontario and Quebec; to the Dominion they were worth their present value; but, in determining the origin of the debt, their cost should be considered. Taking all these difficulties into consideration, the Quebec counsel arrived at the conclusion that the "plainest, easiest, and, it may be said, the only just and practicable way of settling the question is to treat the case as one of ordinary partnership, and apply the rules which govern the partition of partnership estate—rules which are the same in the old Roman as in the modern English and French law." On this basis, and assuming that the Union had been equally beneficial, it was held that each Province should first assume the debt it had incurred at the time of union. Lower Canada had then no debt, and Upper Canada owed \$6,115,085.95, which, being charged to Ontario, would leave \$4,309,767.92 to be divided, or \$2,154,883.96, making a total of \$8,269,969.91

of the \$10,443,853.87 excess of debt to be charged to Ontario, and \$2,154,883.96 to Quebec. By dividing the excess, after deducting Upper Canada's debt at Union fairly in half, it was claimed that Ontario would be \$244,498.52 better off than if the basis of population in 1861 was taken, and \$357,766.93 better off than if the population of 1867 was taken. With regard to assets, the counsel for Quebec claimed that those which appear in the statement of liabilities should be viewed in the same light as sums of money voted for special services, which, not having been employed, fall into the public chest, and should be adjusted as all other credits, properties, assets, debts and liabilities. With respect to Indian lands, it was held that, as Ontario had received the lands and the arrears due for those sold, she should be subject to any claims that may exist on them, and should be charged with the principal of the annuities.

4.—Replies to the claims were put in by each Province. Counsel for Ontario contended that the Arbitrators had no power to examine into the positions of the Provinces at the time of the Union; but should the Arbitrators determine that they had that power, Ontario would insist upon going into a consideration of the origin of the debts and charges, which counsel for Quebec declared to be impracticable. It was claimed that the Common School and Municipality Funds for Upper Canada, as well as certain balances belonged to Ontario, and should not be divided as proposed by Quebec. With respect to Indian lands Ontario denied any separate liabilities, on the grounds that the monies for their sale went into the general revenue; and that for the annuities chargeable under the treaty of surrender made by the Hon. W. B. Robinson, an express equivalent was made to Lower Canada by setting apart 200,000 acres of Crown Lands for the Indians, and by an annual charge upon the revenue. Counsel for Quebec in their reply contended that if the basis of local debts was adopted, then the local debt of Upper Canada at the time of the Union, \$5,925,779.50, with interest amounting to

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\$7,578,744.65 ought to be added to the local debt of Ontario, as well as the Upper Canada Improvement Fund, which had no equivalent in Lower Canada, and which, during the six years of its existence, amounted to \$425,527.62. That the difference in the excess of the proceeds of the Municipal Loan Fund in Upper and Lower Canada, amounting to \$3,192,767.38, should also be included, which sums, together with the \$9,833,733.33 stated by Ontario herself to be her local debt, would amount to \$26,956,552.52. Assuming the figures of Ontario to be correct, this would make the division of the \$10,539,553.92 to be \$8,150,591.34 to Ontario, and \$2,388,962.58 to Quebec. On the second proposition by Ontario that population should be taken as the basis of division, counsel for Quebec contended that it would be most unjust to do so, without considering the respective financial position of the parties; and further contended that in the expenditures after the Union, or incident thereto, much larger sums were spent on Upper than Lower Canada. In the 4th and 5th Vic., chaps. 28, 34, 44, 46 and 50, the sum of \$6,704,137.18 was voted for Upper Canada and \$715,968.88 for Lower Canada. But the population of Lower Canada at that time was one-half larger than that of Upper Canada, and, if population had been taken as a guide, the share of appropriation of Lower Canada would have been \$9,555,185.58, from which should be deducted the amount actually appropriated, as given above, \$715,968.88, making a difference of \$8,839,216.70. Add to this the disproportion of the debt, \$8,715,630.60, and the simple interest on Upper Canada's debt at the time of the Union, \$7,578,744.65, it would make a total of \$25,133,591.95 in favor of Ontario. Counsel for Quebec held that this immense disproportion could not be ignored, which it practically would be if the second proposal of Ontario was accepted. The third proposition of Ontario was considered even more unjust and unsound than the two others, and accordingly rejected. In reply to the pretension of Ontario with respect to the school lands, Quebec replied that it was utterly

untenable in the face of cap. 26 of the Consolidated Statutes, creating this trust. The Budget speech of the Treasurer of Ontario, was also cited to prove that this fund is one in which the Provinces have proportionate interest. As to the claims arising out of the Seigniorial tenure arrangement, Quebec contended that ample compensation was at the time made to Upper Canada; and that if Quebec were really more generally benefited by that Legislation than Ontario, that benefit is nothing to set against the \$7,578,744.65 paid by United Canada, for the debt with which Upper Canada came into the union in 1841; for the \$3,192,767 excess received by Upper Canada from the municipalities fund, another \$425,572.62, which Upper Canada drew from the improvement fund—these three sums amounting to \$11,197,039.65.\*

5.—On the 9th of July, 1870, an interlocutory judgment was rendered by a majority of the Arbitrators, Hon. Messrs. Gray and Macpherson, the Hon. Mr. Day dissenting. The substance of the interlocutory judgment was (1) that the Union did not create in fact or in law any partnership between Upper and Lower Canada. (2) That it was beyond the power of the Arbitrators to enter into any consideration of the debts and credits of the Provinces at the time of the Union in 1841. (3) That the division of the surplus debt beyond the \$62,500,000, for which by the 112th Section of the British North America Act, 1867, Ontario and Quebec are made jointly liable, should be made on the basis of the origin of the different items of the debt incurred by the creation of the assets named in the 4th Schedule to that Act, and shall be apportioned between the two Provinces as the same may be judged to have originated for the local benefit of either; and where it appears that an asset was created for the benefit of both Provinces, then the debt incurred for that asset shall be equally divided between them. (4) That in cases where the

Interlocutory  
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majority of the  
Arbitrators.

\* In stating the cases and counter cases of counsel for the two Provinces, we have copied very largely from the excellent condensation of the facts which appeared in the *Year Book* for 1871, page 113.

debt does not come within the purview of the 4th Schedule, reference shall be had to its origin. (5) That the assets enumerated in the 4th Schedule to be the property of Ontario and Quebec conjointly, shall be divided or allowed on the same basis. (6) That the expenditure made in the creation of the assets shall be taken as their value, and where no asset is left the amount paid shall be taken as the amount of debt incurred, the Arbitrators to enter upon the policy or advantages of expenditure or debts incurred.

6.—The Hon. Mr. Day differed so entirely from his colleagues as to the justice of their

Hon. Judge Day  
Resigns.

award that he saw no chance of their differences being adjusted, and, therefore, deemed it to be his duty to resign, which he did on the 9th of July, stating to the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, Provincial Secretary of Quebec, his reason for so doing.\* At the same time Hon. Mr. Day submitted a written protest and a long argument in favor of his views. In his protest he pointedly negated all the allegations in the judgment of the majority, and gave what he considered ought to have been the judgment of the Arbitrators, from which we take the following extract, as giving the gist of his opinions:—"The Arbitrators are of opinion that the propositions submitted in behalf of the Province of Ontario do not, nor does either of them, furnish any legal or sufficient rule or just basis for such division and adjustment; and they do award and adjudge that the said division and adjustment ought to be made according to the rules which govern the partition of the debts and property of associations known as Universal

MONTREAL, 9th July, 1870.

\* Sir,—I have the honor of transmitting herewith my resignation of the appointment of Arbitrator under the 142nd Section of the British North America Act, 1867; I do so with regret, but I am satisfied from the broad and unconceivable differences of opinion which exist between my colleagues and myself on points of essential importance, that I cannot hope to be of any further service in the business of arbitration. The course which they propose to follow appears to me necessarily to lead to great injustice, and is so entirely contrary to my conviction of what the public interests require, that I cannot concur or consent to take part in it.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES D. DAY.

To the Hon. P. J. O. CHAUVEAU,  
Provincial Secretary, &c., &c., &c.

Partnerships, in so far as such rule can be made to apply; and the Arbitrators having also heard counsel for the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec respectively upon the objection made in behalf of the former Province to the 'jurisdiction and authority' of the Arbitrators to inquire into the state of debts or credits of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, prior to the Union of 1841, or to deal in any way with either the debt or credit with which either Province came into the Union at that time, and duly considered the same, are of opinion that the said objection is unfounded, and they have authority, and are bound by the provisions of the said Act to inquire into the state of the debts and credits of the Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada existing at the time of the Union of 1841."

7.—The Quebec Government at once accepted Judge Day's resignation, and on the same day it was sent in (9th July) passed The remaining Arbitrators decide to proceed. A precedent for the fisheries award. an Order-in-Council, objecting to the Hon. J. H. Gray as one of the Arbitrators, on the ground that he had been for more than a year past a resident in Ontario while the 142nd section of the British North America Act, under which he was appointed, provided that the Arbitrator appointed by the Dominion should not be a resident of either Ontario or Quebec.\* Application was accordingly made to the Governor-General to appoint another Arbitrator; and a copy of the Order-in-Council of the Quebec Executive Council served on the Hon. Mr. Gray, notifying him of his disqualification, and of Hon. Judge Day's resignation having been accepted. The Governor-General, however, did not take the same view of the Hon. Mr. Gray's disqualification as the Quebec Government, and he was continued in his office. Notwithstanding the resignation of the Hon. Judge Day, and the protest of the Quebec Government against the Hon. Mr. Gray, the two

\* The Hon. John Hamilton Gray was member of Parliament for the City and County of St. John, N. B., and was a resident of that City at the time of his appointment; but, having been engaged by the Dominion Government to prepare the laws of the Provinces for codification, he removed to Ottawa, where he resided for some time. The Dominion Government apparently did not consider the change of residence disqualified him, as he was not removed from the Commission.

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remaining Arbitrators decided that they still possessed authority to proceed in the matter, and did so proceed, thus laying down the principle that, in cases of Arbitration, the majority of the Arbitrators have a right to go on and finish their award, even if the minority not only protests but retires altogether. The principle was very much questioned at the time, and the Hon. Mr. Gray, who maintained it, was severely criticised; but, his conduct being subsequently sustained by the highest legal authorities in England, may serve as a very useful precedent in the case of the fisheries award made at Halifax during the summer of 1878, when exception was taken by the American Government to the award of \$5,500,000 to Canada because it was not unanimous, and which case remains unsettled as we write. It is certainly the common sense idea that, if an uneven number of persons are appointed to decide a thing, the very object of making the number uneven is to secure a majority, the inference being that the majority should rule; but law and common sense do not always manage to get along well together, and it sometimes happens that what is very good law is very doubtful common sense. The judgment of the majority of Arbitrators, and the protest of Judge Day, had been made in Montreal; but, after the resignation of the latter, an injunction was granted by the Superior Court at Quebec, restraining the other Arbitrators from taking any further proceedings, and Messrs. Gray and Macpherson transferred the scene of their labors to Toronto, so as to be beyond the jurisdiction of the Quebec Courts, and there, on the 5th of August, issued the following notice: "The undersigned Arbitrators have adjourned the proceedings of the Arbitration to Wednesday, the 17th August, at 2 p. m., at Osgoode Hall, Toronto, and the Governments of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario are notified that, notwithstanding the writ of prohibition served upon the Arbitrators, the undersigned will proceed with the consideration of the matters of the Arbitration on the day and the place above-named, peremptorily. Signed D. Macpherson, J. H. Gray."

8.—The arbitrators did meet as announced, and completed their labors on the 3rd of September, when they made their award, which was, in substance, as follows: They decided that

The terms of the award, dividing the debt, liabilities and assets.

the Arbitrators were not called on to fix what the amount of the debt in excess of \$62,500,000 was, but simply to say in what proportion such excess should be divided; this they did on the basis of taking the amounts spent for local purposes in each Province and apportioning the debt in the same ratio. This amount was found to be \$18,587,520.57, of which \$9,808,728.02 was chargeable to Upper Canada, and \$8,778,792.55 to Lower Canada—or in other words, that Ontario should bear nine-seventeenths of the excess, and Quebec, eight-seventeenths.\* The award gave to Ontario the following assets, Debt from Upper Canada Building Fund \$36,800; Debt from the Law Society, Upper Canada, \$156,015.61; Debt from the Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund, Upper Canada, \$6,792,136.39; Debt from the Agricultural Society, Upper Canada, \$4,000; Debt from University Permanent Fund, \$1,220.63, making a total of \$6,990,172.63; and to Quebec the following assets, Debt from Aylmer Court-house, \$3,239.70; Debt from Montreal Court-house, \$114,596.21; Debt from Kamouraska Court-house, \$201.27; Debt from McGill College, \$7,790; Debt from Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund, Lower Canada, \$2,939.429.98; Debt Superior Education Fund (Legislative Grant) \$28,494.73; Debt Quebec Fire Loan \$264,254.65; Debt Temiscouata Advance Account, \$3,000; Debt Education Office, (East), \$290; Debt from Building and Jury Fund, \$116,475.51; Debt from Municipalities Fund, L. C., \$484,244.36; Debt from Lower Canada Superior Education Fund, \$234,281.46; Debt from Montreal Turnpike Trust, \$188,000, making a total of \$4,384,297.83. With regard to the Montreal Turnpike Trust, which was guaranteed by the Province of Canada, and the interest on which had so far been met by the Trust, it was ordered that in the event of any claim under

\* Taking the excess as \$10,500,000, Ontario would be charged with \$5,540,902, and Quebec \$4,959,097.

such guarantee arising against the Dominion, Quebec was to make the same good to the Dominion. The award divided the Special or Trust Funds, and the moneys thereby payable, including the several payments in respect to the same or any of them, as follows:—To Ontario—Upper Canada Grammar School Fund; Upper Canada Building Fund; Upper Canada Municipalities Fund; Widows' Pension and Uncommuted Stipend, Upper Canada, subject to the payment of legal charges thereon; Upper Canada Grammar School Income Fund; Upper Canada Land Improvement Fund; Balances of Special Appropriations in Upper Canada; Surveys ordered in Upper Canada before the 30th of June, 1867; and the amount by Ontario to Canada Land and Immigration Company. To Quebec—Lower Canada Superior Education Fund; Lower Canada Superannuated Teachers' Fund; Lower Canada Normal School Building Fund; Widows' Stipends and Uncommuted Stipend, subject to all legal charges thereon; Balances of Special Appropriations in Lower Canada; and the Surveys ordered in Lower Canada before June 30th, 1867. It was ordered that \$124,685.18 should be taken from the Common School Fund as held on the 30th of June, 1867, and transferred to the credit of the Upper Canada Improvement Fund, being one-quarter of the amount received by the Province of Canada on account of Common School Lands sold between the 14th of June, 1853, and the 6th of March, 1861; that the remainder of the Common School Fund (amounting to \$1,608,539.29) shall be held by the Dominion of Canada, and the revenue derived therefrom shall be appropriated between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec as is directed by section 5, chapter 26 Consolidated Statutes of Canada, with regard to the \$200,000 mentioned in that section. Any monies received by Ontario since Confederation on account of Common School Fund to be turned over to the Dominion and treated in same manner as above, Ontario being entitled to retain six per cent. for sale and management of said lands; and on any lands

sold between 14th of June, 1853, and 6th of March, 1861, and paid for after Confederation, Ontario to retain one-quarter for the Upper Canada Improvement Company. The Crown Land Suspense Fund (\$112,748.63) was a balance standing in the books of the late Province to parties who had paid in money on account of lands which they never got. It was said to consist chiefly of bad bookkeeping, but a portion of it, as a matter of fact, being payable away for refunds, it was not included in the debt of the late Province. The Arbitrators order that each Province shall satisfy the claims made upon it arising in respect of lands situate in it. In the Crown Lands Department there was a sum of \$253,089.76, which consisted of defalcations by Crown Lands Agents, &c. Respecting this amount, the Arbitrators order and direct that each Province shall be entitled to collect and get in what it can, and retain for its own use all monies in this account which have arisen or may arise in respect of lands situated within its own limits. With regard to the Montreal Harbor bonds, amounting to \$481,426.27, which were guaranteed by the Province of Canada, and the interest on which had been regularly paid by the Montreal Harbor Commissioners, it was ordered that in the event of any demand being made on the Dominion on account of this debt, it shall be met by the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec in the same proportion as the surplus debt was divided. The award declares that neither Province has any claim upon the other in respect to Indian annuities, and concludes with a declaration that the Arbitrators have adjudicated upon all matters brought before them by Quebec, Ontario, and the Dominion, and referred to them by the Imperial Act.

9.—The award was made in triplicate, one copy being forwarded to the Secretary of State for Canada, and one each to the Governments of Ontario and Quebec. It gave great satisfaction in the former Province, but was proportionately displeasing to the latter; and the Executive Council, on the 12th of September,

*The Quebec Government, and both Houses of the Legislature, protested against the award.*

passed and called availing themselves of this protest. State for and after ture, a jo was adop

\* *Copy of a report approved by the Hon. the Premier, J. H. Gray, appointed to the credit, liability*

The Honorable 12th September, 1867, on the award of D. L. Macpherson division and ad assets of Upper third day of September forwarded to the the Quebec Gov

That, inasmuch as the Federal tribunals of the proceeding with by the Province the said Hon. J. Province of Ontario North America did not and does jointly to net, premises, and the had or done by no force or effect

And, inasmuch as the two Arbitrators of Quebec law from sitting vices of Quebec interests of Ontario debt to pay, and assets mentioned unjust, illegal, &c.

The Honorable the Quebec Government, protesting against the judgment, authority, and appeal for redress the privilege of suffering under

The Honorable pretended judgment, at the time made in good faith manifestly rendering justice of Quebec Quebec Government acting without is null and void Quebec.

The Committee the Lieutenant



passed an Order protesting against the "so-called award," and declared its intention of resisting its enforcement by every legal means.\* This protest was forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Provinces on 14th of September; and after the meeting of the Quebec Legislature, a joint Address to the Governor-General was adopted by both Houses, protesting against

*\* Copy of a report of a Committee of the Honourable the Executive Council approved by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council on the 12th September, 1870. On the pretended judgment or award rendered and made by the Hon. J. H. Gray and the Hon. D. L. Macpherson, two of the Arbitrators appointed to decide as to the division and adjustment of the debts, credits, liabilities, &c., of Upper and Lower Canada.*

The Honourable the Treasurer of the Province, in his Report, dated the 9th September instant (1870), sets forth, that a copy of a pretended judgment or award rendered and made by the Hon. J. H. Gray and the Hon. D. L. Macpherson, two of the Arbitrators appointed to decide as to the division and adjustment of the debts, credits, liabilities, properties, and assets of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, bearing date at Toronto, the third day of September instant, and signed by the said parties, has been forwarded to the Honourable Provincial Secretary for the information of the Quebec Government.

That, inasmuch as the Quebec Government have already, by intimation to the Federal Government, and by legal proceedings before the law tribunals of the country, protested against the said two Arbitrators proceeding with the arbitration when there was no Arbitrator appointed by the Province of Quebec, and against any further action on the part of the said Hon. J. H. Gray, on account and because of his residing in the Province of Ontario, against the true spirit and intent of the British North America Act of 1867; and, inasmuch as the Quebec Government did not and does not acknowledge the right of the said two Arbitrators, jointly to act, or of the said Hon. J. H. Gray, individually to act in the premises, and that all the acts and proceedings of any kind whatsoever had or done by them, or either of them, are illegal, null and void, and of no force or effect whatsoever in law or equity.

And, inasmuch as the said pretended judgment or award (even if the said two Arbitrators had a right to act without an Arbitrator for the Province of Quebec, and if the said Hon. J. H. Gray were not disqualified by law from sitting or acting as Arbitrator) is manifestly unjust to the Province of Quebec, and manifestly and clearly rendered and made in the interests of Ontario, Quebec having too large a portion of the surplus debt to pay, and being awarded less than her just and equal share of the assets mentioned in said British North America Act of 1867, it is therefore unjust, illegal, null and void.

The Honourable Treasurer, therefore, recommends that, on behalf of the Quebec Government, a despatch be forwarded to the Federal Government, protesting against any force or validity being given to the said pretended judgment or award of the said two Arbitrators by the Federal authority, and advising of the intention of the Quebec Government to appeal for redress and justice in every constitutional mode which it is the privilege of British subjects of the British Crown to exercise when suffering under injustice or wrong from the hands of any.

The Honourable Treasurer also recommends that the receipt of the said pretended judgment or award from the said two Arbitrators be acknowledged, at the same time protesting against it as not being rendered and made in good faith, or in accordance with law and equity, and as being manifestly rendered and made in the interests of Ontario and the prejudice of Quebec; and the said Arbitrators, being duly notified by the Quebec Government of the objections taken and held previous to their so acting without the Arbitrator from Quebec, that their judgment or award is null and void, and not recognised as valid by the Government of Quebec.

The Committee concur in the foregoing report and submit the same for the Lieutenant-Governor's approval.

Certified,

(Signed),

FELIX FORTIER,

Clerk Executive Council.

the unfairness of the award, and praying for justice in the premises. This Address was forwarded on the 22nd of December, and in it it was urged that the award was null and void on the grounds that it ought to have been unanimous to make it valid: that the Hon. J. H. Gray was disqualified from acting on the Commission by his residence in Ottawa; that Quebec had withdrawn from the arbitration, and was not in anyway represented, either by counsel or otherwise, at the time of the "pretended" award; and that the award was manifestly made in the interest of Ontario to the prejudice of Quebec. The latter objection was thus stated: "That the injustice of the said pretended award is evident, from the same having been rendered wholly in the interest of the Province of Ontario, and from the fact that while Messrs. Gray and Macpherson refused to take into consideration the relative financial positions of the two Provinces at the time of the Union, they have taken into consideration the object and nature of certain items of expenditure as having been incurred in one or the other section of the Province of Canada from the period of the Union to Confederation; that the said pretended award is further unjust, inasmuch as the division of the credits, properties, and assets of the late Province of Canada does not even proceed upon the same basis and principles as which appear to have been adopted in relation to the division of the balance of the debt, and does not rest upon any principle whatsoever, but is purely arbitrary, and favors the Province of Ontario at the expense of the Province of Quebec; that lastly the provisions of the said pretended award fully justify the apprehensions of the distinguished lawyer selected by this Province as its Arbitrator, and the firm and independent line of conduct which he adopted in the interests of justice. That the said pretended award is absolutely illegal, null, and void, for the reasons hereinbefore set forth, and also as having been rendered by two Arbitrators, who, by the resignation of their colleague, remained without any power or jurisdiction, and that therefore the intentions of

the British North America Act have not been carried out, and no valid title has been conferred upon either Province in relation to the credits, properties, and assets, which it was the duty of the said Arbitrators to apportion and divide between the two Provinces."

10.—The questions of the award, protests, &c., were referred to the Minister of Justice, who, on the 27th February, 1871, submitted a memorandum to the Privy Council, which was adopted, in which it was advised

*Sir John A. Macdonald decides that the Dominion Government has no power to interfere in the matter.*

that the Dominion Government could not take action in the matter. After recounting the appointment of the Arbitrators, &c., as given above, the memorandum concludes; "The case now stands thus:—The Government of Ontario maintains the validity of the award; the Government of Quebec contends that it is altogether illegal and void, and declares its intention of appealing for redress and justice in every constitutional mode, and the Legislature of Quebec also protesting against its validity, asks the Governor General to adopt measures to protect the rights of that Province. Now the Government of Canada has no power or means of intervening between the parties, of enforcing the award as valid, or setting it aside as invalid, or of granting the redress, or the measure of protection sought for by the Legislature of Quebec. It is for the Government of Ontario, if it desires to enforce the award, to take such steps as it may be advised that the law allows for that purpose, and it is for the Province of Quebec to take the necessary legal steps to resist any action on the part of that of Ontario. If the question of the validity of the award becomes a matter of litigation either Province will have the power of carrying it by appeal from the decision of any inferior tribunal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as the Court of last resort. If the Governments of the two Provinces were to agree on a statement or special case, with the view of submitting the question of the validity of the award to the Judicial Committee, it would be the duty of His Excellency the Governor General, on being

prayed so to do, to transmit such special case to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a request that it shall be submitted to such Judicial Committee for their opinion, under the 4th clause of the Imperial Act, 3 and 4 William IV, chap 41. If the two Governments do not agree upon a joint submission of the case, it will be in the power of either Government to pray Her Majesty to refer the case, as stated by it, for the opinion of the Judicial Committee. As it is obvious that if the Governor-in-Council were to assume to decide the questions in dispute, the Province against whom such decision would be given would not accept or submit to it, and as such decision would have no legal force whatever, the undersigned recommends that no expression of opinion be given by His Excellency-in-Council, and for the same reasons the undersigned refrains from making any report on the legal questions. Under present circumstances and until the questions raised respecting the award are settled by judicial decision, the undersigned is of opinion that no action with respect to it can properly be taken by the Governor-in-Council. John A. Macdonald."

11.—Of course, so important a matter attracted the attention of the Dominion Parliament at an early date; and, on the 23rd of February, Mr. Blake moved Mr. Blake moves for papers and correspondence. "That an address be presented to His Excellency for copies of all correspondence between the Canadian and Quebec Governments, and Canadian and Ontario Governments, touching the Provincial Arbitration and award; and a copy of the award, and an approximate statement of the results of the accounts, as between Canada and each Province, on the 1st day of February, 1871, adjusted on the footing of the award." Mr. Godin moved, in amendment to strike out that portion of the motion following the words "and a copy of the award." Mr. Fournier moved in amendment to the amendment, that the following be added: "That in the opinion of this House the question relative to the division of the debt between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec having been

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submitted to and adjudicated upon by two Arbitrators only, one appointed by the Dominion Government and the other by the Government of Ontario,—in the absence of the Arbitrator appointed by the Government of Quebec, their award is not binding upon the respective Provinces." He said that any lawyer knew that in cases of arbitration it was necessary for all the Arbitrators to be present when the evidence was taken, and, further than that, he held that it was necessary for the award to be unanimous to make it valid. Sir John A. Macdonald said that the amendments were premature as the House did not know officially what the award was until the papers were brought down. He promised there should be no delay in bringing them down. Mr. Joly complained of the indifference shown by the Dominion Government which had taken no notice of the protests of the Quebec Government beyond mere formal acknowledgments. Mr. Blake could not agree with Mr. Fournier's amendment because he believed the House had no power to deal with the matter. The House was not competent to say whether the award was good or not; but he believed that the Government was bound to abide by the award until it was shown to be bad, and, therefore, it was important that the House should know the financial position of each Province as shown by last payments by the Dominion; and he could not agree to have the last part of his motion struck out. After a short discussion in which it was urged that it was premature to discuss the competence or incompetence of the House to deal with the question until after the papers were brought down, the debate was adjourned; and, on being resumed, on 28th, the amendments were withdrawn.

12.—On the 1st of March Sir George E. Cartier laid the papers on the table. (All the information contained in the papers has been given in preceding paragraphs). On the 6th of March Hon. Mr. Dorion gave notice that on the following Wednesday, he should move that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider certain resolu-

tions respecting the division of the surplus debt of the former Province of Canada.\* He argued in favor of his resolutions that there was so great a difference between the views of the two Provinces as to what amount of the debt each should assume, that he considered it would be the fairest way for the Dominion to assume the whole debt—he could not see why it should not assume all as well as part—and then they would be taxed in fair proportion according to their respective populations. The compensation to be allowed New Brunswick and Nova Scotia could easily be arranged, and at the same time the outstanding differences between the Dominion and New Brunswick with reference to the penitentiary at St. John, and with Nova Scotia on account of the Provincial building at Halifax could be satisfactorily settled. He thought that, before the Arbitrators said in what proportion the debt was to be paid, they ought to have settled what the amount of the surplus debt was, for that was a very open question; the Auditor of the Dominion said it was \$10,800,000, the Treasurer of Ontario \$10,539,000, and the Treasurer of Quebec \$10,000,000. He argued that the award was in every way unfair and unjust, inasmuch as it made the poorer and least populous Province pay in the largest proportion. Sir George E. Cartier raised the point of order that the resolutions involved an appropriation of the revenue, which, under the 54th section of the British North America Act, could

\* The resolutions were as follows:—

1. "Resolved—That the division between the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec of the surplus of the debt of the former Province of Canada, over and above the sum of \$62,500,000, assigned to the Dominion of Canada by the British North America Act, presents great difficulties, which it has not hitherto been possible to overcome in a satisfactory manner.

2. "Resolved—That the difficulties resulting as well from the uncertainty as to the amount of the debt to be divided as from the absence of an acceptable base for the making of such division, and that of the assets remaining in common to these two Provinces, threaten to give rise to serious embarrassment.

3. "Resolved—That, for the avoidance of such difficulties, the debt of the former Province of Canada should be assigned entirely to the Dominion as though it had been so from the first, with compensation to the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for the share which those Provinces would have to pay upon the surplus of that debt.

4. "Resolved—That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying her to be pleased to recommend that the British North America Act should be amended in accordance with this resolution."

Resolutions that the Dominion assume the whole debt introduced by Hon. Mr. Dorion, and declared out of order.

only be done by message from the Governor General. After a few remarks from Hon. Messrs. Holton, Dorion and Cartier, Mr. Speaker ruled that the resolutions were out of order, not because they conflicted with the 54th section of the British North America Act, but because they involved an increase of the public debt, and should have originated in Committee of the Whole.

13.—On the ninth of March, Hon. Mr. Dorion moved "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, representing that an equitable and satisfactory division of the surplus debt of the late Province of Canada between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec is not likely to be effected in the manner provided by the British North America Act, 1867, and that the difficulties which beset the question have been greatly aggravated by the award rendered by the Arbitrators appointed by the Dominion Government and by the Government of Ontario, in the absence of any Arbitrator for the Province of Quebec, which is regarded by the Government and the people of Quebec as illegal and unjust, and praying that Her Majesty be pleased to recommend the passing of an Act by the Imperial Parliament so amending the British North America Act as to authorize the Parliament of Canada to deal by Legislative enactment with all questions connected with the said surplus debt." He said that he had seen it stated that it was the intention of the Dominion Government to get the matter referred to the Privy Council, where it would take ten years before it would be settled, and that that would be the best thing that could happen for Quebec. He did not think so. He considered that it would be a very bad thing to have this question rankling between the two Provinces for such a length of time; he believed it would be far better for the Dominion Government to obtain permission to settle it now on the basis proposed in his resolution which would put the two Provinces on the same footing they occupied before Confederation.

14.—Sir George E. Cartier characterized the

resolutions of the honorable member for Hochelaga as a piece of clap-trap proposed for electioneering purposes, and not from any desire to protect the interests of Quebec. He (Sir George) declared he was not willing to submit to the mercy of a majority of a House of 181 members, where Quebec was only represented by 65, the legal position of that Province. He held that the Government had decided not to express any opinion on the award until a competent judicial tribunal should have decided on it. Supposing the Privy Council set aside the award of the Arbitrators, there would have to be a new arbitration, and Quebec may have nothing to complain of. Or suppose that the Privy Council upheld the award, he was of opinion that the people of Quebec, both English and French, would think that a great wrong had been done them, and then it would be competent for them to appeal to the House, and the House could express its opinion, but he held that it would be improper to do so while the case was pending. He concluded by moving in amendment that all words after "That" in the original motion be struck out and the following inserted: "The validity of the award rendered by the Arbitrators appointed by the Dominion Government and by the Government of Ontario in the absence of any Arbitrator for the Province of Quebec being contested by the Province of Quebec; and the Government of Canada having come to the conclusion not to act on such award until its validity shall have been determined by a competent judicial tribunal, this House refrains from expressing an opinion on the award so rendered." Hon. Mr. Chauveau moved, in amendment to the amendment, "That it is highly desirable that the difficulty now existing between the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario concerning the division and adjustment of the debts, liabilities, credits, properties and assets of Upper and Lower Canada provided for by the British North America Act be speedily set at rest, and that this House will give its most favorable consideration to any measure to be introduced by the Government having this

Sir George E. Cartier proposes an amendment to the motion.

Hon. Mr. Dorion renews his motion for an address.

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15.—H ment to t

Hon. Mr. Hol moves an amendment equivalent to motion of wa condence.

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object in view, and involving any aid on the part of the Dominion commensurate with the importance of the object itself and with our resources, due regard being had for the rights of the other Provinces." He thought that it was highly desirable that the Province should be relieved from the dead-lock into which they had got on the subject of the award; and, out of which, he saw no way so easy as for the Dominion to assume the whole debt and compensate the other Provinces. He argued that the whole Province of Quebec was unanimous in its decision that the award was unjust, and that, even if it was confirmed by the Privy Council, it would still be considered unfair; for it could not be forgotten that Lower Canada went into the Union with a balance to her credit, while Upper Canada was so heavily in debt she was almost bankrupt, and now, when the Union is dissolved, the Arbitrators wanted to saddle Quebec with a large share of that debt, and give Ontario the lion's share of the paying assets—far more than she was entitled to. He thought that the money consideration involved was as nothing compared to the consideration of having one Province permanently dissatisfied. Mr. Mills raised the question of order. The amendment to the amendment involved an appropriation of money, and was open to the same grounds of objection on which a similar motion had been already rejected. Mr. Speaker decided that the motion involved a money expenditure, and was therefore out of order.

15.—Hon. Mr. Holton said that the amendment to the amendment having been ruled out of order, he would move one in its place, which would not be open to the same objection. He then moved, in amendment to the amendment proposed by Sir George E. Cartier, that all words after "that" be expunged and the following words inserted in lieu thereof: "This House regrets that His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to recommend to this House to adopt an address to Her Majesty the Queen, repre-

senting that the division between the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec of the surplus of the debt of the former Province of Canada, over and above the sum of \$62,500,000 assigned to the Dominion of Canada by the British North America Act, presents great difficulties, which it has not hitherto been possible to overcome in a satisfactory manner; that the difficulties resulting as well from the uncertainty as to the amount of the debt to be divided as from the absence of an acceptable base for the making of such division, and that of the assets remaining in common to those two Provinces, threaten to give rise to serious embarrassment, and that, for the avoidance of such difficulties, the debt of the former Province of Canada should be assigned entirely to the Dominion as though it had been so from the first, with compensation to the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for the share which those Provinces would have to pay upon the surplus of that debt, and praying Her Majesty to be pleased to recommend to the Imperial Parliament the passage of an Act to amend the British North America Act in accordance with such representation." Mr. Delorme seconded the amendment to the amendment. He thought that the question before the House was not so much whether the award was legal or not as to find some means of settling the matter. He did not believe that the Privy Council could settle the question to the satisfaction of both parties, and that ultimately the House would have to ask for power to settle it. Hon. J. H. Cameron said that so far the question had been discussed as if there were no other interests involved except those of Quebec, but he thought Ontario was equally interested. He defined Hon. Mr. Holton's motion as a "flank movement" designed to entrap Ontario members into a vote of want of confidence, and said it would not succeed. He said that the people of Ontario believed the award legal, and would continue to think so until some competent authority declared otherwise. He thought that they were perfectly satisfied with the action of the Government. He blamed the Quebec Arbi-

Hon. Mr. Holton moves an amendment equivalent to a motion of want of confidence.

trator for retiring from the arbitration, and said the people of Ontario desired nothing more than what was just, and would allow Quebec every latitude before the Privy Council. Hon. Mr. Chauveau defended the conduct of the Arbitrator for Quebec in resigning as soon as he found an interlocutory judgment was put forward which would prevent any inquiry being made into the origin of the debt. The debate was then adjourned.

16.—On the resumption of the debate on the 13th, Mr. Bellerose opposed the resolution introduced by Mr. Dorion, which he maintained did not embody the sentiments either of the House or of Ontario or Quebec. If that motion was carried Quebec would lose the right of appeal to the Privy Council which she now enjoyed, and where she had a fair chance of obtaining justice. He said that when he remembered that the little Province of Nova Scotia had forced the House to do her justice he could not think that the great Province of Quebec would be unfairly treated. Mr. Ross (Champlain) condemned the award as unjust, and thought that that being admitted there should be no difficulty in the Governments of the two Provinces arriving at a fair understanding. He thought the Dominion Government had done all that it could do in not acknowledging the award. Mr. Harrison thought that if the Quebec members believed the award illegal they need not trouble themselves about its injustice. He argued that in public arbitrations it was the rule that a majority decided, and that Judge Day having been duly notified of all the meetings put himself in the wrong by not attending them. The validity of the award was a legal question, and it was not for the House to decide a question of law. Mr. Mills said it was useless to discuss the award on its merits; the House had nothing to do with that; but what did interest the House was the proposition that the Dominion should assume the whole debt of the late Province of Canada. This had not been asked for by the Legislatures of either Ontario or Quebec, and it was only

Synopsis of the debate. Hon. Mr. Bellerose's motion defeated; 16 for, 95 against.

duced by Mr. Dorion, which he maintained did not embody the sentiments either of the House

through them that it could be done. The reason why the whole debt was not assumed at Confederation was that Ontario was paying more into the Treasury in proportion to population than Quebec, and he objected to a return to that state of things. He argued that the assumption of the debt by the Dominion would increase the debt about \$12,500,000, which, as Ontario paid about five-ninths of all the taxes, would make that Province pay about \$7,000,000. He condemned the course the Government was pursuing as the remarkable one of telling the successful litigant to appeal instead of the unsuccessful one. The true policy for the Dominion Government to have pursued would have been to accept the award as valid until it had been declared otherwise by a competent tribunal. Mr. Dufresne thought that the only power that could decide on the validity or invalidity of the award was the one that appointed the Arbitrators. He considered it very fortunate that the British North America Act had removed from their control the settlement of a question which caused so much sectional feeling; and endorsed the policy of the Government in declining to take any action at all on the award until it had been finally adjudicated upon. Mr. Joly said that the Province of Quebec was determined to oppose the award by all constitutional means; that sooner or later, no matter what the decision of the Privy Council may be, the question must come before the House, and he thought that it might just as well be settled now by the Dominion assuming the whole debt of the late Province of Canada. Hon. Mr. Irvine said that had the award possessed any semblance of legality so that the Quebec members could have told their constituents that although the decision was against them it was according to law, they might have accepted it; but they could not say so; they could not see that judgment had been given by a competent authority, or that their property had been taken away according to any recognized principle. He approved of the course pursued by the Government, and thought it would be most

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satisfactory if some means could be found to settle the case without appealing to the Privy Council, as in that event only the legal points would be considered without regard to the merits of the case. Mr. Geoffrion was in favor of forcing the Government to take some action in the matter of the award. He contended that to defer action would be injurious to Quebec, and believed that the Hon. Mr. Holton's motion would prove acceptable to the people of Quebec. He opposed an appeal to the Privy Council, as only intended to cause delay, to be used to the advantage of the gentlemen on the Treasury Benches; and hoped that Parliament would adopt some speedy measure of restoring harmony between the two Provinces. Mr. Scatcherd said it was very curious that neither of the three members of the Dominion Cabinet, who were from Ontario, nor the three members of the Ontario Cabinet, who were also members of the House, had made any remarks on a subject which was of so much importance to Ontario.\* He had heard nothing to make him change his opinion that the award was just and fair; and thought the present trouble was caused by the action of the Dominion Government; either they ought to have stopped the arbitration when Judge Day resigned, or have accepted the award as valid when it was made. He did not think there was any danger of Quebec seceding on account of the award; but should show his disapproval of the conduct of the Dominion Government. Hon. Mr. Howe contended that once a case was before a legal tribunal it had passed beyond the control of the House; and, therefore, the matter of the award should be left to the Privy Council. He thought a decision might be obtained before the next session of Parliament. Mr. Magill argued that the British North America Act had provided that the surplus debt of the Province of Canada was to be divided between Ontario and Quebec, and

that it was not competent for the Dominion to assume it. He held that if there was any unfairness in the award it was towards Ontario, and thought that the Dominion Government ought to act on the award, leaving it to Quebec to appeal to the Privy Council if she felt aggrieved. Mr. Langlois thought that the proposition to transfer the settlement of the matter from the Privy Council to the Dominion Parliament was a most dangerous one for the interests of Quebec, as, judging from the present debate, it was evident that the members from Ontario would take one side, and those from Quebec the other, and it would be left to the members from the Maritime Provinces to decide, and they would, most probably, be divided. He held that the award was invalid on legal grounds, and the decision should be left to the highest legal tribunal. Hon. Mr. Anglin was opposed to any action being taken by Parliament until the award had been passed on by the Privy Council; and if it was upheld, and this House was asked to assume the debt, he held that all the Provinces interested in the financial basis of the Union should first be consulted. He should vote against all the motions. Sir George E. Cartier thought it strange that no one had apologised for the absence of the member for Chateauguay, who had proposed a vote of want of confidence in the Government, and then not appeared to support it. He proceeded to attack the motion, saying it was even more injurious to the interests of Quebec than the motion of the member for Hochelaga. Mr. Barthe contended that the question was not one of money but of politics, and, therefore, should be dealt with by the House. Quebec was the pivot of Confederation, and an injustice to her was an injustice to the whole Dominion. He did not believe there was a majority of the House in favor of Ontario, but thought that if the wrongs of Quebec were fairly shown there was enough justice in the House to see them righted in spite of sectional differences. He had supported the Government for fifteen years but should oppose their policy on this question. After a few remarks from Hon. Mr. Dorion,

\* The three Dominion Ministers referred to were Sir John A. Macdonald, (absent in Washington), Sir Francis Hincks, and Hon. A. Morris. The members of the Ontario Cabinet were Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, Hon. E. B. Wood, and Hon. John Carling. The three latter, however, were not in the House being away electioneering for the Ontario Local elections.

and Hon. W. Macdougall, the House divided on Hon. Mr. Holton's amendment, which was lost, Yeas, 16; Nays, 95.

17.—Mr. Mills then moved in amendment that all the words after "that" in the original motion

Other amendments lost. The Government sustained by a vote to 18 to 40.

he struck out, and the following substituted, "The division of the excess of debt of the former Province of Canada over and above the sum of \$62,500,000 assigned to the Dominion of Canada by the British North America Act, having been referred to Arbitrators appointed under the authority of the said Act, and a majority of the Arbitrators so appointed having made an award, this House is of opinion that the Government in an adjustment of accounts between each Province and the Dominion should act upon the basis of the award." Lost on division, Yeas, 25; Nays, 84. Mr. Joly moved in amendment to add the following words after the word "rendered" in Sir George E. Cartier's amendment, "but this House regrets that the Government of Canada did not take any action, in order to suspend the proceedings of the two remaining Arbitrators, before their award was rendered when requested so to do by the Government of the Province of Quebec." Lost. Yeas, 15; Nays, 95. The division was the same as on Hon. Mr. Holton's motion, except that Mr. Chénoué did not vote. Hon. Mr. Dorion said he should vote against the amendment of the Minister of Militia as it committed the Quebec members to the position of the decision of a tribunal of which the House knew nothing, and which was not even mentioned in the motion. The House then divided on the amendment of Sir George E. Cartier, which was carried. Yeas, 68; Nays, 40. The main motion, as so amended was then carried on a division. It will be noticed that of those who spoke on the motion or amendments Messrs. Chauveau and Holton did not vote, the former having been called away by the illness of his child, and the latter not being in the House. The debates and the divisions showed that while the Quebec members were unanimous in their condemnation of the award, only the French Opposition were willing to censure the

Government for the course it had pursued. The vote on Sir George E. Cartier's amendment—that the House should not express an opinion until the validity of the award had been established—taken by Provinces was as follows: Ontario, 21 for, and 23 against; Quebec, 36 for and 16 against; Nova Scotia, 6 for, and 10 against; New Brunswick, 5 for, and 1 against; making a total of 108 votes cast. It will be noticed that Ontario only polled half a vote; a large number of members—including Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie—being away attending to their elections for the Local. Had there been a full House the Government would, probably, have had a smaller majority. The House having thus recorded its opinion that it had nothing to do with the award it was left to the Courts to settle, and a record of its settlement—as far as it is settled at the time of writing—will be found in a future chapter.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1871.

1. THE TWO GREAT EVENTS OF THE YEAR.—
2. FIRST MEETING OF THE DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. ENLARGEMENT OF THE CANALS URGED.—3. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. PROTECTION vs. FREE TRADE. THE MEETING FAVORS FREE TRADE.—4. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT.—5. FIRES. BRADFORD ALMOST ENTIRELY DESTROYED.—6. THE BURNING OF CHICAGO. HELP FROM CANADA. OTHER FIRES.—7. THE CENSUS. DISAPPOINTMENT AT ITS RESULT.—8. THE CENSUS. REASONS WHY THE INCREASE OF POPULATION WAS NOT GREATER.—9. THE CENSUS. HOW IT WAS TAKEN.—10. THE CENSUS. SOME OF ITS RESULTS.—11. MARINE DISASTERS. VESSELS CAUGHT IN THE ICE.—12. FINAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE TROOPS. FORMATION OF "A" AND "B" BATTERIES. MILITIA CAMPS.—13. POSTAL CHANGES.—14. OPENING OF THE

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**E. AND N. A. RAILWAY. SEIZURE OF THE  
"E. A. HORTON."—15. VARIOUS EVENTS OF  
MINOR IMPORTANCE.**

1.—The year 1871 was certainly the most important one in Confederation, for in that year the Union of all the Colonies in British North America—except Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland—was completed, and, by the admission of British Columbia, the important advantage was gained of an outlet on the Pacific Ocean, thus adding materially not only to the size, but to the importance of the Dominion amongst the powers of the earth, ranking, as she does, third in extent—Russia and the United States being the only nations possessing a greater number of square miles. Besides the admission of British Columbia, the signing of the Treaty of Washington was of itself sufficient to mark the year as a remarkable one for the Dominion, and the settlement of the many points of difference which had existed between the United States and Great Britain removed any fear of a rupture between those countries, and left the Dominion free to devote her energies to the development of her resources, and to the building up of that "Greater Britain," which many of us fondly hope the future will see on this continent. Of the Treaty itself and the feeling which it created in the Dominion, we treat in another chapter; but we may say here that however unfavourably it was regarded at the first blush, the people soon came to see that it was the best bargain that could be made with our neighbors; and that although Mr. Gladstone's Government undoubtedly sacrificed Canadian interests to some extent to preserve peace between England and the United States, yet we had also to consider that in the event of war, which was not at all improbable in spite of the "Peace at any price" policy of the British Ministry, Canada would have had to bear the brunt of the battle, and might even then have eventually been despoiled of her fisheries; so that, perhaps, after all, in was as well to let them go on the only terms we seemed likely to

get. Another point was that, on close examination, the terms did not look so bad as they did on a first view, and after the British Government agreed to guarantee a portion of the loan necessary to the Pacific Railway, the opposition to the Treaty lost much of its force, and the people generally began to recover from the feeling of half surprise, half indignation, which had greeted the first announcement of the Treaty, and to begin to believe that England did not really mean to quite abandon her colonies to their own resources, nor to sacrifice Canadian interests to preserve her own peace, without making her some sort of compensation; and, therefore, although there was a good deal of excitement immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty, it soon died out, and things returned to their normal condition.

2.—One of the most important events of the year, outside of the two great events already mentioned, was the first meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade, which was opened at Ottawa on the 18th of January, and at which delegates from almost all the Local Boards of Trade were present.\* The Hon. John Young was elected President and Mr. W. J. Patterson Secretary. The President in his address urged the importance of building the Pacific Railway, and the necessity of utilizing the water communication with the North-West. He next spoke of the enlargement of the existing canals, which he argued were altogether too small for the class

The two great events of the year.

First meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade. Enlargement of the canals urged.

\* The following are the names of the delegates to what may be called the first "Commercial Congress" of the Dominion:—

MONTREAL COM. EXCHANGE.—M. P. Ryan, M.P., James McDougall, Gilbert Scott, L. E. Morin, W. W. Ogilvie, Ira Gould, W. J. Patterson, Secretary.

MONTREAL BOARD OF TRADE.—Hon. John Young, Hugh McLennan, John Kerry, Andrew Robertson, J. R. Thibault.

TORONTO BOARD OF TRADE.—William Elliott, John Gordon, W. H. Howland, Robert Wilkes.

OTTAWA BOARD OF TRADE.—Hon. James Skead, Alex. Workman, W. Penhock, E. McMillivray.

ST. JOHN (N.B.) BOARD OF TRADE.—Thomas W. Daniel, William Thompson, James Donville.

QUEBEC BOARD OF TRADE.—Henry Fry, A. Joseph, T. H. Grant.

HAMILTON BOARD OF TRADE.—M. Leggett, James Watson, J. J. McKee.

LONDON BOARD OF TRADE.—John Walker, Charles P. Smith.

WINDSOR (ONT.) BOARD OF TRADE.—James Donnell.

BELLEVILLE BOARD OF TRADE.—George Neilson.

STRATFORD BOARD OF TRADE.—Thomas M. Daly.

BRANTFORD BOARD OF TRADE.—J. Cockshutt.

of vessels which were being built; it being well known that large vessels could carry freight cheaper than small ones, it was of the utmost importance that improvements should be made so as to accommodate the larger vessels which were daily coming into more general use. He compared the American and Canadian canals, and showed that in order to compete successfully with the former the latter must be greatly improved. He also strongly advocated the building of the Caughnawaga Canal from Lake St. Louis to Lake Champlain, which would furnish a much shorter and more direct route to the New England States than by way of the Richelieu River. Mr. McLennan moved a resolution urging the Dominion Government to enlarge the Welland and St. Lawrence canals to a depth of 12½ feet, and to remove any obstructions in the river. He stated that two-thirds of the vessels engaged in trade on the lakes could not get through the Welland Canal. He was strongly in favor of improving the canals which would increase our own trade, but did not favor spending Canadian money to build the Caughnawaga Canal, which, he argued, would divert trade to New York. After a short discussion the resolution was adopted by a vote of 28 to 5. Mr. Domville introduced a resolution to urge on the Dominion Government the importance of building the Baie Verte Canal, which would greatly tend to increase the trade between Canada and the West Indies. In the course of a short discussion Mr. Thompson stated that the canal would be about eleven and a-half miles long, and its estimated cost would be about \$2,500,000. The resolution was then adopted. Some discussion took place on the subject of other canal improvements, and a resolution was unanimously adopted urging on the Government the necessity of building a canal in Canadian territory at Sault Ste. Marie without delay. On the subject of the Upper Ottawa canals it was resolved that it was not necessary to proceed with them immediately; but an enlargement of the Grenville Canal was approved of.

3.—Of course, in a meeting of this kind, although there was no political feeling displayed, it was only to be expected that the question of Protection and Free Trade would arise; for, although eight years ago there were very few Protectionists, comparatively speaking, in Canada, and the question had not yet been made, as it is now, a distinct party issue, still there were some who regretted that the tariff had been reduced from twenty to fifteen per cent. at Confederation, and desired to see, if not a very high, at least a moderate protective policy adopted. The question was introduced by Mr. William Elliott, of Toronto who moved "That in the opinion of this Board, it is desirable to increase the duties from fifteen to twenty per cent., the free list to remain as at present; and, should the revenue admit it, the duties should be reduced on teas, coffee, sugar and spices." This was met by an amendment by Mr. A. Robertson, of Montreal, seconded by Mr. James Domville, of St. John, N.B. "That it is the opinion of this Board that the necessary revenues required by the Government are so great as to afford all the incidental protection required, and that instead of adding to the present tariff the duties should be gradually reduced as fast as the exigencies of the country will permit." A long discussion ensued on the relative merits of a Protective or a Free Trade policy, as viewed from a commercial standpoint; in the course of which it was stated that under the existing tariff large quantities of iron were sent from Nova Scotia to England, and that great numbers of Canadian sewing machines were exported to Europe. The sense of the meeting was decidedly in favor of having no higher duties than the exigencies of the revenue absolutely required and the amendment was adopted by a vote of 26 to 8.

4.—The Board remained in session three days, discussing various subjects of importance and adopting several resolutions urging on the Dominion Government the propriety of certain legisla-

Dominion Board of Trade. Protection vs. Free Trade. The meeting favors Free Trade.

Dominion Board of Trade. Various suggestions to the Government.

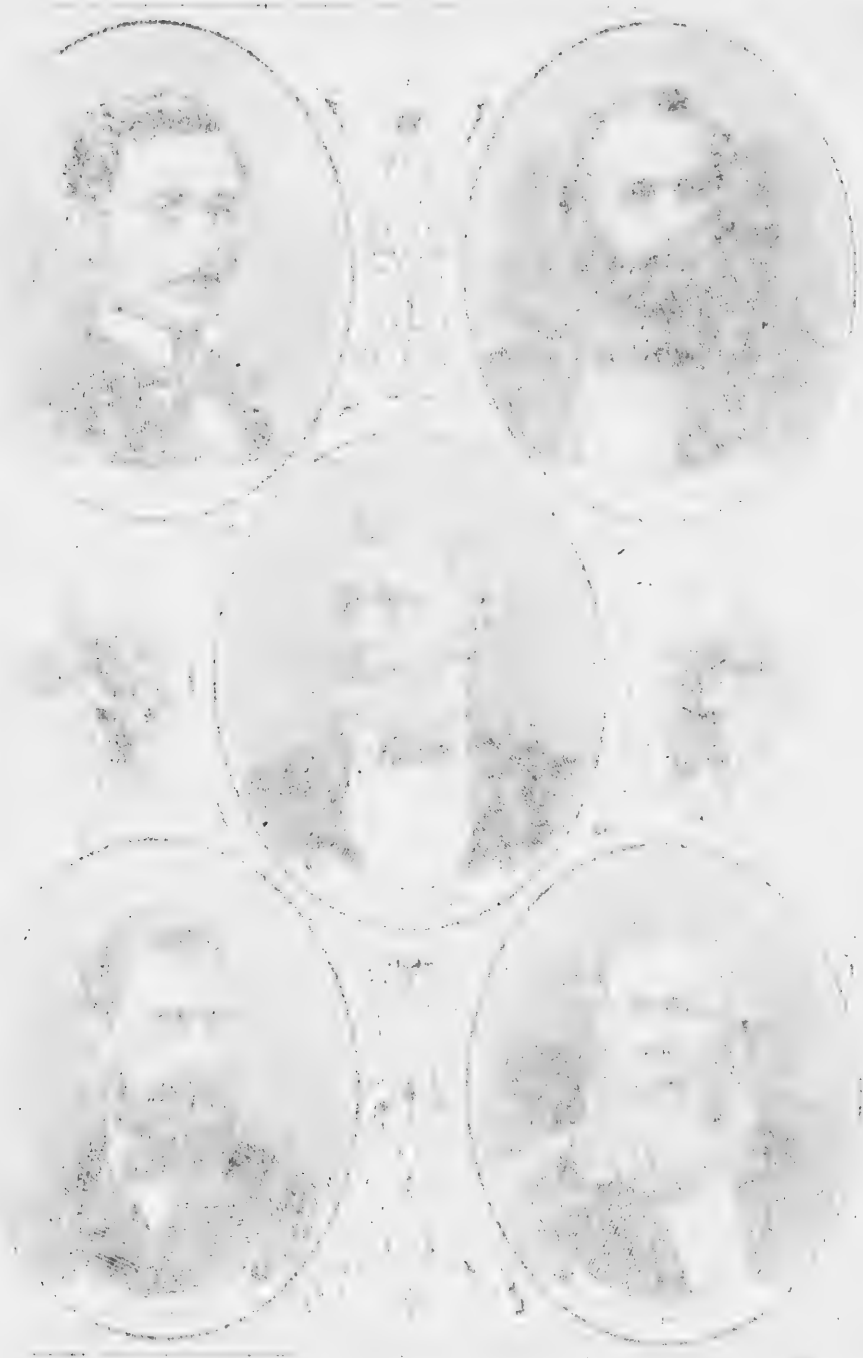
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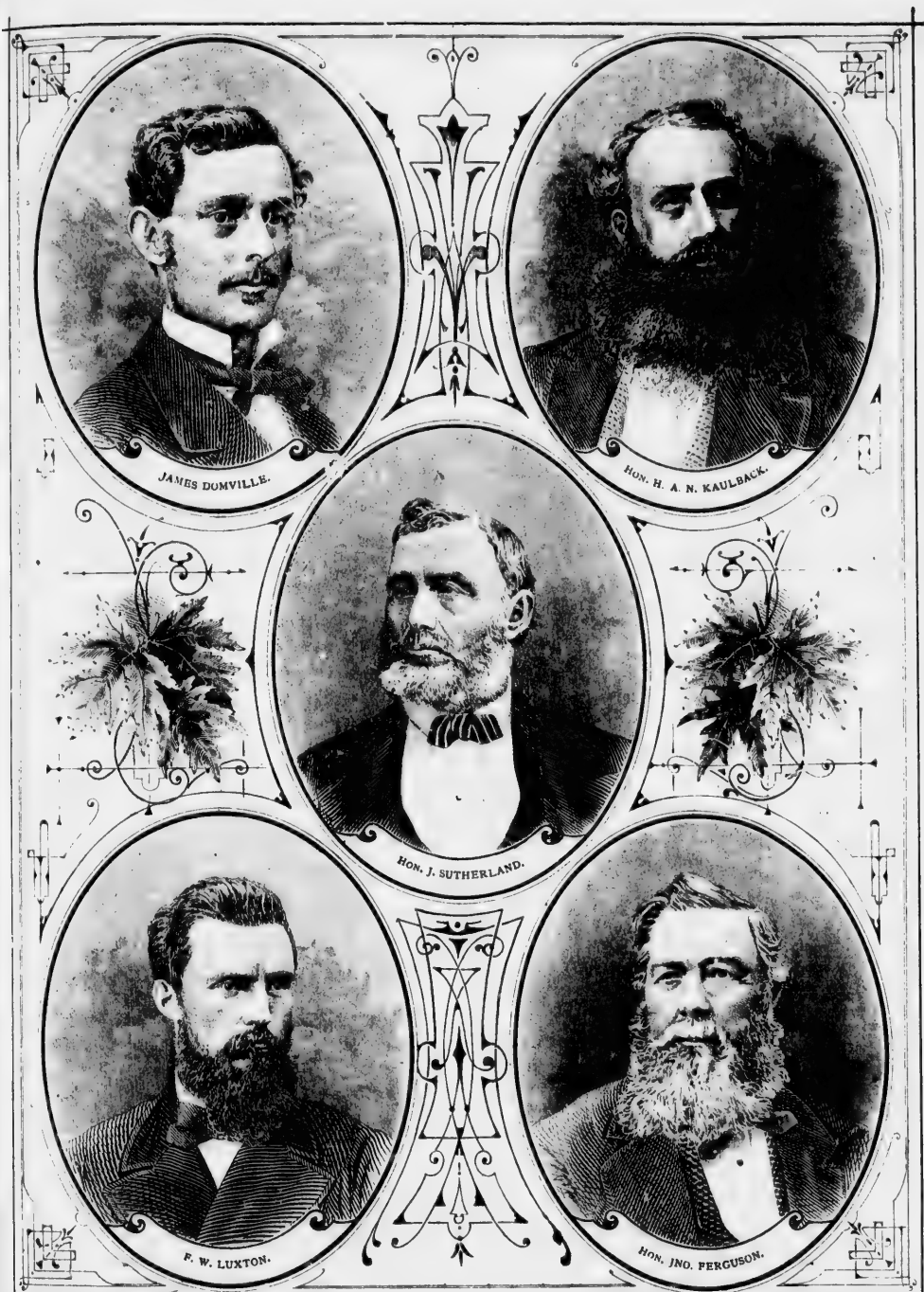






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tion. Amongst the suggestions made was one that the inspection of butter, fish, oil, hides, ashes, seeds, leather, provisions and petroleum should be made compulsory. It was urged that although there were laws for the inspection of most of these articles, the inspection not being compulsory was generally neglected, and that it would be far more satisfactory if an Act was passed compelling the inspection of these articles.\* A petition to Parliament was adopted praying for a repeal of the duties on flour, grain, coal and coke; and resolutions passed suggesting the adoption of an uniform system of weights and measures; an assimilation of the currency, and a change in the patent law, so as to abolish the requirement of one years residence before obtaining a patent, as far as British subjects were concerned. It was decided to ask the Government to publish monthly statements of the quantity and value of the imports and exports; and also to urge on each Board of Trade the propriety of having published yearly a statement of the trade in its own town. The Banking question was discussed and a proposition made that the Government should be recommended to allow Banks to issue small notes, after the Government limit of \$9,000,000 should have been reached; but, after some debate, the resolution was withdrawn. The question of the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway was very fully discussed, and a general opinion expressed as to the desirability of having the road built, and a liberal portion of the public lands appropriated for that purpose; but it was argued that the location of the route should be made with the view of securing the one best suited for commercial purposes, even if a portion of it ran through American territory, and not again commit the error which had been made with regard to the Intercolonial, of locating a road with a view more to possible Military contingencies than to commercial requirements. After determining that the next annual meeting

should be held at Ottawa, the Board adjourned. The meeting throughout was a purely business one, and the practical tone of the suggestions made coming from representative business men on commercial questions had considerable weight, and we find the Government adopting many of the suggestions—noticeably the repeal of the duties on wheat, grain, coal and coke, which although not done directly at the instance of the Board, was, doubtless, considerably influenced by the petition from that body, presented at the opening of Parliament.

5.—Although there were several large fires in the leading cities during the year, and extensive bush fires in various parts of Ontario and New Brunswick, <sup>Fires, Bradford almost entirely destroyed.</sup> during the summer and fall, there was nothing like the terrible scourge which swept through the Ottawa and Saguenay districts in 1870; towards the end of May pretty extensive fires raged for awhile in the woods on both sides of the Ottawa from Pembroke to L'Original, and Renfrew, Arnprior, Eardley, Eganville and other towns and villages were in considerable danger for a time; but the flames were kept back, and although a few barns, fences, &c., were destroyed and large quantities of timber burned, the damage was not very heavy; and a good fall of rain soon removed all danger. In August there was a long dry spell, and bush fires burned for some time in the Counties of Simcoe and North Perth, and around Kingston; and Monckton, Goderich, Mitchell, Walkerton and Stratford were threatened; but again a kindly rain brought relief, and although about 5,000 acres of fine timber were destroyed in North Perth alone, the other damage done was not very considerable. The most distressing fire of the year occurred in the village of Bradford, on the Northern Railway, on the morning of the 22nd of May, and in a few hours almost the entire village was laid in ashes, and over one hundred families burnt out. Out of a population of 1,600 it was estimated that nearly 1,000 were rendered homeless, and the damage done by the fire amounted to over \$500,000. The people of Toronto and neighboring towns and villages

\* A general Inspection Act was passed during the Session of 1873, providing for the inspection of Flour and Meal, Wheat and other grain, Beef and Pork, Pot and Pearl ashes, Pickled Fish and Fish Oil, Butter, Leather and Raw Hides, and Petroleum, the principal features of which will be found in our Parliamentary Summary for that year.

came forward promptly and generously to the relief of the sufferers, assisting them with present necessities and helping them to rebuild their homes. Ottawa, Barrie, Fredricton, N. B., Hamilton, St. John, N. B. and London had each one extensive fire doing damage to the value of from \$40,000 to \$200,000, but Quebec, Montreal and Toronto were more lucky and had no very large fires.

6.—The early days of October witnessed the greatest conflagration known to modern times.

*The burning of  
Chicago—Help from  
Canada—other fires.*

On the 9th,—commencing at nine o'clock Sunday evening the 8th,—occurred the appalling disaster to Chicago, which swept away a greater portion of the city, destroyed \$200,000,000 worth of property, and left 150,000 people homeless or destitute. Some of the characteristics of this mighty disaster were truly wonderful. It was the writer's misfortune to have been in Chicago at the time of the fire, and to have suffered, in a considerable degree, some of the hardships endured by the people of that city on the occasion. On the 10th of October, the writer partook of a bowl of soup, with eager relish, in St. Ann's church, West Division, with the hunger-famishing multitude, without much concern as to its ingredients. On that day in that church, where hundreds lay blackened and disfigured, and dying from previous exposure to the fire,—where the hysterical shrieks of bereaved mothers mingled with the moans of dying children,—the minister of God and the gambler, the weeping mother, and the laughing harlot, the banker and the beggar,—all on a perfect level so far as earthly riches are concerned, ate from the same board in a common sympathy. The scene can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Nor were such incidents as these confined to St. Ann's church. The suddenness and completeness of the misfortune which had overtaken the flourishing city, caused a throb of pity and sympathy throughout Canada, and immediately after the sad intelligence was received, thousands of busy hands were engaged in preparing food and clothing for the hungry and naked; relief com-

mittees were formed in almost every city, town and village, and contributions in money and kind poured in from every side. On the evening following the fire relief trains started with cooked and uncooked provisions, clothing, bedding, &c., from Montreal, Toronto, and other points, the Grand Trunk carrying all goods for the sufferers free, and making such good time and connections that the through trip from Montreal to Chicago was made in forty-eight hours, and a steady stream of money and provisions was kept up until the Chicago Relief Committee cried "Enough." The City Council of Montreal voted \$50,000 for the sufferers, and as much more in money and goods, was raised by private subscription; Toronto City Council gave \$10,000, and private contributions tripled that sum; Hamilton, London, Ottawa, Quebec, St. John, Halifax; all contributed their share; throughout the length and breadth of the land universal charity was poured out. None were so poor that they could not give something, and the total offering of the Dominion to the distressed city amounted to over \$1,000,000. Never was a call for help against an overwhelming calamity, more nobly, speedily and freely responded to, and the cities of the Dominion vied with those of the States in friendly rivalry to render assistance. Almost at the same time that Chicago was destroyed, three fires occurred in Canada which, although insignificant in comparison, caused much loss and distress. On the 8th, thirteen houses were burned in Sandwich, Ont., causing a loss of \$50,000; and on the following day the most destructive fire ever known in the village, swept over Georgetown, doing damage to the extent of \$40,000. Whilst the excitement caused by the burning of Chicago was still at its height, on the 11th, came the intelligence that the thriving town of Windsor, Ont., was almost laid in ashes, and that damage to the extent of \$200,000 had been done. The fire raged with intense fury for a while, and it was feared that the whole town would be destroyed; but thanks mostly to the gallant firemen who came over from Detroit, the greater portion of it was saved from the flames.

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7.—The result of the census taken this year was a most thorough disappointment to a large proportion of the people who, elated at the tide of prosperity which had flowed over Canada

The Census.  
Disappointment at  
its result.

during the four years of Confederation, forgot the struggles of the years immediately preceding that period, and would not at first believe that the census was anything like accurate, and that the ratio of increase in ten years had only been 16·09 per cent in Ontario and 7·2 per cent in Quebec. Both the system of taking the census and the manner of carrying that system out were most vigorously attacked by the Opposition press, and some papers went so far as to charge that the figures had been wilfully falsified for political purposes, and that the population of Ontario had been purposely made to appear less than it really was so as to deprive her of that increased representation in the House of Commons to which she should have been entitled under the redistribution of representation as provided for in the British North America Act. Although there appears to have been some carelessness in taking the census, and the process was somewhat slower than there was any occasion for, still it does not seem that there is any evidence to show that there was any attempt to wilfully falsify the returns, nor that the returns were materially incorrect, for the municipal census taken in Ontario fell considerably below the Dominion census returns, and in Montreal and other places where a special census was taken, just on purpose to show what injustice had been done by the census enumerators, it was found in every instance that the enumerators had been substantially correct, and that the mistake was in the over ambitious wish for an increase of population rather than the enumerators who could not return a population they did not find. In all the Provinces, there was a most marked falling off in the ratio of increase, but most especially in Ontario and Quebec, or what had constituted the Old Province of Canada where the ratio of increase fell from 57·06 in Upper Canada in 1861, to 16·09; and from 28·6 in

Lower Canada to 7·2. Now had all things been in their normal condition at the two periods when the respective enumerations were made (1861 and 1871), this decrease would have been most remarkable, but things were not in their normal condition at either time, and there were several reasons why the period 1851-61 should show a larger ratio of increase than the period 1861-71. First; it was generally admitted that the census of 1861 was far from being correct, and that it showed a great many more people in the country—and especially in the cities—than there really were. The reasons for the exaggeration were two fold; in the first place, the enumerators were paid by the hundred names, and, therefore, the more names a man returned on his paper the more money he got, whether the people had any existence or not; a very bad plan, and one which it was found led to many incorrect returns. In the second place, the battle for Representation by Population was being vigorously waged in 1861; Upper Canadian politicians were declaring that the population of their Province greatly exceeded that of Lower Canada and they, therefore, should have a greater number of representatives in the Legislature\*; whilst Lower Canadian politicians maintained that the population of the Upper Province was not increasing so much more rapidly than the Lower as was claimed. Of course, each side strove to prove its case, and it is not hard to see how this would affect the census by each side claiming more than it really had. For these two reasons it is pretty evident that the old Province of Canada did not have a population of 2,507,657 in 1861, as shown by the census, and that any comparison of increase based on those figures must necessarily be to the disadvantage of the period with which it was compared.

8.—But there were other reasons why the ratio of increase from 1851 to 1861 should be greater than 1861 to 1871. The former period was essentially one of public works; the Grand

The Census. Reasons  
why the increase of  
population was not  
greater.

\* It must be remembered that from the Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841 to Confederation, each Province had the same number of representatives in the Parliament of Canada, irrespective of population.



Trunk was built in that time, and completed just about the period the census was taken, and numerous other works were in progress, especially in Upper Canada, which gave employment to many of the thousands of immigrants who annually arrived and induced them to stay in the country; but in the period '61-71 there were no public works of any magnitude in progress, and the immigrants who arrived mostly passed through to the Western States, towards which a great immigration had just set in. Comparatively few remained in Canada, and many who had been engaged on public works left when there was no more work of that kind to be done. Besides, there were two very prominent reasons, both growing out of the war between the North and South, which made the United States a very attractive place to Canadians during the period, 1861-71, and caused the emigration thither to be far larger than it had ever been before. The first of these was the war itself, the great demand for men to fight the South, and the high bounties which were paid. The offer of \$1,200 to \$1,500 cash bounty proved very tempting to poor men who were willing to take the chance of being shot, provided they had enough given them to start them in life in the event of their escaping death—or succeeding in “jumping the bounty,” which was the main “aim and object in life” for which thousands enlisted in the United States’ army. It is estimated that at least 40,000 Canadians served in the Northern army, and a few, but not many, in the Southern, and the figures do not seem to be over estimated. But there was another and more cogent reason for Canadians emigrating to the United States during the period of '61-71. The war caused the expenditure of immense sums of money. In five years the United States rolled up a debt of nearly \$3,000,000,000, and the bulk of this vast sum was spent within her own borders: everybody felt suddenly rich, money was so plentiful, and fortunes were realized so rapidly. The almost prohibitory duties which were imposed to raise the revenue necessary to meet the enormous war expenditure, gave rise to new enterprises, and

enlarged and developed old ones; factories of all kinds sprang up everywhere; new and costly buildings grew up like mushrooms; the constant drain of the draft on the native population thinned out the men and made room for new comers; labor of all kinds never was in such demand before, nor earned such tempting wages; added to which immigration from Europe materially fell off whilst the war lasted, and the demand on the British Provinces was steady and constant; during these ten years, '61-71, it is estimated that 150,000 French Canadians went from Quebec to fill the factories at Lowell, Lynn, Worcester and other New England towns, while at least 100,000 went from Ontario to the States attracted by the higher wages to skilled labor which had followed on the heels of excessive protection, and its natural consequence, excessive production. These figures do not take into account at all the immigrants who simply passed through Canada on their way to the Western States, but refer only to our own native population; and the best evidence that they are not exaggerated is to be found in the fact that, by the United States census of 1870, the total number of natives of the British North American Provinces at that time resident in the States and Territories is given as 493,362, of whom 159,445 were in the six New England States, \* 79,042 in New York, and no less than 165,713—mostly from Ontario—in the pioneer states of the “Great West,” Michigan, Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin.† It will be seen, therefore, that there were very good and substantial reasons for the ratio of increase from 1861 to 1871 being so much less than from 1851 to 1861, without imputing improper motives to Mr. Dunkin, the Minister of Agriculture under whose auspices the census was taken; or more carelessness and stupidity

\* The exact figures for the six New England States, to which the emigration was mostly from Quebec, were:

Maine .....	26,788	Massachusetts .....	79,042
New Hampshire .....	12,035	Vermont .....	28,041
Rhode Island .....	10,212	Connecticut .....	10,961

† The figures for the four Western States, the emigration to which was mostly from Ontario, were:

Illinois .....	32,550	Iowa .....	17,007
Michigan .....	80,570	Wisconsin .....	25,166

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than they deserved to the enumerators and others who carried out his instructions.

9.—The system adopted by the Minister of Agriculture for taking the census, was almost precisely the same as that adopted in the United States, France,

*The census. How it was taken.*

Sweden, and some parts of Germany, (although the information sought was much more comprehensive and exhaustive than that asked for in the United States), instead of the system adopted in England. By the latter, the English system, the census papers are distributed some days in advance, filled up by the head of the house, and all collected in one day by the enumerators; by the latter the enumerators made house to house visits and gathered the information themselves, thus taking more time, although, perhaps, obtaining more accurate information on some heads. The period over which the enumeration stretched in Canada varied from two or three days in some places to two or three weeks in others; and, in some exceptional districts, the weeks grew to months before the returns were completed. This gave rise to many complaints, and it was argued that numbers who were constantly moving about might go from a district where the census had not yet been taken to one where it had been completed, and so not get enumerated at all; but the rule worked equally both ways, and many no doubt by moving from a district where they had already been enumerated to one where the enumerators had not yet been, got "taken" again, so that those who were enumerated twice, about counter-balanced those who were not taken at all. Still the plan is an unsatisfactory one, and it is to be hoped that at the census of 1881, the English system will be adopted. For the taking of the Canadian census the four Provinces were divided into 206 census divisions, as follows: Ontario, 90; Quebec, 83; Nova Scotia, 19; and New Brunswick, 14; to each of which a Commissioner was appointed. These divisions were again subdivided into 2,935 smaller districts, to which 2,789 enumerators were appointed, making, with 13 staff officers, a total number of 3,008 persons

engaged in taking the census.\* The work of taking the names was commenced on the 3rd of April, and the greater part of it was completed in about two weeks, but the returns were not published until the 22nd November, seven months and a half after the enumeration began. Of course, the greater part of this time was occupied in classifying and preparing the lists for publication, and the work was actually done more speedily than similar work on the United States' Census; still there was some impatience felt at the delay, and the length of time which elapsed between the commencement of the enumeration, and the announcement of the result did not tend to strengthen public confidence in the accuracy of that result when published, for there were a great many who had the idea that the enumerators were hard at work all the time "taking down" everybody they could find, and were much disappointed to find after so much "taking" that the result was so far below what had been expected; however, as we have already shown, popular expectation being based on the census of 1861 was founded on an unreliable basis, and no account being taken of the emigration to the States, it is not surprising to find that the general impression that the census would show the population to be from 4,000,000 to 4,500,000, was very wide of the mark.

10.—The population of the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was found to be 3,486,007, distributed as follows: Ontario, 1,620,851; Quebec, 1,191,516; Nova Scotia, 387,800; New Brunswick, 285,594. In 1861 the population of Ontario was given as 1,396,091, so that the result of ten years showed an increase of 224,760, or 16.09 per cent., being only one and six-tenths per cent. per annum while the four previous decennial periods had shown increases of from 57 to 94 per cent., or

*The census. Some of its results.*

\*To show the difference of the two systems we may state that to take the census of England and Wales in 1871—which was done in one day—the country was divided into 32,608 districts, averaging less than two square miles each, and to each an enumerator was appointed. Including Registrars, there were 35,430 local officers engaged in numbering the 22,704,308 people. It will be thus seen that, on average, each enumerator took 696 names; while under the Canadian system the average was 1,250.

from five and seven-tenths to nine and a half per cent. per annum, which was a great falling off. In 1861, the population of Quebec was given as 1,111,566, so that the increase in ten years was 79,950, or 7·2 per cent., being only seven-tenths of one per cent. per annum, which was far below the average of previous periods. In Nova Scotia the population in 1861 was 330,857, showing an increase in 1871 of 56,943, or 17·21 per cent., being a little over one and seven-tenths per cent. per annum. In New Brunswick in 1861, the population was 252,047; and in 1871, it had increased 33,547, being 13·38 per cent. per annum. It will thus be seen that in 1861 the total population of the four Provinces was 3,090,561, and in 1871, 3,485,761, showing an increase of 395,200, or 12·80 per cent.\* In the same period, 1861-71, the increase in England and Wales was 13·14 per cent., and in the United States for the period 1860-70, 22·62 per cent. Although the result of the census was very disappointing as far as the increase of population was concerned; it was highly gratifying in some other respects, such as the large area under cultivation, the great increase in stock of all kinds, &c., &c.—some particulars of which we give below—but as the volumes of the census containing this information were some years in the press most people had forgotten all about the census before they made their appearance, and much of the value of these statistics was lost.†

\*To show more clearly the falling off in the ratio of increase during the period 1861-71, we give the following statement of the population of the Provinces at previous periods:—

	1841	4'5,357	
Ontario.....	1861.....	888,840	Increase 91'01 p.c.
".....	1861.....	1,306,661	" 57'06 "
".....	1871.....	1,629,851	" 16'90 "
Quebec.....	1841.....	991,380	
".....	1861.....	863,969	" 30'06 "
".....	1861.....	1,111,566	" 28'06 "
".....	1871.....	1,191,575	" 7'20 "
New Brunswick.....	1861.....	193,800	
".....	1861.....	232,047	" 30'05 "
".....	1871.....	265,777	" 13'38 "
Nova Scotia.....	1861.....	276,117	
".....	1861.....	330,857	" 19'82 "
".....	1871.....	387,804	" 17'21 "

† It would be impossible for us with the limited space at our command, to attempt to give anything like a full synopsis of the vast amount of information, more or less useful, contained in the five large volumes of

### 11.—The Dominion was blessed with a good

the report of the Minister of Agriculture on the census; we shall, therefore, content ourselves with very briefly condensing some of the most salient features.

AREA.—The total area of the Dominion, according to the census, is 3,346,681 square miles, divided as follows:—Nova Scotia, 21,531; New Brunswick, 27,322; Quebec, 193,355; Ontario, 107,780; Manitoba, 14,340; North West Territories, 2,759,000; British Columbia, 220,000; Prince Edward Island, 12,173. The Dominion ranks third in size amongst the nations of the earth, Russia being first, and the United States, including Alaska, second. Exclusive of Alaska the area of the United States is 2,933,588 square miles, the area of Alaska is 577,330, so that the two together give 3,510,978, being 161,297 square miles more than the Dominion; but it must be remembered that the size of the North-West is only very roughly estimated. The superficies in acres is thus given:—Ontario, 65,067,643; Quebec, 120,018,061; New Brunswick, 17,333,410; Nova Scotia, 13,382,003. Total, 215,802,020.

AREA UNDER CULTIVATION, BUILDINGS, &c.—Table 21, giving the occupiers of land, &c., shows that, comparatively speaking, only a small portion of this vast heritage was actually occupied, or in process of cultivation. The number of occupiers of land is given as 172,258 in Ontario; 118,086 in Quebec; 31,292 in New Brunswick; 46,316 in Nova Scotia, making a total of 367,862. Of this total 325,190 were owners, 39,583 tenants, and 2,119 employees. The total number of acres occupied was 16,161,676 in Ontario; 11,255,786 in Quebec; 3,827,781 in New Brunswick; 5,631,217 in Nova Scotia. Total, 36,946,401. The total quantity improved was 17,395,318, divided as follows:—Ontario, 8,833,623; Quebec, 5,763,911; New Brunswick, 1,171,157; Nova Scotia, 1,627,691. The total under-crop was 11,820,338, divided as follows:—Ontario, 6,537,438; Quebec, 3,714,294; New Brunswick, 778,461; Nova Scotia, 790,135. In pasture:—Ontario, 2,669,177; Quebec, 1,943,182; New Brunswick, 385,105; Nova Scotia, 823,322. Total, 5,249,786. The number of town and village lots owned, according to table 20, was:—Ontario, 178,126; Quebec, 67,737; New Brunswick, 15,760; Nova Scotia, 29,987, making a total of 282,550. The number of houses owned was:—Ontario, 262,618; Quebec, 116,378; New Brunswick, 46,965; Nova Scotia, 56,611. Total, 539,712. Warehouses, factories, stores and shops:—Ontario, 28,555; Quebec, 20,234; New Brunswick, 6,306; Nova Scotia, 13,780. Total, 68,914. Barns and stables:—Ontario, 323,575; Quebec 270,211; New Brunswick, 14,670; Nova Scotia, 56,908. Total, 665,264.

SEXES, AGES, OCCUPATIONS.—The total population, as already stated, was 3,485,761, of whom 1,764,311 were males, and 1,721,450 were females, distributed as follows: Males—Ontario, 828,590; Quebec, 566,941; New Brunswick, 145,888; Nova Scotia, 195,792. Females—Ontario, 732,261; Quebec, 565,475; New Brunswick, 139,706; Nova Scotia, 191,088. The total number married was: Ontario, 508,397; Quebec, 372,451; New Brunswick, 86,283; Nova Scotia, 118,445. Total, 1,085,576. Widows and Widowers: Ontario, 62,972; Quebec, 39,143; New Brunswick, 10,529; Nova Scotia, 14,738. Total, 117,382. Children and unmarried:—Ontario, 1,669,682; Quebec, 779,922; New Brunswick, 188,782; Nova Scotia, 254,617. Total, 2,283,003. The ages were found to be as follows: 21 and under, 1,905,161, distributed as follows: Ontario, 894,995; Quebec, 654,618; New Brunswick, 154,127; Nova Scotia, 201,721; from 21 to 41: Ontario, 438,381; Quebec, 318,695; New Brunswick, 78,476; Nova Scotia, 109,480. Total, 945,022. From 41 to 61: Ontario, 211,100; Quebec, 151,239; New Brunswick, 37,822; Nova Scotia, 52,003. Total, 452,843. From 61 to 81: Ontario, 62,313; Quebec, 59,013; New Brunswick, 13,891; Nova Scotia, 21,988. Total, 164,205. From 81 to 101: Ontario, 5,404; Quebec, 4,808; New Brunswick, 1,153; Nova Scotia, 2,144. Total, 13,509. Over 101: Ontario, 67; Quebec, 37; New Brunswick, 19; Nova Scotia, 27. Total, 111. Ages not given: Ontario, 1,193; Quebec, 365; New Brunswick, 15; Nova Scotia, 127. Total, 1,700. The occupations were divided into six classes, with the following result:—

CLASS.	Ontario.	Quebec.	New Brunswick.	Nova Scotia.	Total.
Agricultural.....	228,708	160,641	40,284	49,769	479,512
Commercial.....	29,082	25,547	7,681	13,631	75,941
Domestic.....	26,805	21,186	5,338	6,753	59,101
Industrial.....	93,871	65,707	18,083	34,547	212,208
Professional.....	16,750	15,376	2,858	4,151	39,144
Not classified.....	98,190	52,874	12,114	9,602	112,780
Total.....	463,424	341,291	86,488	118,045	1,388,848

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crop this year, and trade and commerce continued good, and although there was a very slight agitation on the question of protection to manufacturers, still the majority of the manufacturing interests were in a flourishing condition, and the bulk of public opinion was not at this time in favor of Protection. As we have already

Marine disasters,  
Vessels caught in  
the ice.

**SHIPPING.**—The returns of vessels owned by the Dominion was most gratifying, and showed that Canada possessed a merchant marine of 5,672 vessels of all kinds, with a total tonnage of 863,126. The returns are divided into three classes, steam, sea-going sailing vessels, barges, &c. Ontario had 161 steam, 21,440 tons; 291 sailing, 64,633 tons; 253 barges, &c., 23,121 tons; total, 710 vessels, 90,514 tons. Quebec, 183 steam, 51,774 tons; 630 sailing, 138,750 tons; 1,467 barges, &c., 71,591 tons; total, 2,280 vessels, 262,221 tons. New Brunswick, 33 steam, 6,373 tons; 647 sailing, 181,315 tons; 29 barges, &c., 1,230 tons; total, 889 vessels, 191,897 tons. Nova Scotia, 19 steam, 1,787 tons; 1,686 sailing, 291,348 tons. Grand totals, 329 steam, 81,374 tons; 3,254 sailing, 660,140 tons; 2,019 barges, &c., 101,306 tons.

**RELIGIOUS.**—The predominant religion, as shown by table 2, is Roman Catholic, nearly one and a half millions belonging to that faith, the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches are pretty evenly represented, the figures being 1,914,948; 544,988 and 567,991 respectively. The subjoined table gives the complete classification:—

	Ontario.	Quebec.	New Brunswick.	Nova Scotia.
Adventists	1,119	3,159	711	869
African Association	1,854	5,201	42,729	54,283
Baptists	62,954	3,378	27,806	19,632
Free Will or Christian Union	165	2	2	99
Bible Believers	11,438	5	2	128
Christians	1,513	176	2	40
Brethren	1,680	491	5	1
United Brethren	598	45	3	102,001
Catholics, Roman	274,162	1,019,850	96,016	1,065
Christian Conference	11,881	268	1,418	55,124
Church of England	330,965	62,449	45,481	2,538
Congregational	12,858	5,240	1,193	16
Evangelical Association	4,922	2	2	19
Greek Church	842	251	48	4,958
Irregulars	518	549	82	1,692
Jews	32,390	496	80	38,683
Lutherans	13	4,263	3,439	1,271
Mahometans	8,128	26,737	26,212	80
Methodists	286,911	1,271	83	27
Episcopal	32,198	48	1	1
Primitive	21,045	30,880	1,546	12
Methodists	1,824	14	15	121
British Episcopal	1	1	1	59
Calvinistic	18,225	104	121	15
Bible Christians	460	2	2	2,829
Mormons	1,884	13,665	9,045	75,427
Presbyterians	50,847	17,875	17,596	21,239
Presby-terians	29,464	13,623	9,530	3,732
Con. with Ch. of Scotland	63,167	1,743	2,329	153
Reformed	11,318	33	131	122
Evangelical Union	153	492	131	130
American	5,758	4,195	63	26
Protestants	7,106	117	20	73
Quakers	1,088	1,693	21	617
Swedenborgians	1,752	1,837	39	216
Universalists	4,289	191	34	1
Other Denominations	19	1	1	59
Without Creed	230	48	55	72
Atheists	4,359	576	76	44
No Religion	13,849	1,401	362	1,333
Not given				
Totals	1,620,851	1,191,516	285,594	387,800

seen, the country although it suffered somewhat from bush fires, did not experience such another catastrophe as that which occurred in 1870, nor such as during the fall of 1871 swept over Northern Michigan, destroying millions of dollars worth of property and causing the loss of many valuable lives. On the sea there was no such appalling disaster as the disappearance of the

**ORIGIN AND BIRTH-PLACES.**—The following tables will give in convenient shape the different races or nationalities from which the people were descended, as well as the place of birth. By consulting the latter it will be seen that of the entire population 2,802,378 were born in the Dominion, and 10,953 in other British Provinces, leaving 582,139 born in foreign countries:—

ORIGIN.	Ontario.	Quebec.	New Brunswick.	Nova Scotia.
African	13,455	148	1,701	6,212
Dutch	10,492	798	6,001	2,508
English	429,420	69,822	83,748	115,329
French	75,283	929,817	41,907	32,833
German	158,498	7,385	4,478	31,942
Greek	7	7	1	21
Half-breed	2			
Hindoo	8			3
Indian	12,978	6,988	1,403	1,946
Irish	550,412	123,478	100,643	62,851
Italian	304	530	40	152
Jewish	48	74	3	
Russian, Polish	322	186	1	28
Scandinavian	686	451	200	283
Scottish	328,880	46,458	40,838	130,711
Spanish, Portuguese	215	142	223	253
Swiss	450	173	64	1,775
Welsh	5,282	283	1,086	1,112
Various other Origins	265	32	1	13
Not given	4,508	1,154	373	1,326
Totals	1,620,851	1,191,516	285,594	387,800

BIRTH-PLACE.	Ontario.	Quebec.	N. Brunswick.	Nova Scotia.	Totals.
England	121,062	12,371	4,558	4,008	144,999
Ireland	153,060	35,828	27,065	7,538	223,491
Scotland	90,807	11,280	4,691	14,316	121,094
Ontario	1,131,334	7,018	239	223	1,138,814
Quebec	40,476	1,104,401	2,449	348	1,147,674
New Brunswick	2,866	952	237,837	3,413	243,068
Nova Scotia	3,507	666	5,229	351,290	360,692
P. E. Island	1,152	997	2,409	3,210	7,768
N. W. & Manitoba	297	131	1	6	435
Other Brit. Poss'n.	1,147	734	194	405	2,480
United States	43,406	14,714	4,088	2,239	64,447
France	1,731	723	395	120	2,869
Germany	22,827	854	216	21,692	24,993
Other places	3,869	807	363	350	5,415
Totals	1,620,851	1,191,516	285,594	387,800	3,485,761

**EDUCATION.**—The statistics gathered from the census, relating to the educational status of the population, are particularly interesting, and show that in this respect Canada compares favorably with any other nation, the percentage of those unable to read or write being remarkably small. Particularly is this noticeable in Ontario, where the effects of the Public School system were most plainly seen, and where only 3 1/2 per cent. of the population, over twenty years of age, were unable to read and 5 1/2 per cent. of the same age were unable to write. In Quebec the difference in the educational system was very clearly shown, over 16 per cent. of the population being unable to read, and over 20 per cent. to write. In New Brunswick 7 per cent. could not read, and nearly 10 per cent. could not

*City of Boston* in the previous year, but still there were very severe storms off the coast in the spring and fall, and much damage was done to the shipping. The total number of casualties, as reported to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, was two hundred and nine, involving the loss of seventy-five lives, as far as known, and the destruction of property to the value of \$1,800,-

write. In Nova Scotia 8 per cent. could not read, and 12 per cent. could not write. The exact returns of those over twenty years of age unable to read were: Ontario, males, 29,406; females, 27,573; total, 56,979; Quebec, males, 107,782; females, 81,680; total, 191,862; New Brunswick, males, 10,197; females, 8,895; total, 19,092; Nova Scotia, males 13,719; females, 17,693; total, 31,412; grand total unable to read, 265,555. The returns of those over 20 unable to write were: Ontario, males, 12,509; females, 50,631; total 93,229; Quebec, males, 123,926; females, 129,805; total, 241,731; New Brunswick, males, 13,245; females, 14,421; total, 27,666; Nova Scotia, males, 18,961; females, 27,561; total, 46,522; grand total unable to write, 412,142. The prospects of improved enlightenment in the next generation seemed to be excellent, as about 20 per cent. of the whole population were going to school, or two-thirds of the children between the ages of six and sixteen. The numbers were: Ontario, males, 196,284; females, 183,292; total, 379,576; Quebec, males, 93,508; females, 91,538; total, 185,046; New Brunswick, males, 20,317; females, 18,194; total, 38,511; Nova Scotia, males, 10,753; females, 37,735; total, 78,488; grand total going to school, 551,122; males, 339,769; females, 211,353; total, 651,122.

**FARM STOCK, IMPLEMENTS, &c.**—Table 22 gives the number of agricultural implements, &c., owned in the Dominion, together with working and farm stock. We have only space for the totals of the implements, as follows: Light carriages, 514,116; vehicles for transport, 842,514; ploughs, harrows and cultivators, 573,648; reapers and mowers, 44,204; horse-rakes, 62,943; threshing mills, 30,735; fanning-mills, 167,264. Of working animals there were, horses, Ontario, 308,785; Quebec, 186,339; New Brunswick, 30,222; Nova Scotia, 11,225; total, 635,171. Colts and fillies, Ontario, 120,116; Quebec, 57,608; New Brunswick, 8,461; Nova Scotia, 7,651; total, 185,722. Working oxen, Ontario, 47,911; Quebec, 48,448; New Brunswick, 11,132; Nova Scotia, 22,214; total, 129,655. The quantities of farm stock and of animals killed, &c., are given in following tables:—

	Ontario.	Quebec.	New Brunswick.	Nova Scotia.	Total.
Milk cows.....	638,759	406,512	83,220	122,688	1,251,269
Other horned cattle.....	716,474	328,572	69,755	119,065	1,233,866
Sheep.....	1,311,511	1,047,800	234,118	388,377	3,155,599
Swine.....	874,961	371,152	65,805	54,162	1,366,080
Hives of bees.....	94,901	11,265	5,851	3,038	114,794
Cattle killed or sold.....	277,986	155,373	31,551	42,815	507,725
Sheep killed or sold.....	833,618	661,119	149,992	129,631	1,774,360
Swine killed or sold.....	77,131	325,049	69,269	52,788	1,224,237
Pounds of wool.....	6,111,295	2,763,291	706,168	1,132,793	11,713,547
Pounds of honey.....	1,229,612	648,210	90,001	21,371	1,989,294

**FIELD PRODUCTS.**—Table 23 shows that there were 1,616,781 acres of wheat as follows: Ontario, 1,365,872; Quebec, 242,726; New Brunswick, 18,881; Nova Scotia, 19,229. Of potatoes there were 174,000 acres in Ontario; 128,185 in Quebec; 17,089 in New Brunswick; 52,338 in Nova Scotia; total 331,602. Of hay 1,699,398 acres in Ontario; 1,211,653 in Quebec; 334,397 in New Brunswick; 112,663 in Nova Scotia; total, 3,359,119. Of wheat there were 16,723,573 bushels of which 14,231,389 were in Ontario; 2,058,076 in Quebec; 204,911 in New Brunswick; 227,497 in Nova Scotia. Barley, 9,161,231 bushels in Ontario; 1,698,298 in Quebec; 70,547 New Brunswick; 296,658 Nova Scotia; total, 11,146,634. Oats, Ontario, 22,138,458 bushels; Quebec, 5,116,292; New Brunswick, 3,044,131; Nova Scotia, 2,190,689; total, 42,489,570. Pears, Ontario, 7,553,515 bushels; Quebec, 2,305,585; New Brunswick, 26,850; Nova Scotia, 197,101; total, 9,856,729. Buckwheat, Ontario, 585,158 bushels; Quebec, 1,676,078; New Brunswick, 1,231,691;

000; but, as usual, this does not represent the entire list of disasters, for there are always some which are not reported to the Department. In the St. Lawrence the season was the most disastrous known for years. The fall weather had been fine and open, but on the 25th of November, a fierce north-west wind set in and continued for some days, causing the river to

Nova Scotia, 234,157; total, 3,726,184. Corn, Ontario, 3,118,487; Quebec, 661,356; New Brunswick, 27,658; Nova Scotia, 23,319; total, 3,892,831. Potatoes, Ontario, 17,138,331 bushels; Quebec, 18,008,323; New Brunswick, 6,562,355; Nova Scotia, 5,549,975; total, 47,258,187. Turnips, Ontario, 22,455,543 bushels; Quebec, 812,073; New Brunswick, 693,721; Nova Scotia, 168,139; total, 24,339,476. Of other products there were 74,190,581 lbs. butter; Ontario, 37,623,643; Quebec, 24,289,127; New Brunswick, 5,113,917; Nova Scotia, 7,161,867. Cheese, Ontario, 3,432,797 lbs.; Quebec, 512,435; New Brunswick, 154,758; Nova Scotia, 884,853; total, 4,984,843. Of dressed flax there were 2,584,765 lbs. of which Ontario produced 1,165,117; Quebec, 1,270,215; New Brunswick, 37,845; Nova Scotia, 111,588. The number of cards of home-made linen was, Ontario, 25,702; Quebec, 1,576,410; New Brunswick, 74,211; Nova Scotia, 111,987; total, 1,771,110. Of home-made cloth there were 7,041,917; Ontario, 1,775,329; Quebec, 3,389,766; New Brunswick, 1,650,828; Nova Scotia, 1,475,003; total, 7,041,917. The number of pounds of maple sugar was 17,276,044, of which Ontario produced 6,247,412; Quebec, 10,97,418; New Brunswick, 389,001; Nova Scotia, 151,190. Of fruits there were 6,335,215 bushels of apples; 1,125,492 pounds of grapes, and 358,063 bushels of other fruits.

**PRODUCTS OF THE FOREST.**—The total number of cubic feet of timber of all kinds was 65,669,871, of which Ontario produced 33,866,515; Quebec, 21,3 9,056; New Brunswick, 3,799,567; Nova Scotia, 1,683,661. The various kinds were as follows: White pine, Ontario, 14,791,263 cubic feet; Quebec, 8,876,690; New Brunswick, 339,920; Nova Scotia, 289,338; total, 21,276,821. Red pine, Ontario, 1,521,088 cubic feet; Quebec, 347, 515; New Brunswick, 60,130; Nova Scotia, 2,020; total, 1,951,372. Square oak, Ontario, 3,144,534 cubic feet; Quebec, 53,635; New Brunswick, 7,309; Nova Scotia, 16,194; total, 3,222,048. Tamarac, Ontario, 1,223,441 cubic feet; Quebec, 3,294,878; New Brunswick, 340,925; Nova Scotia, 16,816; total, 5,995,263. Birch and maple, Ontario, 92,200 cubic feet; Quebec, 500,005; New Brunswick, 827,345; Nova Scotia, 618,727; total, 1,339,357. Elm, Ontario, 1,777,205 cubic feet; Quebec, 33,209; New Brunswick, 1,250; Nova Scotia, 200; total, 1,832,654. Black walnut, 117,580 cubic feet, Ontario, 801; Quebec, 1,832,654. Hickory, Ontario, 157,955 cubic feet; Quebec, 39,612; Nova Scotia, 240; total, 197,827. All other timber, Ontario, 10,304,943 cubic feet; Quebec, 10,414,710; New Brunswick, 2,102,606; Nova Scotia, 3,008,003; total, 25,230,264. Pine logs, Ontario, 5,713,204; Quebec, 5,011,532; New Brunswick, 1,214,851; Nova Scotia, 177,187; total, 12,116,774. Other logs, Ontario, 1,253,000; Quebec, 5,028,720; New Brunswick, 3,533,152; Nova Scotia, 867,705; total, 9,311,577. Masts, spars, &c., Ontario, 4,870; Quebec, 94,822; New Brunswick, 11,751; Nova Scotia, 10,631; total, 121,085. Staves, Ontario, 29,964; Quebec, 1,181; New Brunswick, 747; Nova Scotia, 11,811; total, 34,703. Cords of lath wood, Ontario, 15,965; Quebec, 7,114; New Brunswick, 2,100; Nova Scotia, 924; total, 25,657. Cords timber, Ontario, 30,854; Quebec, 94,951; New Brunswick, 28,228; Nova Scotia, 12,388; total, 162,521. Cords firewood, Ontario, 4,519,320; Quebec, 3,172,012; New Brunswick, 545,679; Nova Scotia, 529,472; total, 8,773,083.

**THE FISHERIES.**—Table 25 contains statistics relating to the fisheries by which it appears that 391 vessels with 6,894 men, and 16,876 boats with 30,514 men were engaged in this important pursuit. All the Provinces more or less engaged in it, but the greater part of the business was in the Maritime Provinces. Vessels engaged, Ontario, 20; Quebec, 119; New Brunswick, 130; Nova Scotia, 722; total, 991. Men—Ontario, 73; Quebec, 801; New Brunswick, 557; Nova Scotia, 5,573; total, 6,964. Boats—Ontario, 1,154; Quebec, 1,779; New Brunswick, 3,083; Nova Scotia, 7,240; total, 16,876. Men—Ontario, 2,207; Quebec, 6,929; New Brunswick, 1,770; Nova Scotia, 11,865; total, 29,867. Shoremen—Quebec, 3,143; New Brunswick, 720; Nova Scotia, 778; total, 4,747. Fathoms of net—Ontario, 129,568; Quebec, 348,991; New Brunswick, 425,09; Nova Scotia, 959,641;

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freeze rapidly, and a large number of the fall fleet were caught in the ice and great damage done. The river closed very suddenly at Montreal, and a number of barges and small craft were caught and held in the harbor until the ice broke up in the spring, and many ocean-going vessels had to winter at various ports in the St. Lawrence, but little

damage was done to them beyond the loss of time, and consequent expense. Below Quebec and down the Gulf, however, the case was different, and the following vessels were crushed in the ice and became total wrecks: Ship *Ardmillan*, 987, Montreal to Liverpool; barque *Chryseis*, 477, Montreal to Glasgow; barque *Emigrant*, 475, Quebec to Greenock; barque

total, 1,579,435. Fathoms of fucines, Ontario, 14; Quebec, 1,369; New Brunswick, 169; Nova Scotia, 771; total, 2,223. The products of the fisheries will be found in the following table:

	Ontario.	Quebec.	New Brunswick.	Nova Scotia.	Total.
Cod..... Quintals.....	234,742	37,591	380,398	682,631	
Haddock, hake, pollock.....	1,881	17,290	101,042	120,213	
Sounds and tongues—burels.....	350	40	871	1,261	
Herring.....	9,814	96,428	181,792	135,296	413,330
Gaspereaux.....	235	18,534	10,358	20,117	
Mackerel.....	5,857	2,421	69,647	77,925	
Sardines.....	6,457	10	35	6,492	
Halibut.....	891	133	2,536	3,560	
Salmon.....	5,349	6,340	4,218	15,907	
Shad.....	1,035	3,532	7,183	11,750	
Eels.....	127	5,816	188	1,232	6,163
Whitefish.....	21,445	1,591	57	11	23,103
Trout.....	17,263	1,724	289	372	19,658
Other fish.....	12,536	58,179	9,070	1,397	81,182
Cured roes.....	35	919	1,859	2,561	
Oysters.....	35	13,243	12,577	11,500	
Cod liver oil—gallons.....	899	217	1,405	2,491	
Other fish oil.....	3,622	369,630	75,829	287,935	676,403

**RAW MINERAL PRODUCTS.**—The total production of gold was 22,941 ounces, of which Ontario produced 190; Quebec, 3,411; Nova Scotia, 19,331. Ontario was the only Province producing any silver, the quantity being 69,197 ounces. Copper ore, Ontario, 1,934 tons; Quebec, 11,326; New Brunswick, 50; total, 13,310. Iron ore, Ontario, 30,726 tons; Quebec, 92,001; New Brunswick, 3,070; Nova Scotia, 3,560; total, 129,363. Pyrites, Ontario, 500 tons; Quebec, 2,900; total, 3,400. Manganese, New Brunswick, 475 tons; Nova Scotia, 160; total, 635. Other ores, New Brunswick, 10 tons; Nova Scotia, 14,063; total, 14,073. Coal, New Brunswick, 13,592 tons; Nova Scotia, 657,506; total, 671,098. Peat, Quebec, 14,597; New Brunswick, 160; Nova Scotia, 15; total, 14,772. Plumbago, Quebec, 270 tons. Lump gypsum, Ontario, 4,230; New Brunswick, 13,659; Nova Scotia, 96,544; total, 114,433. Phosphate lime, Ontario, 1,975 tons; Nova Scotia, 5; total, 1,980. Mica, Quebec, 4,000 pounds; New Brunswick, 10; total, 4,010. Crude petroleum, Ontario, 12,900,435 gallons. Grained marble, Ontario, 8,870 cubic feet. Building stone for dressing, Ontario, 2,993,711; Quebec, 1,674,302; New Brunswick, 810,525; Nova Scotia, 628,171; total, 5,206,708. Roofing slate, Quebec, 4,503 squares; Nova Scotia, 1,429; total, 6,033.

**INDUSTRIES.**—Under this head are grouped all the manufactures of the Dominion, and twenty-seven tables are required to give the very elaborate statistics gathered. It is impossible for us to give more than a very condensed summary, and we shall, therefore, only notice these manufactures the value of whose products exceed one million. Agricultural implements, number—Ontario, 173; Quebec, 65; New Brunswick, 4; Nova Scotia, 10; total, 252. Hands employed: Ontario, males, 2,118, females, 35; Quebec, males, 378; New Brunswick, males, 7; Nova Scotia, males, 19; total, 2,546. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$745,093; Quebec, \$105,087; New Brunswick, \$2,030; Nova Scotia, \$3,274; total, \$853,484. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$790,673; Quebec, \$97,185; New Brunswick, \$876; Nova Scotia, \$1,913; total, \$889,847. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$2,291,989; Quebec, \$382,532; New Brunswick, \$3,804; Nova Scotia, \$7,008; total, \$2,685,333. Bakeries, number—Ontario, 383; Quebec, 471; New Brunswick, 41; Nova Scotia, 29; total, 926. Hands employed: Ontario, males, 1,107, females, 132; Quebec, males, 1,089, females, 71;

New Brunswick, males, 116, females, 15; Nova Scotia, males, 111, females, 20; total, 2,674. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$346,254; Quebec, \$265,252; New Brunswick, \$32,011; Nova Scotia, \$36,422; total, \$680,439. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$2,067,000; Quebec, \$2,316,422; New Brunswick, \$188,073; Nova Scotia, \$293,300; total, \$4,874,888. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$2,983,740; Quebec, \$3,283,623; New Brunswick, \$279,194; Nova Scotia, \$365,945; total, \$6,942,460. Blacksmithing, number—Ontario, 2,894; Quebec, 2,129; New Brunswick, 49; Nova Scotia, 754; total, 6,275. Hands employed: Ontario, 4,810; Quebec, 3,311; New Brunswick, 996; Nova Scotia, 1,226; total, 10,213. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$1,182,167; Quebec, \$587,856; New Brunswick, \$198,630; Nova Scotia, \$248,569; total, \$2,217,222. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$749,051; Quebec, \$472,087; New Brunswick, \$164,485; Nova Scotia, \$182,473; total, \$1,529,496. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$2,729,790; Quebec, \$1,529,058; New Brunswick, \$452,930; Nova Scotia, \$592,713; total, \$5,264,491. Boots and shoes, number—Ontario, 1,965; Quebec, 1,491; New Brunswick, 339; Nova Scotia, 48; total, 4,103. Hands employed: Ontario, males, 5,650, females, 794; Quebec, males, 6,223, females, 3,642; Nova Brunswick, males, 976, females, 211; Nova Scotia, males, 1,135, females, 178; total, 18,789. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$1,569,987; Quebec, \$1,288,253; New Brunswick, \$276,078; Nova Scotia, \$381,446; total, \$3,455,864. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$2,367,408; Quebec, \$1,583,658; New Brunswick, \$503,431; Nova Scotia, \$422,571; total, \$5,927,155. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$5,025,455; Quebec, \$3,074,187; New Brunswick, \$976,457; Nova Scotia, \$1,057,539; total, \$10,133,688. Cabinet and furniture, number—Ontario, 536; Quebec, 218; New Brunswick, 48; Nova Scotia, 52; total, 854. Hands employed: Ontario, males, 2,641, females, 133; Quebec, males, 1,031, females, 57; New Brunswick, 174 males; Nova Scotia, males, 285, females, 20; total, 4,306. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$799,065; Quebec, \$511,683; New Brunswick, \$451,540; Nova Scotia, \$366,507; total, \$1,819,435. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$967,008; Quebec, \$308,612; New Brunswick, \$46,707; Nova Scotia, \$62,457; total, \$1,414,774. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$2,260,075; Quebec, \$850,401; New Brunswick, \$162,051; Nova Scotia, \$222,400; total, \$3,495,078. Carding and fulling mills, number—Ontario, 168; Quebec, 323; New Brunswick, 70; Nova Scotia, 90; total, 650. Hands employed: Ontario, 333 males, 5 females; Quebec, 474 males, 72 females; New Brunswick, 108 males, 34 females; Nova Scotia, 155 males, 41 females; total, 1,224. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$54,390; Quebec, \$56,728; New Brunswick, \$15,194; Nova Scotia, \$20,271; total, \$146,570. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$415,912; Quebec, \$1,062,885; New Brunswick, \$183,547; Nova Scotia, \$216,308; total, \$1,818,652. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$530,857; Quebec, \$1,308,915; New Brunswick, \$232,183; Nova Scotia, \$274,830; total, \$2,356,794. Carpenters and joiners, number—Ontario, 553; Quebec, 1,245; New Brunswick, 100; Nova Scotia, 201; total, 2,099. Hands employed: Ontario, 1,592; Quebec, 2,863; New Brunswick, 211; Nova Scotia, 316; total, 5,408. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$517,178; Quebec, \$622,565; New Brunswick, \$47,874; Nova Scotia, \$126,428; total, \$1,314,044. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$447,913; Quebec, \$822,365; New Brunswick, \$57,444; Nova Scotia, \$71,546; total, \$1,399,268. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,284,047; Quebec, \$2,662,285; New Brunswick, \$131,910; Nova Scotia, \$278,103; total, \$4,256,345. Carriage-making, number—Ontario, 1,421; Quebec, 841; New Brunswick, 176; Nova Scotia, 108; total, 2,546. Hands employed: Ontario, 4,763 males, 17 females; Quebec, 2,104 males, 14 females; New Brunswick, 470 males, 7 females; Nova Scotia, 428 males; total, 7,368. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$1,239,799; Quebec, \$404,882; New Brunswick, \$139,080; Nova Scotia, \$96,505; total, \$1,880,266. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$387,861; Quebec, \$382,154; New Brunswick, \$81,911; Nova Scotia, \$42,848; total, \$1,297,734. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$3,078,841; Quebec, \$1,257,730; New



*Mary Eliza*, 888, Quebec to Marseilles; ship *Three Belles*, 594, Montreal to Glasgow. The following were badly damaged from the same cause: barque *Amelia*, 548, Quebec to Newcastle; barque *Alma*, 348, Montreal to Liverpool; ship *Pride of England*, 1,356, Quebec to Greenock; ship *Pomona*, 1,195, Montreal to Glasgow; barque *Viola*, 595, Montreal to Liverpool. None of

these mishaps were attended with loss of life, the crews in all cases managing to reach shore. The most distressing marine disaster of the year occurred in Newfoundland. On the 25th May, the schooner *Little Belle* left St. John, Nfld., for Old Pelican, with forty men and five women on board. Shortly after leaving a storm sprang up, and the schooner becoming unmanageable

Brunswick, \$38,634; Nova Scotia, \$24,023; total, \$4,49,254. Co-operation, number—Ontario, 698; Quebec, 472; New Brunswick, 191; Nova Scotia, 407; total, 1,768. Hands employed: Ontario, 1,837; Quebec, 796; New Brunswick, 261; Nova Scotia, 548; total, 3,442. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$478,168; Quebec, \$87,628; New Brunswick, \$17,515; Nova Scotia, \$50,642; total, \$613,953. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$516,679; Quebec, \$111,156; New Brunswick, \$11,189; Nova Scotia, \$44,249; total, \$683,273. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,261,865; Quebec, \$326,989; New Brunswick, \$38,707; Nova Scotia, \$131,099; total, \$1,772,663. Dress-making and millinery, number—Ontario, 493; Quebec, 333; New Brunswick, 56; Nova Scotia, 52; total, 934. Hands employed: Ontario, males, 103, females, 2,023; Quebec, males, 19, females, 1,247; New Brunswick, males, 5, females, 233; Nova Scotia, males, 8, females, 214; total, 3,577. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$255,967; Quebec, \$107,708; New Brunswick, \$30,545; Nova Scotia, \$10,857; total, \$405,117. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$815,514; Quebec, \$57,275; New Brunswick, \$119,073; Nova Scotia, \$94,353; total, \$1,086,197. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,350,483; Quebec, \$882,918; New Brunswick, \$105,386; Nova Scotia, \$158,882; total, \$2,597,669. Flour and grist mills, number—Ontario, 951; Quebec, 819; New Brunswick, 233; Nova Scotia, 301; total, 2,295. Hands employed Ontario, 2,759; Quebec, 1,506; New Brunswick, 311; Nova Scotia, 416; total, 4,992. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$833,959; Quebec, \$290,246; New Brunswick, \$55,967; Nova Scotia, \$62,687; total, \$1,242,859. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$22,615,814; Quebec, \$8,151,797; New Brunswick, \$806,608; Nova Scotia, \$839,209; total, \$32,413,428. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$27,115,794; Quebec, \$9,897,711; New Brunswick, \$1,050,355; Nova Scotia, \$1,068,051; total, \$39,135,919. Foundries and machine-working, number—Ontario, 258; Quebec, 111; New Brunswick, 31; Nova Scotia, 30; total, 430. Hands employed: Ontario, males, 1,671, females, 15; Quebec, males, 1,890, females, 2; New Brunswick, 650 males; Nova Scotia, 445 males; total, 7,653. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$1,587,018; Quebec, \$473,217; New Brunswick, \$200,854; Nova Scotia, \$108,720; total, \$2,422,815. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$1,576,693; Quebec, \$505,034; New Brunswick, \$199,947; Nova Scotia, \$145,747; total, \$2,427,423. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$4,631,850; Quebec, \$1,097,481; New Brunswick, \$602,065; Nova Scotia, \$484,122; total, \$7,325,531. Saddle or harness-making, number—Ontario, 676; Quebec, 245; New Brunswick, 64; Nova Scotia, 66; total, 1,051. Hands employed: Ontario, 1,751 males, 19 females; Quebec, 588 males, 8 females; New Brunswick, 155 males; Nova Scotia, 143 males; total, 2,699. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$401,416; Quebec, \$116,376; New Brunswick, \$42,106; Nova Scotia, \$33,393; total, \$613,291. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$732,931; Quebec, \$272,698; New Brunswick, \$59,831; Nova Scotia, \$48,706; total, \$1,114,166. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,645,308; Quebec, \$572,508; New Brunswick, \$143,001; Nova Scotia, \$104,414; total, \$2,465,321. Saw-mills, number—Ontario, 1,837; Quebec, 1,708; New Brunswick, 563; Nova Scotia, 1,444; total, 5,254. Hands employed: Ontario, males, 13,800, females, 51; Quebec, 11,829 males, 19 females; New Brunswick, 7,130 males, 4 females; Nova Scotia, 2,855 males, 6 females; total, 35,688. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$2,075,390; Quebec, \$1,635,677; New Brunswick, \$1,400,562; Nova Scotia, \$330,417; total, \$6,042,046. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$7,108,234; Quebec, \$5,108,729; New Brunswick, \$3,747,983; Nova Scotia, \$755,167; total, \$16,760,087. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$12,733,741; Quebec, \$9,548,810; New Brunswick, \$6,575,759; Nova Scotia, \$1,387,537; total, \$30,256,247. Tanneries, number—Ontario, 426; Quebec, 420; New Brunswick, 101; Nova Scotia, 195; total, 1,142. Hands employed: Ontario, 1,568 males, 10 females; Quebec, 1,676 males, 50 females; New Brunswick, 341 males; Nova Scotia, 545 males, 2 females; total, 4,207. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$449,043; Quebec, \$394,733; New Brunswick, \$89,467;

Nova Scotia, \$122,861; total, \$1,056,294. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$2,137,337; Quebec, \$2,539,214; New Brunswick, \$339,506; Nova Scotia, \$113,405; total, \$5,712,042. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$8,429,218; Quebec, \$4,897,969; New Brunswick, \$506,722; Nova Scotia, \$769,993; total, \$9,184,932. Tailors and clothiers, number—Ontario, 942; Quebec, 359; New Brunswick, 83; Nova Scotia, 117; total, 1,501. Hands employed: Ontario, 2,445 males, 3,813 females; Quebec, 706 males, 2,187 females; New Brunswick, 262 males, 810 females; Nova Scotia, 239 males, 340 females; total, 11,062. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$1,257,411; Quebec, \$378,516; New Brunswick, \$185,293; Nova Scotia, \$102,710; total, \$1,923,920. Value of raw materials: Ontario, \$3,117,967; Quebec, \$1,583,982; New Brunswick, \$164,911; Nova Scotia, \$236,888; total, \$5,303,768. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$5,425,464; Quebec, \$2,665,699; New Brunswick, \$826,831; Nova Scotia, \$127,881; total, \$9,045,875. Tin and sheet iron working, number—Ontario, 440; Quebec, 261; New Brunswick, 45; Nova Scotia, 47; total, 793. Hands employed: Ontario, 1,240 males, 11 females; Quebec, 816 males, 3 females; New Brunswick, 144 males, 4 females; Nova Scotia, 133 males; total, 2,334. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$366,533; Quebec, \$165,464; New Brunswick, \$29,239; Nova Scotia, \$37,061; total, \$598,300. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$892,329; Quebec, 416,464; New Brunswick, \$38,332; Nova Scotia, \$66,445; total, \$1,313,561. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,257,270; Quebec, \$824,319; New Brunswick, \$113,418; Nova Scotia, \$127,565; total, \$2,322,638. Wool cloth making, number—Ontario, 233; Quebec, 2; New Brunswick, 6; Nova Scotia, 8; total, 279. Hands employed: Ontario, 2,161 males, 1,535 females; Quebec, 288 males, 288 females; New Brunswick, 46 males, 51 females; Nova Scotia, 63 males, 41 females; total, 4,455. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$761,944; Quebec, \$148,194; New Brunswick, \$17,254; Nova Scotia, \$29,450; total, \$917,827. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$2,706,243; Quebec, \$379,434; New Brunswick, \$72,990; Nova Scotia, \$8,491; total, \$3,217,068. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$4,589,119; Quebec, \$601,978; New Brunswick, \$126,700; Nova Scotia, 199,752; total, \$5,507,549. Breweries, number—Ontario, 165; Quebec, 26; New Brunswick, 4; Nova Scotia, 2; total, 137. Hands employed: Ontario, 572 males, 4 females; Quebec, 310 males, 23 females; New Brunswick, 21 males; Nova Scotia, 19 males; total, 918. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$174,768; Quebec, \$102,135; New Brunswick, \$8,800; Nova Scotia, \$7,500; total, \$293,143. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$82,137; Quebec, \$332,410; New Brunswick, \$12,883; Nova Scotia, \$31,750; total, \$912,180. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,198,919; Quebec, \$816,030; New Brunswick, \$38,380; Nova Scotia, \$87,000; total, \$2,141,229. Cheese factories, number—Ontario, 323; Quebec, 25; New Brunswick, 8; Nova Scotia, 2; total, 353. Hands employed: Ontario, 577 males, 332 females; Quebec, 37 males, 40 females; New Brunswick, 6 males, 1 female; Nova Scotia, 4 males, 1 female; total, 959. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$116,783; Quebec, \$7,083; New Brunswick, \$889; Nova Scotia, \$1,800; total, \$120,625. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$1,135,078; Quebec, \$96,166; New Brunswick, \$5,300; Nova Scotia, \$12,300; total, \$1,249,844. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,454,592; Quebec, \$123,961; New Brunswick, \$7,075; Nova Scotia, \$16,900; total, \$1,601,738. Furriers and hatters, number—Ontario, 58; Quebec, 60; New Brunswick, 2; Nova Scotia, 2; total, 131. Hands employed: Ontario, 194 males, 355 females; Quebec, 385 males, 870 females; total, 1,541. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$113,041; Quebec, \$251,828; New Brunswick, \$12,850; Nova Scotia, \$1,700; total, \$382,419. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$256,085; Quebec, \$1,253,074; New Brunswick, \$27,400; Nova Scotia, \$3,500; total, \$1,539,059. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$513,189; Quebec, \$2,302,971; New Brunswick, \$51,000; Nova Scotia, \$7,500; total, \$2,875,660. Meat curing, number—Ontario, 165; Quebec, 39; New Brunswick, 30; Nova Scotia, 19; total, 193. Hands employed:

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was run on shore, the crew endeavoring to save themselves in the boats, but only five of the men succeeded, and forty men and the five women were drowned. What made the disaster more distressing was that all the men on board, with one exception, were married and had families dependant on them. The unmarried man was saved. On the lakes and inland waters, the damage was comparatively light, the total number of casualties being seventy-five, the majority of which were slight, involving

the loss of two lives and the destruction of about \$300,000 worth of property.

12.—The year 1871 witnessed the departure of the last small remnant of regular troops which had been left to garrison Quebec; and, after an occupation of one hundred and six years, the British troops were entirely withdrawn from that ancient fortress and its defense turned over to the Dominion authorities. With the exception of two Infantry Battalions and some Artillery

Final withdrawal of the troops.  
Formation of "A" and "B" Batteries.  
Militia camps.

Ontario, 628 males, 33 females; Quebec, 81 males, 7 females; New Brunswick, 59 males, 2 females; Nova Scotia, 30 males, 1 female; total, 871. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$2,512,238; Quebec, \$233,432; New Brunswick, \$115,201; Nova Scotia, \$21,885; total, \$2,942,756. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$3,103,122; Quebec, \$129,716; New Brunswick, \$144,473; Nova Scotia, \$32,241; total, \$3,709,552. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$116,629; Quebec, \$17,617; New Brunswick, \$7,998; Nova Scotia, \$3,531; total, \$145,775. Printing offices: number, Ontario, 101; Quebec, 08; New Brunswick, 24; Nova Scotia, 25; total, 308. Hands employed: Ontario, 1,662 males, 122 females; Quebec, 1,085 males, 156 females; New Brunswick, 297 males, 13 females; Nova Scotia, 259 males, 2 females; total, 3,407. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$661,897; Quebec, \$374,478; New Brunswick, \$72,087; Nova Scotia, \$80,040; total, \$1,194,012. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$874,948; Quebec, \$303,118; New Brunswick, \$56,406; Nova Scotia, \$10,755; total, \$1,165,226. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,507,007; Quebec, \$98,045; New Brunswick, \$100,690; Nova Scotia, \$324,400; total, \$2,429,232. Sash, door and blind factories, number—Ontario, 156; Quebec, 41; New Brunswick, 14; Nova Scotia, 11; total, 222. Hands employed: Ontario, 1,540 males, 2 females; Quebec, 696 males, 9 females; New Brunswick, 157 males, 10 females; Nova Scotia, 101 males; total, 2,519. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$85,069; Quebec, \$12,447; New Brunswick, \$41,779; Nova Scotia, \$3,459; total, \$73,715. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$686,538; Quebec, \$800,592; New Brunswick, \$40,963; Nova Scotia, \$87,205; total, \$1,614,988. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$1,549,898; Quebec, \$1,174,949; New Brunswick, \$109,941; Nova Scotia, \$179,870; total, \$3,029,641. Shipyards, number—Ontario, 19; Quebec, 43; New Brunswick, 75; Nova Scotia, 112; total, 252. Hands employed: Ontario, 469; Quebec, 2,194; New Brunswick, 1,394; Nova Scotia, 2,058; total, 6,046. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$168,667; Quebec, \$404,548; New Brunswick, \$316,046; Nova Scotia, \$531,844; total, \$1,451,075. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$149,109; Quebec, \$567,773; New Brunswick, \$438,087; Nova Scotia, \$675,571; total, \$1,763,531. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$350,212; Quebec, \$1,351,416; New Brunswick, \$1,086,744; Nova Scotia, \$1,634,929; total, \$4,432,902. Stone and marble-cutting, number—Ontario, 98; Quebec, 47; New Brunswick, 13; Nova Scotia, 18; total, 176. Hands employed: Ontario, 567; Quebec, 499; New Brunswick, 67; Nova Scotia, 50; total, 1,183. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$177,412; Quebec, \$190,580; New Brunswick, \$25,943; Nova Scotia, \$14,100; total, \$408,021. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$159,827; Quebec, \$179,583; New Brunswick, \$35,117; Nova Scotia, \$20,145; total, \$395,672. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$459,891; Quebec, \$490,785; New Brunswick, \$77,269; Nova Scotia, \$44,450; total, \$1,072,874. Oil refineries, number—Ontario, 46; Quebec, 4; total, 50. Hands employed: Ontario, 429 males, 4 females; Quebec, 60 males, 1 female; total, 494. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$181,810; Quebec, \$17,500; total, \$202,319. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$1,236,744; Quebec, \$174,590; total, \$1,411,244. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$2,845,969; Quebec, \$249,000; total, \$3,094,660. Soap and candle-making, number—Ontario, 38; Quebec, 24; New Brunswick, 7; Nova Scotia, 9; total, 75. Hands employed: Ontario, 150; Quebec, 92 males, 6 females; New Brunswick, 25; Nova Scotia, 24; total, 301. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$47,093; Quebec, \$27,372; New Brunswick, \$7,274; Nova Scotia, \$8,239; total, \$89,974. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$535,196; Quebec, \$436,359; New Brunswick, \$88,188; Nova Scotia, \$79,650; total, \$1,060,693. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$524,720; Quebec, \$588,423; New Brunswick, \$107,000;

Nova Scotia, \$103,710; total, \$1,323,853. Tobacco working, number—Ontario, 42; Quebec, 25; New Brunswick, 4; Nova Scotia, 6; total, 77. Hands employed: Ontario, males 531, females 454; Quebec, 654 males, 539 females; New Brunswick, 34 males, 30 females; Nova Scotia, 109 males, 152 females; total, 2,216. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$157,423; Quebec, \$290,197; New Brunswick, \$7,375; Nova Scotia, \$42,200; total, \$497,095. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$124,382; Quebec, \$660,803; New Brunswick, \$13,700; Nova Scotia, \$98,800; total, \$1,497,745. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$693,387; Quebec, \$1,426,656; New Brunswick, \$26,890; Nova Scotia, \$288,500; total, \$2,435,343. Distilleries, number—Ontario, 18; Quebec, 1; Nova Scotia, 1; total, 20. Hands employed: Ontario, 421; Quebec, 45; Nova Scotia, 1; total, 467. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$170,590; Quebec, \$16,000; Nova Scotia, \$300; total, \$186,890. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$1,141,071; Quebec, \$60,000; Nova Scotia, \$2,000; total, \$1,203,071. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$3,875,597; Quebec, \$210,000; Nova Scotia, \$6,780; total, \$4,092,377. Engine building, number—Ontario, 6; Quebec, 5; Nova Scotia, 1; total, 12. Hands employed: Ontario, 508; Quebec, 457; Nova Scotia, 42; total, 1,007. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$190,573; Quebec, \$126,388; Nova Scotia, \$12,000; total, \$328,961. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$289,158; Quebec, \$108,650; Nova Scotia, \$14,000; total, \$411,808. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$671,000; Quebec, \$83,263; Nova Scotia, \$40,700; total, \$1,014,225. Paper manufacturers, number—Ontario, 12; Quebec, 7; New Brunswick, 1; Nova Scotia, 1; total, 21. Hands employed: Ontario, 284 males, 80 females; Quebec, 236 males, 118 females; New Brunswick, 12 males, 3 females; Nova Scotia, 8 males; total, 760. Yearly wages: Ontario, \$99,270; Quebec, \$80,473; New Brunswick, \$7,072; Nova Scotia, \$2,000; total, \$197,815. Value of raw material: Ontario, \$236,230; Quebec, \$275,825; New Brunswick, \$6,000; Nova Scotia, \$4,500; total, \$522,555. Value of articles produced: Ontario, \$187,500; Quebec, \$557,576; New Brunswick, \$37,400; Nova Scotia, \$9,373; total, \$1,671,651. Nail and tack factories, 15; employing 794 males, 21 females. Yearly wages, \$191,870. Value of raw material, \$708,080. Value of articles produced, \$1,117,380. Rolling mills, 5; employing 700 males, 2 females. Yearly wages, \$241,500. Value of raw material, \$1,650,000. Value of articles produced, \$1,690,000. Sewing machine factories, 18; employing 950 males, 1 female. Yearly wages, \$375,845. Value of raw material, \$267,440. Value of articles produced, \$1,123,164. Sugar refineries, 4; employing 350 males. Yearly wages, \$118,200. Value of raw material, \$3,716,000. Value of articles produced, \$4,132,750. There were altogether 140 different industries having 49,839 factories, and capital invested, &c., as follows:—

Aggregate Value of all Industries in each Province.	Capital Investment.	No. of Hands employed.	Amount of Yearly Wages.	Value of Raw Material.	Value of Articles Produced.
Ontario .....	\$37,874,610	87,281	\$21,415,710	\$65,114,804	\$114,706,739
Quebec .....	28,071,898	69,714	12,389,073	44,555,025	7,205,182
New Brunswick .....	5,576,478	18,352	3,869,360	9,431,760	17,397,787
Nova Scotia .....	6,041,966	15,506	3,176,265	5,890,257	12,338,165
Total .....	\$77,664,920	187,942	\$40,851,000	\$124,907,846	\$221,617,773

and Engineers stationed at Halifax, no British troops were left in Canada, the British Government having fully carried out its intention of removing all the forces and leaving the Dominion to protect itself. The garrison at Halifax is maintained there simply because that port is the Imperial Naval station in the North Atlantic, and not in any way as any protection to the Dominion. As it became necessary to have some body of men to take care of the forts, military stores, &c., handed over by the Imperial to the Dominion Authorities, it was determined to form two Batteries of Garrison Artillery, to be designated as "A" and "B" respectively, to be stationed at Kingston and Quebec, with detachments at Montreal and Toronto, to prevent the fortifications at those points from going entirely to ruin. These two Batteries, which are in reality "the army of Canada," being the only regular troops in the Dominion, were organized in accordance with General Orders issued by the Minister of Militia 20th October, 1871, and consist of about 400 men, under command of Lt. Col. T. B. Strange. The order also provided that "these batteries in addition to performing garrison duties shall serve as practical schools of gunnery for the training of all ranks of the Militia Artillery, viz: by instructing gunners and drivers, and affording officers and non-commissioned officers opportunities of joining long or short courses of instruction as may best suit them individually." The Adjutant General in his annual report for 1871 says that "the British flag that floats over those strong holds (Quebec, &c.) is as vigilantly guarded, and the morning gun as regularly fired, by the Dominion Militia Artillery Corps" as during their occupation by the regular forces. The withdrawal of the troops gave a great impetus to militia matters this year, and the new system of forming large camps for eight or sixteen days instruction was tried for the first time with considerable success. Camps were formed at Niagara, Laprairie, Goderich, Levis and other points, and 22,544 officers and men performed sixteen days drill, and 5,210 eight days. The total enrolled strength of the active militia on 31st December, was 43,174, of

whom 34,414 performed annual drill, 27,754 in camps and the remainder at Head Quarters.

13.—Several important changes were made in the Post Office Department during the year, which tended somewhat to increase postal facilities, but the Government did not yet see its way clear to inaugurate a system of free deliveries in cities, which had been urged for some time. On the 30th June the contract with the Inman line of steamers for carrying the mails between Halifax and Liverpool, and *vice versa*, expired, and the last mail from that place by that line was despatched by the *City of Baltimore* for Liverpool; on the same day the *City of Liverpool* arrived with her last mail from England. The contract had been given to the Allan line, and the first mail was brought out by the *Peruvian* which arrived at Halifax on the 11th July. The most important event, as far as the general public was concerned, was the introduction of Postal cards, which came into use in May, and proved an immense convenience. The Postal system was extended to British Columbia and Manitoba, and the mode of keeping accounts in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was assimilated to that of the other Provinces. Another very important change was that of altering the mode of paying Postmasters from a per centage on receipts to fixed salaries, which very much simplified accounts and tended to make the service more efficient.

14.—An event of no little importance to the Maritime Provinces took place on the 18th October when the European and North American Railway was formally opened from Bangor, Me., to St. John, N. B.; thus putting the Maritime Provinces in connection with the American railways, and, by way of Portland, with Canadian lines also, a route which, although circuitous, proved convenient pending the completion of the Intercolonial. The occasion was made one of general rejoicing, and President Grant and Lord Lisgar both assisted at the opening ceremonies and attended the grand banquet afterwards. General Grant did not

Postal changes.  
Postal Cards.

Opening of the E. &  
N. A. Railway.  
Seizure of the  
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make a speech, but Lord Lisgar did and expressed himself as highly pleased with the Washington Treaty, for which he was pretty severely criticised by a portion of the press, which considered that the interests of Canada had been sacrificed by that notable document, for the sake of preserving peace between England and the United States. An event, however, which, for a moment almost threatened to rupture that peace occurred towards the end of the year, and caused intense excitement for a short while, but eventually blew over. As the Treaty of Washington had not been signed until May, arrangements had been made in anticipation of the opening of the fishing season for the protection of our fisheries, similar to those in force in 1870, and six cruisers were placed on duty to prevent the encroachments of American fishermen. After the signing of the Treaty, and while the fisheries clauses were still awaiting confirmation by the Legislatures of the Dominion, and Prince Edward Island, the Government of the latter Province passed an Order-in-Council that American fishermen should be admitted at once, and the cruisers were so notified. The Canadian Government still maintained its protective force, and three vessels were seized, the *Samuel Gilbert*, the *Franklin C. Schenck* and the *E. A. Horton*. The latter was captured by the Marine Police schooner *Sinsepstake*, Captain James A. Tory, in Antigonish Bay, N. S., on 1st September, while the crew were actively engaged in fishing within a mile of the shore, and was taken to Guysboro', N. S., and placed in charge of the Collector of Customs at that port. A Mr. Thomas Condon was engaged to watch the vessel, but, on the night of the eighth of October she was stolen from her dock by some friends of the owners—by the connivance, it was supposed, of the watchman—and taken to Gloucester, Mass., to which port she belonged. The rescue caused considerable excitement at Gloucester, where the wildest threats of resistance to any attempt to recapture her were made; but the Government had no intention of attempting a recapture by force, and, after an investigation of the cir-

cumstances of the case, by which it was shown that the persons in charge of the vessels had been extremely negligent, if not worse, adopted the following Order-in-Council, on 13th November: "The Committee of Council to whom was referred the consideration of the annexed report of the Honorable the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, with the accompanying correspondence in relation to the rescue of the United States fishing vessel *E. A. Horton*, have the honour to report as follows: The Committee are of opinion that the gross carelessness exhibited in guarding the vessel will be suitably requited by the loss of the prize money that might have been realized had she been properly protected. The Committee consider that any question of indignity to the Flag may properly be left to the Imperial Government who alone are competent to deal with it. Believing that the rescue of this vessel has been planned by parties in the United States, who, for objects of their own, desire to create difficulty and thereby disturb the *entente cordiale* which exists between that country and the British Empire, the Committee of Council do not feel called upon to recommend that any reclamation of the vessel in question shall be made by the Government of the Dominion; and the Committee are the more ready to advise this course from the conviction which they entertain that the Customs authorities of the United States will not, under the circumstances as they exist, furnish the owners of the *E. A. Horton* with the papers required to make her of any value. The Committee of Council further recommend that a copy of this Minute, if approved by your Excellency, be transmitted with the annexed correspondence, for the information of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies." A copy of the Minute was accordingly forwarded and the Earl of Kimberley signified his approval of the course adopted by the Canadian Government in a despatch to Lord Lisgar, under date 15th December, in which he says: "This Government recognize with satisfaction the moderate and dignified course adopted by your Ministers. Such conduct is eminently calculated to promote and strengthen the friendly

relations with the United States Government which it is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government, as it must be of the Dominion Government to see maintained in their full integrity. The Government will carefully consider whether the circumstances of the case require that a representation should be made on the subject to the Government of the United States." After duly considering "the circumstances of the case," and consulting the Law Officers of the Crown, Earl Kimberley decided that "the circumstances do not require that a representation should be made by Her Majesty's Government to the United States Government on this subject," and so informed Lord Lisgar, under date 15th February, 1872. There were a great many people in Canada who did not feel disposed to compliment the Canadian Government on its "moderate and dignified" course in allowing a vessel to be stolen from its custody and not demanding the return of the stolen property, just as there were many persons who did not admire the "moderate and dignified" course of the British Government in quietly submitting to an insult to the British Flag without thinking it worth while to request an apology; but then people were getting accustomed to see England, under the Gladstone Administration, snubbed by foreign powers; and the Dominion Government really could not help itself, for the British Ministry had shown so decided an inclination to sacrifice Canadian interests to the United States, that it was not at all probable it would risk a rupture with that power on account of Canada, and therefore, it was, perhaps, the wisest course for the Macdonald Ministry not to demand the return of the *Horton* while it appeared improbable that Great Britain would support that demand, and so prevent Canada from being placed in the ridiculous and humiliating position which she would have been had she made the demand and then been forced to withdraw it, under pressure from the British Ministry, as would, probably, have been the case.

15.—Amongst the events of minor importance occurring during the year may be mentioned

the commencement of the extension of the Grand Trunk along the wharves at Montreal so as to have access to the East end of the city and form a junction with the North Shore and Northern Colonization roads when they were completed. The scheme met with a little opposition from some parties inimical to the Grand Trunk, and special objection was taken to a railway bridge being thrown across the Lachine Canal at Wellington Street; but the importance of the project and the increased facilities which the carrying of it out would give for the transfer of freight to or from the West, finally prevailed and the work was carried out. The exhausted condition of France after her terrible conflict with Germany could not fail to enlist the warm sympathies of those of French descent in this country, and a Committee was formed in Montreal, of which the Hon. Judge Coursol was Chairman, to receive contributions for the relief of the sufferers, and a considerable amount was collected and forwarded. A visitor, whose advent had been greatly feared, made its appearance in June in various parts of Ontario, in the shape of the Colorado Beetle, but, fortunately, its ravages were not very extensive. This pest had been seen late in the summer of 1870, but not in sufficient quantities to be of much moment, and its first appearance in Canada "in force" may be put down as June, 1871. British Columbia was formally admitted to the Union on 20th July, and the Hon. J. W. Trutch appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. In accordance with the agreement with the Province to build a railway to the Pacific, several surveying parties were sent out during the summer, and portions of the Line prospected. The number of drowning accidents during the summer was quite unprecedented, and almost every day furnished one or more victims, no less than ten lives being lost over the Falls of Niagara alone. Amongst the unfortunates were Messrs. George Speight and C. A. Lodge, two prominent journalists connected with the *Montreal Gazette* who were drowned in the Lachine Rapids on the Queen's Birthday. A

Various events of minor importance.

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very handsome monument to their memory was afterwards erected in Mount Royal Cemetery by their brother journalists. The experiment of the year before of inducing an English crew to visit Canada and row in our waters was repeated; and James Renforth, champion sculler of England, with a picked crew consisting of James Percy, Harry Kelly and Robert Chambers, arrived at Halifax on the 25th July in the *North American*, to compete with the Paris crew of St. John, N.B., in a four oared race to be pulled on the Kennebecassis River on the 23rd of August. The race took place at the time appointed, but after rowing a short distance Renforth suddenly fell back in his boat and died in the hotel at Torryburn, where he was taken, a few hours after. At first there was a suspicion of foul play, but an analysis of the stomach showed no traces of poison of any sort, and the post-mortem examination revealed the cause of death to be heart disease, brought on by overtraining. Considerable progress was made during the year in opening up the Northwest, the Dawson road was completed and opened for travel and telegraphic communication established with Winnipeg by way of Pembina, the first message being sent over the wires on the 24th November. On the 14th of December, the Grand Duke Alexis, second son of the Czar of Russia, arrived in Montreal, where he remained a few days, and afterwards visited Ottawa, Toronto and Niagara Falls. The serious illness of the Prince of Wales at the time prevented any public demonstrations being made, although preparations for grand balls had been made at Montreal and Ottawa, but the entertainments were abandoned, at the request of the Grand Duke, for the reason given above. His visit, therefore, partook of a private nature, but he seemed to enjoy himself during his stay, and the writer remembers hearing him say on the night of his arrival in Montreal that he felt more at home than he had in any place since he left Russia, for it was the first place in which he had been received in a snow-storm and had to ride in a sleigh. The last month of the year was rendered memorable by the defeat

of the Sandfield Macdonald Government in Ontario, on the 17th of December, and the formation of a New Ministry under Mr. Blake, particulars of which event will be given in our history of that Province.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—THE FENIAN RAID IN MANITOBA.

1. ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ARCHIBALD. THE DIFFICULT TASK HE HAD TO ACCOMPLISH.—
2. WARRANTS FOR THE ARREST OF RIEL APPLIED FOR. THE ADVANTAGE OF HIS FLIGHT.—
3. CONCILIATORY COURSE OF THE LIEUT. GOVERNOR. APPOINTMENTS TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—
4. THE DEATH OF GOULET. NO WARRANTS OR ARRESTS.—
5. WHY REGULAR TROOPS SHOULD HAVE BEEN LEFT IN FORT GARRY INSTEAD OF VOLUNTEERS.—
6. THE WINTER PASSES QUIETLY. BETTER FEELING TOWARDS THE VOLUNTEERS.—
7. FORMATION OF A POLICE FORCE. THE CENSUS. LOCAL ELECTIONS.—
8. IMMIGRATION. LAND TROUBLES.—
9. DISCONTENT OF THE FRENCH. RETURN OF RIEL. "GENERAL" O'NEIL PLOTS AN "INVASION."—
10. THE RAID A CONTEMPTIBLE FIZZLE. O'NEIL AGAIN ARRESTED AND RELEASED BY UNITED STATES AUTHORITIES.—
11. GOVERNOR ARCHIBALD'S PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE.—
12. THE SECOND MILITARY EXPEDITION TO RED RIVER.—
13. \$5,000 REWARD FOR THE ARREST OF THE MURDERERS OF SCOTT OFFERED BY THE ONTARIO GOVERNMENT.—
14. FEELING CAUSED AMONGST THE FRENCH BY THE ACTION OF THE ONTARIO GOVERNMENT.—
15. RIEL AND LÉPINE ASSISTED BY THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

1.—We will return now to affairs in Manitoba following the arrival of Colonel Wolseley, as recorded in Chapter XVII. The position of the Colonel was rather peculiar, as we have already stated, on account of his not being invested with any civil authority, and he was, doubtless,

Arrival of Lt.-Gov. Archibald. The difficult task he had to accomplish.

very glad to be relieved from responsibility by the arrival of Lt.-Gov. Archibald, on the 2nd of September. The arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor had been purposely delayed until after that of the troops;\* and he had, moreover, lost a day looking for the terminus of the road from the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, it having been arranged that he should land there and be escorted by a party of the citizens, to be sent out by Bishop Taché to meet him, to Winnipeg by the newly made road; but his guide could not find the landing place, and it was as well he did not, for the Bishop, who arrived at Fort Garry the day before the troops, had not been able to raise an escort to meet him, and so he would have found no one at the landing. The new Governor was kindly, but not enthusiastically received. The French element was greatly dissatisfied that the amnesty which they had been led to expect had not been proclaimed, and it needed all the power and influence of Bishop Taché to persuade them to quietly submit to the new order of things without the proclamation of the amnesty, which they were told was only postponed, but would certainly be granted. The Canadian or "Loyal" party was equally dissatisfied. Many of them had suffered much at the hands of Riel, and clamored for reprisals in the way of arrests and imprisonments, which the Government just coming into power did not see its way clearly to make; so that Governor Archibald had a very difficult task to perform in attempting to affiliate two distinct classes, neither one of which could be thoroughly conciliated without giving offence to the other. Added to this, some immigration had already commenced, but

it was mostly of a partisan character, those who came from Ontario joining the Canadian party in its demand for the punishment of those who had been in rebellion, whilst those who were from Quebec supported the French party in its cry for amnesty and a general forgetfulness of the past. Between the two extremes the Governor tried to steer impartially, and that he was roundly abused by both sides is one of the best evidences of his success; and the peaceful establishment of law and order, and the restoration of public confidence is another.

2.—Of course, those who had suffered were anxious for the punishment of Riel and his followers, and warrants for the arrest of Riel, O'Donohue and Lépine for the murder of Scott, were applied for to Colonel Wolseley; he, however, having no civil authority, could not act, and recognized the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company, under the management of Mr. Donald A. Smith, as the only legal authority, pending the arrival of Governor Archibald. Mr. Smith, very prudently, declined at first to issue a warrant, fearing that any attempt at punishment in the then temper of the people—disappointed and angered at what they considered the duplicity of the Canadian Government in promising amnesty,\* and then taking forcible possession of the country without granting it—would lead to fresh troubles; and, although warrants were subsequently obtained, the parties wanted had had time to make good their escape to the United States. There is no doubt but that the flight of Riel was the best thing that could have happened for the peace of the country; and this opinion was fully held by Governor Archibald, for, in a letter to Sir George E. Cartier, dated the day after his arrival (3rd September, 1870), he says: "It is, perhaps, the best solution of the question that these men have taken to flight. Their presence here, in the meantime, would have been a source of incessant trouble. Warrants for the apprehen-

Warrants for the arrest of Riel applied for. The advantage of his flight.

\* In his evidence before the Select Committee on the causes of the North-West difficulties, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald said, on the 15th May, 1874: "Sir George (Cartier) told me he thought I had better not arrive before the troops, but that I had better be on hand immediately afterwards. There was a good deal of discussion as to my route. The Bishop asked me to go by the Lake of the Woods. I said I was willing provided I was met at the North-West Angle by a deputation from all classes of the people. The Bishop's proposition was that the French Metis should meet me, but I desired that both classes of Metis should meet me, that I might not enter the territory with one class or party only. Upon that, the Bishop said, 'That should be done.' When I went up I therefore made for the North-West Angle, and went a day out of my way, but my guides, under the charge of Mr. Pettier, were unable to find it, though we sailed a day on the lake in quest of it; landed on the shore; failed to find any trace of the expected escort; and thereupon we went on by Rat Portage and the Winnipeg. We afterwards found that no escort had been sent."

\* It must be remembered that Bishop Taché had promised in the name of the Canadian Government, that an amnesty would be proclaimed, and that the people thought he was authorized to do so. See chapter xiii, paragraphs 11, 12.



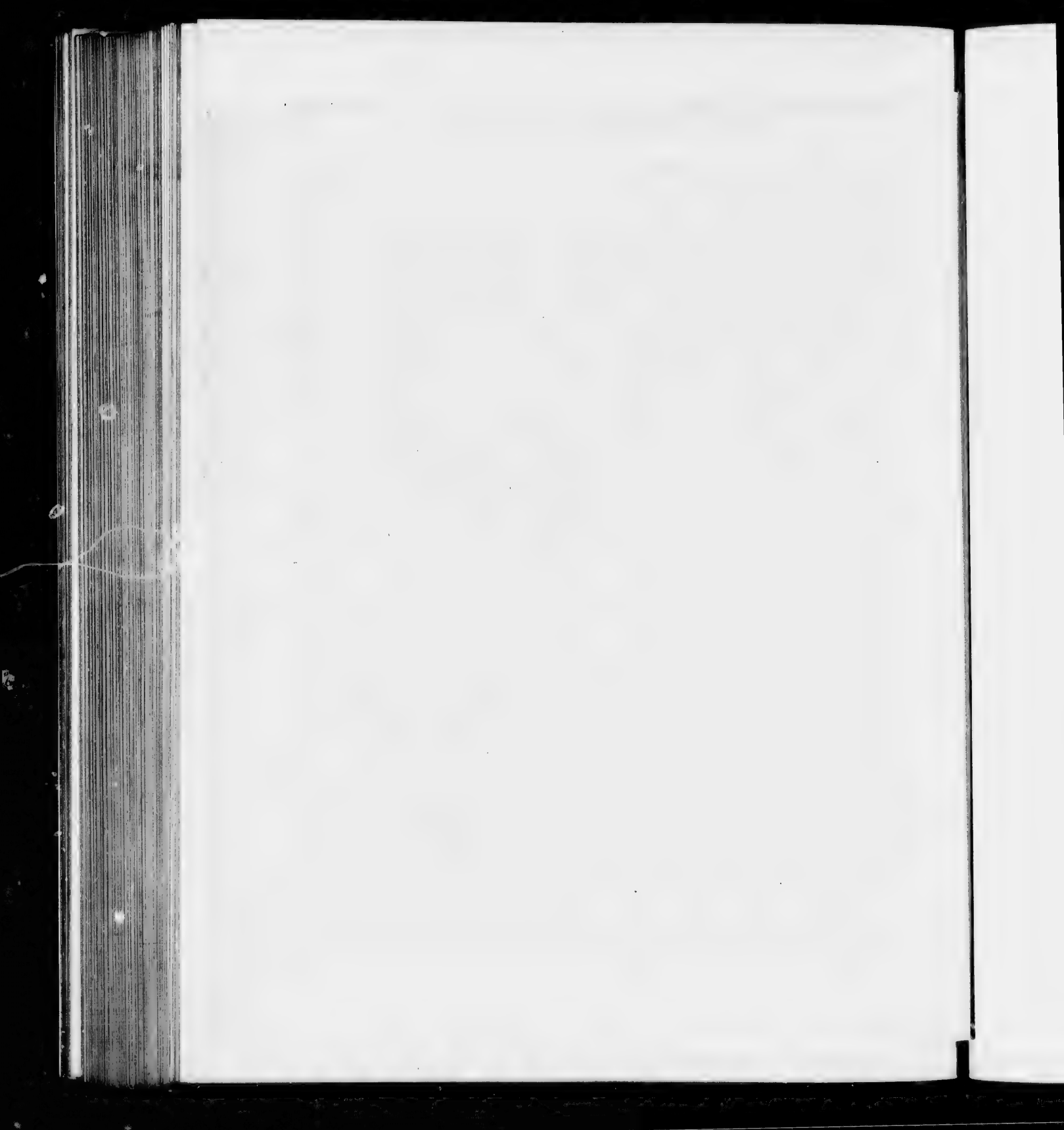
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sion of the three men who have fled were applied for and obtained, and have been placed in the hands of constables. Of course, while feeling runs so high as it does at present, an attempt at arrest (if they had remained) would have been met by resistance, and in the end we would perhaps have had to call in the military, and we would have had a world of trouble, which the absence of these people enable us to escape. I do not know whether Bishop Taché will take the same view, but I hope he will." Again, writing on the tenth, he says: "I have seen a good deal of Bishop Taché, who assures me of his support in the views I am acting on: but he is very nervous about the amnesty, and he is evidently fretting at the delay in what he thinks is sure to come. He says there is great uneasiness in the French population, and fears the consequences of any attempt to arrest the trio (Riel, O'Donohue and Lépine), against whom warrants were procured before I arrived. I thought it right to press on him that the surest way to avoid any such collision, is that the parties should not be found within the jurisdiction. I have no doubt that any attempt to arrest would be met with a desperate resistance, which might involve a great many of the population, while so far as I can learn there is no disposition to proceed against any person but the three men who were considered in a peculiar manner to be chargeable with the death of Scott. I have explained to the Bishop that even if there were an amnesty to-morrow, it would not save these parties from possible attempts on their lives which might be attended with consequences as fatal as the attempt to arrest, and therefore under the present circumstances, in the interests of the community, in the interests of the French Half-breeds, and in the interests of the parties themselves it would be better that they should not be found in the territory."

3.—On the day following his arrival the Governor had inserted in the *New Nation* (then the only newspaper in the Province) a notice that he would hold a levee on the sixth instant, at which his Commission, &c., would be read.

and on that day he was waited on by the Catholic and Protestant Bishops and Clergy, and a number of leading business men and farmers of the Settlement. The first impression made by the new Governor was good, and although the Opposition press tried to lash the Dominion Government over his back by accusing him of partiality to the French, yet his course, on the whole, was highly judicious, and the best possible to re-establish order on a permanent basis. His attention was at once turned to having a census taken so that electoral divisions could be made and an election for the Local House held at once, as it was desirable that the form of Responsible Government, provided for in the Manitoba Act, should be inaugurated as speedily as possible. Pending the election, and in accordance with the instructions given him by the Secretary of State for the Provinces, under date 4th of August, he appointed two members of the Executive Council, leaving the other offices vacant until after the elections. The two gentlemen so appointed were Hon. Alfred Boyd, Provincial Secretary, and Hon. M. A. Girard, Provincial Treasurer. The following extract from Governor Archibald's despatch to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, dated 17th of September, will give his reasons for the appointments: "Thinking it was now time to organize a Government, and that I had become sufficiently acquainted with the people to form some idea of the material out of which this could be formed, I have chosen a man representing each section of the population here, and appointed them members of my Executive Council. Mr. Alfred Boyd is a merchant of good standing here. He is a man of fair abilities, of considerable means, and very popular among the English Half-breeds. He was chosen by the parish of St. Andrews (the most populous parish in the Settlement) as a delegate to the Convention last winter. While highly esteemed among the English party, he is not obnoxious to the French. I have appointed him Provincial Secretary. Mr. Marc Amable Girard is a French-Canadian from Varennes, below Montreal, who has recently removed here. He

Conciliatory course  
of the Lieutenant-  
Governor.  
Appointments to  
Executive Council.

is a Notary by profession, has been Mayor of Varrennes, and is a gentleman of some property, and of good standing, and seems to be the nominee of the French party. I have appointed him Provincial Treasurer."

4.—On the 13th September an event occurred which caused much excitement, and threatened

The death of Goulet.  
No warrants or  
arrests.

for a moment to disturb the peace of the Settlement; but a prompt investigation of the circumstances of the case, and the evident disposition shown to administer even justice, soon calmed the excited feelings of the people, and order was restored without any difficulty. A man named Elzear Goulet, who had been one of Riel's Councillors, and a member of the "Court-Martial" which condemned Scott to death, made his appearance in a saloon in Winnipeg, was recognized and chased by a man who had been imprisoned by Riel, and some volunteers belonging to the Ontario Battalion, and in trying to swim across the Red River was drowned. No Coroner had as yet been appointed, and, in the absence of Dr. Bird, who had been Coroner under the Hudson's Bay Government, Governor Archibald ordered an investigation to be held before two magistrates, Messrs. Robert McBeth and Samuel Hamelin, and appointed Mr. H. J. G. McConville, a Montreal lawyer newly arrived in the Settlement, to conduct the case. The examination lasted many days, owing to the difficulty in getting witnesses to testify, and in obtaining a clerk to take down the evidence, the general impression amongst the French being that the investigation was to be used as a sort of Star Chamber, to obtain information on which to base a series of general prosecutions. Mr. McConville, in his report to Governor Archibald, says:—"Some persons, as I have since understood, were under the belief that this was an inquiry held secretly for the purpose of finding guilty parties, without any consideration of impartiality or justice; hence, the diffidence shown towards us. Proper interpreters could not be found, and some time was lost, in several instances, in trying to procure

them for the magistrates (one of the latter understanding only the French language, and the other preferring the use of the English language). I took upon myself to translate, when witnesses understood both languages, asking them in French whether that which I read in French was their testimony under oath; asking them in English whether that which I read in English was their testimony under oath. Mr. McBeth understands tolerably well the French language, and was satisfied with the translation so given. Some diffident persons seemed to show suspicions when I was obliged to take the notes in writing for the magistrates, and I must say that notwithstanding the efforts of the latter they could not secure a clerk for such purpose. One, after writing one-half day, did not return, and could not be found. Another, after writing two days, would not continue, and refused to give his services to the magistrates." The evidence went to show that Goulet had been chased by three persons, and met his death in trying to escape from them. Two of the parties were known, a civilian and a volunteer, but the third party was not so clearly identified, and it was proposed to issue warrants in blank, to be filled in when the parties had been properly identified. This Governor Archibald did not feel justified in doing; and, after the arrival of Judge Johnson, the matter was submitted to him, and he decided that the evidence was not sufficiently strong to justify the issuing of warrants, and, therefore, no arrests were made.\*

5.—It would appear from the evidence that

\* Francis Godschaal Johnson, one of the Judges of the Superior Court, Quebec, had been, previous to such appointment, Recorder of Rupert's Land under the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, also, Governor of the District of Assiniboia. After the passage of the Manitoba Bill it was thought necessary to have a full report on the laws in force in the Territory at the time of transfer from the Hudson's Bay Company, in order that Acts may be introduced at the next session of Parliament assimilating, as far as possible, the system of Criminal Law and Criminal Practice in Manitoba to those of the other Provinces, and Judge Johnson was selected as the most competent person to perform the service. He was granted one year's leave of absence from the Quebec Bench. Mr. T. K. Ramsay being appointed to act in his place, and by an Order-in-Council passed on 20th August, 1870, was made a Commissioner to report on the laws, &c. By a subsequent Order, passed 13th September, Governor Archibald was authorized to appoint Judge Johnson Recorder of the Territory formerly known as Rupert's Land, which he accordingly did.



the ends of justice were made somewhat subservient to necessity in this case, for there was no doubt but that the death of Goulet was caused by these three men—who belonged to the Canadian or "Loyal" party—but it was felt that in the excited state of public feeling to have made *any* arrest would, in all probability, have precipitated a conflict between the two nationalities and religions which would have been far more disastrous than the rising of the previous winter; it was, therefore, deemed more expedient to defer any action in the matter until popular feeling should have become more quiet. The fact was that the short-sighted policy of the British Government, in its haste to withdraw the troops from Canada, of immediately recalling the regulars and leaving the volunteers as the only military force in the Province was already beginning to bear evil fruit. The French Half-breeds did not consider that they had ever rebelled against British authority; but, on the contrary, that they had only asserted their rights as British subjects to a voice in the management of their own affairs by resisting the encroachment of Canada on those rights, and that they would not have obtained those rights had they not taken up arms against Canada. They laid down their arms when they thought that the object for which they had been taken up was accomplished, but the presence of Canadian troops amongst them, and the delay in proclaiming the amnesty made them feel that they were being treated as a conquered people, and there was a very decided inclination amongst them to again take up arms and "fight it out." To regular British soldiers there could not have been any objection taken; and it was hoped that the portion of the 60th, which was sent up, would have been allowed, at least, to remain for the winter; but no amount of representation on the part of the Canadian Government could convince the British Ministry that the interests of peace would be best served by allowing the regulars to remain a short time at Fort Garry until order was perfectly restored, and they were brought back to Quebec to spend

Why regular troops should have been left in Fort Garry instead of volunteers.

the winter there to no purpose, when their presence would have been of great advantage in the North-West. It must be remembered that the majority of the volunteers were Protestants, and a large proportion of them Orangemen, who made no secret of their desire to "avenge the murder of poor Scott;" that they had neither the training nor steadiness of regular troops, and that many of those who had been imprisoned by Riel and forced to submit when they had not force enough to resist, were now very anxious to avenge their wrongs and incite the volunteers to a rupture with the French party now that the English party was the stronger of the two. The majority of the volunteers were quiet and orderly, but, unfortunately there were some turbulent spirits amongst them, and as grog-shops were altogether too numerous in Winnipeg, there were several "rows," so that, after the death of Goulet, Colonel Jarvis thought it most prudent to stop the leave of the Ontario Battalion for awhile, and prevent their going into Winnipeg at all.

6.—Meanwhile Riel, O'Donohue, and a number of their followers had established themselves at St. Joseph, just across the boundary line, and were secretly plotting for another rising after the winter had set in, and no help could be expected from Canada. A meeting of about forty of the disaffected was held at River Salle—where the first opposition to Mr. Macdougall had been planned—on the night of the 17th of September, four days after the death of Goulet, at which Riel and Lépine were supposed to have been present; but, although threats were freely indulged in, and a company of volunteers was sent to the frontier to protect it against the threatened raid from St. Joseph, no rising took place, and the winter passed in peace and quiet. After a little while the volunteers and the inhabitants began to get on better terms with each other, although the correspondents of some Canadian newspapers—especially the *Nouveau Monde* and *Globe* tried their best to spread ill-feeling by exaggeration and misrepresentation of the conduct of the volunteers on the one hand, and ridi-

The winter passes quietly. Better feeling towards the volunteers.

culing and belittling the French Half-breeds on the other. After the volunteers got fairly settled in their winter quarters, an Amateur Dramatic Association was formed, and gave several very creditable entertainments, while a minstrel troupe and a few balls and parties, tended to make the winter pass pleasantly, and to place them in familiar intercourse with the people, so that by the spring, when they were disbanded, or taken back to Canada, there was a much better feeling than there had been immediately after their arrival.

7.—It was not intended that the volunteers should police duty, and it had been intended to form a body of mounted police in Canada, and send it up after the Expedition. The project was abandoned, and an attempt made to raise a local force; but the response to Governor Archibald's call for men was so meagre, and the terms demanded so exorbitant, that it was found impossible to do anything in that direction, and a small force of twelve men was formed from the volunteers, with Captain Villiers, late of 13th Hussars, as Chief, and Captain DePlainval as Sub-Chief. \* A division of the country into districts, for the purpose of taking the census, was made as speedily as possible, and the enumerators commenced their work on the 27th of October, and completed it during November. Their duty was to give an exact return of the population of the Province on the 16th July—the day after its formal entry into the Dominion—those who were residents, but happened to be absent on that date, being included, as were also those Indians who "dwelt in houses"—i.e., who followed civilized pursuits and were not roaming about hunting and trapping. The returns showed the population to be 11,963, of whom 1,565

Formation of a police force. The census. Local elections.

\* "It was at first thought that the constables could be selected from amongst the Half-breeds, but the demands of these men were found to be so large that the idea of employing them was given up. They asked \$2.50 a day besides their rations, and stipulated that they should be allowed to remain at their homes. They declined to wear a uniform, and seemed to consider that the fact of their being policemen was sufficient in itself to entitle them to high pay and a release from the ordinary duties of their office. Those who volunteered were principally French Half-breeds."—*Correspondence Toronto Globe*, 20th September, 1870.

were whites, 558 Indians, 5,757 French Half-breeds, and 4,083 English Half-breeds. Religions were divided—6,247 Catholic; 5,716 Protestant. Nearly the whole population were British subjects, there only being sixty-two citizens of the United States, half of whom were born in Canada and had become naturalized. Of the 1,565 whites, 747 were born in the North-West, 294 in Canada, 69 in the United States, 125 in England, 240 in Scotland, 47 in Ireland, 15 in France, and 28 in other countries. Immediately after the completion of the census, writs were issued for the local election, which was held on the 30th of December, and which passed off very quietly, the majority of the candidates being elected by acclamation. The Local House met on 15th of March, 1871, and a report of its proceedings will be found in our Provincial History of Manitoba.

8.—Nothing of very striking importance occurred during the winter beyond a few disturbances with the volunteers, Immigration. Land troubles. which were not of a serious nature; and the impartiality with which Governor Archibald made appointments, and the fairness with which he recognized the claims of the French Half-breeds, caused him to grow in popularity, and tended to restore feelings of peace and security. With the spring came an influx of immigrants, the first arriving on the 29th of April. About the 1st of May such of the volunteers as desired to settle in the country were discharged from service, and a grant of land made them; those who did not wish to remain were returned to the Province from whence they came—all but two companies, about eighty men, who were kept to guard the Fort, and to assist the police in maintaining order if required. During the summer the land question very nearly caused trouble, but through the exertions of Governor Archibald the danger was averted. The new immigrants were, of course, very anxious to obtain land, and, quite naturally, wanted to get the best without any regard as to whom it belonged to; the Governor was not in a position to grant any lands so speedily, for the

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Indian title had first to be extinguished, and the Half-breed reservation under the Manitoba Act set apart before the Government could determine what lands it really had at its disposal to give to actual settlers. This took some time to accomplish; the Indian Treaties were not concluded until July, and it was about the same time before the surveyors got fairly to work and a Land Office was opened in Winnipeg. Meanwhile some of the new-comers had grown impatient and squatted on whatever land they took a fancy to, which was resented by the French Half-breeds, who claimed some of the lands so occupied, and for a while a collision seemed imminent. The greatest danger of a collision occurred at *Rivière aux Islets de Bois*, which a body of French Half-breeds had selected as a site for their farms, and put up some enclosures. A party of immigrants from Ontario took possession of this site, staked off the ground, put up huts, and, to add insult to injury, changed the name of the river to the Boyne. The French Half-breeds at once held a meeting, and determined to drive out the intruders by force; but Governor Archibald, hearing of the matter, sent for some of the leaders, and by threats and entreaties induced them to abandon their threatened attack, and something like peace was restored.\*

\* Governor Archibald in his "Memorandum connected with the Fenian Invasion of Manitoba in October, 1871," gives the following account of this difficulty, to which, to some extent, he attributes the Fenian raid of the following October:—"When the volunteers came to be disbanded, and were thus freed from all restraint, the hatred of the two classes exhibited itself more and more. Some of the immigrants from Ontario shared the feelings of the disbanded volunteers, and acted in concert with them. A body of French Half-breeds had made a selection of a tract of land at *Rivière aux Islets de Bois*; some of them had made farms, or at all events enclosures, at that place. There was abundance of land elsewhere equally good, but the new-comers preferred this spot. They entered on the ground and staked it off; put up huts, and declared they would hold it against all comers. To give character to their occupation, they discarded the name by which the river had been known, and called it the *Boyne*. Of course the Half-breeds were enraged, they thought it had enough to lose land they believed to be theirs, but in the new name they saw something worse—an insult to their religion. They seemed to think that property, race, and creed were all to be trodden under foot, unless they took care of themselves. They met in their parishes on the Assiniboine and Red River, and determined to march to the settlement and drive off the intruders. Fortunately, I heard of their intentions. I sent for some leading men among them, and warned them that if they lifted a hand or struck a blow it was all over with them. The collision was arrested, but not without great risk. Had blood been shed on that occasion we should have had a civil war, in which every French Half-breed would have been an active participant; while from the English Half-breeds, in accord on the question of property with the

9.—Some of the new immigrants and a portion of the volunteers from Ontario seemed determined to provoke a collision with the French, and lost no opportunity of irritating them

Discontent of the French. Return of Riel. "General" O'Neil plots an "invasion."

and abusing the Governor for his alleged partiality towards them. Some of the volunteers did not hesitate to declare that they had taken an oath before leaving Ontario to avenge the murder of Scott, and to shoot any Frenchman who was in any way implicated in his death; and as a sort of challenge to the Catholics, an Orange Lodge was formed, and the 12th of July celebrated by a procession, with party badges, tunes, &c. About this time Riel returned to his home, and was warmly welcomed by his old friends.\* He had been spoken of as a candidate for the House of Commons for Provencher, but had been persuaded that his election would be useless, as he would either be shot or expelled the House. After the return of Riel, and the affair at *Rivière aux Islets de Bois*, the temper of the French began to get sullen. They recognized the fact that the large immigration from Ontario would soon sweep away their political majority, and that the Province would be ruled pretty much as the new-comers pleased, without any regard for them; and they began to grow uneasy at the long delay in proclaiming a general amnesty, which no argument could persuade them it was not in the power of the Canadian Government to grant. Several meetings were held in the French parishes, and the subject of another rising in the fall was discussed. Meanwhile, the irrepressible "General" O'Neil was again meditating a "raid" on the pocket-books of the confiding servant-girls of New York, and followed his usual game of planning another "invasion" of Canada, this time selecting the far away Province of Manitoba, the warm

French, neutrality was the utmost that could have been counted on, and at this moment we had a garrison of only eighty men to defend all our military stores at Fort Garry and to preserve the peace of half a continent besides."

\* "After a painful illness consequent on his sufferings and privations, Riel returned to his home, three days ago. He is still suffering, ill and exhausted. His friends, and even his former political adversaries, are calling to see him in crowds. So soon as this news is known amongst the Ontario people they will commence the excitement again." Bishop Taché to Sir George E. Cartier, 6th of May, 1871.

receptions he had received in Upper and Lower Canada on his previous visits in 1866 and 1870, not encouraging him to try either of these Provinces again. At first sight his plan seemed to savor more of the temporary success than either of his former efforts; for he was almost certain of receiving a friendly reception from the French Half-breeds, while it was doubtful whether the English Half-breeds were so much in love with Canada as to fight on her behalf, and the bulk of the volunteers having been withdrawn there was really very little material from which he need expect a vigorous resistance. Added to this he had an ample supply of men within easy distance, for there were two railways under construction in Northern Minnesota at the time, on which several thousand men, mostly Irishmen, were engaged; and these, together with the nondescript class generally found hovering about the frontier towns of the West, and the scum of the large cities, gave him an abundance of men for his purpose. Of arms and ammunition he had a fair supply, for the United States Government had kindly returned what had been seized by their troops after the last raid. With circumstances so much in his favor it is not surprising that O'Neil was easily persuaded by O'Donohue to try one more invasion of Canada, and that rumours of Fenian concentrations of men and arms near Pembina and other points on the frontier, began to be current in Manitoba during September.

10.—The "head and front" of this new move was W. B. O'Donohue, Riel's ex-Treasurer; and he claimed that the attempt was not intended as a Fenian movement at all, but was simply meant as a continuation of the rebellion of '69-70, and that Riel, Lépine and the other leaders were cognizant of what was intended, and were prepared to lend their assistance to the movement.\* On the other hand Governor Archibald, Bishop Taché and others testified to Riel's opposition to the raid, and his exertions with his fellow-countrymen to deter

them from assisting it. The evidence, however, we must admit, seems to us a little partial, and there does not appear to be any reasonable grounds for doubt but that Riel favored the movement at first, and that it was only after the raid was over, and the brave O'Neil had for the third time sought safety in the arms of an United States Marshal, that Riel suddenly remembered his loyalty and offered his services, and those of some two hundred *Metis* to Governor Archibald. The "raid" took place on the 5th of October, and was a more contemptible fizzle than either of its predecessors. At half-past seven o'clock in the morning "Generals" O'Neil, Curley and Donnelly, and O'Donohue, with thirty-five followers, appeared at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina, which they took possession of, but immediately afterwards a squad of United States troops under Colonel Wheaton arrived at the post and captured all the "Generals" and ten of the "army," the balance, led by O'Donohue, showing to what good service stout legs can be put when craven hearts prompt the running. So ended the "raid." Not even a blank cartridge was wasted, nor was there the slightest opportunity for the most gushing reporter to get up even the mildest "sensation" report of it. O'Donohue left in such a hurry when he heard that the United States troops were coming that he forgot to take his cloak and overcoat. He was taken prisoner shortly after on the Canadian side of the line by some Half-breeds who, either through ignorance or design, took him into United States territory and surrendered him to Colonel Wheaton, who promptly discharged him, as he had been captured in Canadian territory. The prisoners went through the farce of an examination before United States Commissioner Spencer, and were liberated as speedily as possible, on the plea that there was no evidence that the offence charged—breach of the neutrality laws—had been planned in Minnesota. O'Neil, finding that the United States officers really meant to do their duty promptly this time, saw that it was useless to make another attempt, and shortly after returned to the East.

The raid a contemptible fizzle. O'Neil again arrested and released by United States authorities.

\* See W. B. O'Donohue's letter to Speaker of House of Commons.

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11.—As to the preparations made to repel the invasion, had it become serious, we may say that Governor Archibald had been aware of O'Donohue's design for some time, and had been making very strong efforts with the Catholic clergy to induce them to use their influence with Riel and his followers to unite with the Government in its efforts to repel the invaders; and had also issued a proclamation, on the 3rd of October, setting forth the danger with which the Province was threatened, and calling upon "all our said loving subjects, irrespective of race or religion, or of past local differences, to rally round the flag of our common country," and to assemble at once in the different parishes and enroll under local officers. The Canadians and English Half-breeds responded very promptly to this call, and about nine hundred men were speedily enrolled; but the French held back, and it was only on the 8th—after he had heard of the capture of O'Neil & Co. by Colonel Wheaton—that Governor Archibald was informed that some two hundred of the *Métis* had assembled at St. Boniface, across the Red River from Fort Garry, and desired to offer their services. He crossed the river in company with Hon. Mr. Royal, and was introduced to the leaders, amongst whom were Riel and Lépine, shaking hands with them and thanking them for their tendered service, which was accepted, and about fifty of them were detailed to act as scouts, but, of course, there was nothing for them to do, as the would-be raiders had been already dispersed, or captured by Colonel Wheaton. Governor Archibald held, in his report of the raid, and in his evidence before the Select Committee in 1874, that at the time Riel offered his services it was not known that the raid was at an end; that there was still intense excitement, and that another attack from the way of St. Joseph was momentarily expected; and that Riel's offer of assistance was made in good faith, as he could not possibly have known the precise state of affairs, which was, that the leaders having been captured, the raid had collapsed. With all due difference to Gov-

ernor Archibald, there is no evidence to show that Riel did not have efficient scouts as well as the Governor; that he was perfectly well aware of the fact of the raid having failed; and that he had held back so that he and his followers could be at liberty to join the raiders if they succeeded in establishing themselves in the territory; or if—as was the case—the raid was frustrated by the United States troops; then he could offer the Governor his services just when they would not be needed.

12.—The effect of the news of the raid in Canada was to cause a second expedition to be hastily fitted out, to take the place of those volunteers who had been recalled during the summer, and an Order-in-Council was passed on the 12th of October, providing for the immediate despatch of 200 men to reinforce the two service companies in Fort Garry.\* It was well known before the expedition left that their services would not be needed to fight the Fenians, as there was no probability of the attack being renewed, but it was seen that the force left in the Province was too small, and that a larger body of men was needed until order should have been perfectly restored and the Local Militia thoroughly organized. For the latter duty Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith, C.M.G., Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia, Commanding Military District No. 5, was ordered to proceed to Manitoba, by way of Pembina, at once, to take command of the new Military District to be formed, and also to meet the expedition at the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods. The expedition was formed on the same basis as the previous one (except that there were no regulars), 100 men being taken from each Province,—and it is worthy of notice that far more than the necessary number volunteered in each district, so that good selections could be made, and so promptly was this done that in five days after

\* The total number of the force was 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon, 300 Riflemen. One Quarter-master, 1 Supply Officer, 1 Paymaster, 60 *Voyageurs*, and 5 additional Riflemen, were subsequently added, making the total strength of the expedition, in officers and men, 375.

The second military expedition to Red River.



the Order-in-Council had been passed, the officers commanding the several Military Districts reported that their contingents were ready, and were being forwarded to Collingwood at once, at which place the whole force, with the necessary military stores, equipment and supplies for the expedition was concentrated by the 20th. On the following day, at 4 o'clock p.m., the whole force, with most of the supplies, embarked on the *Chicora* for Thunder Bay, under command of Captain (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Thomas Scott, the senior officer of the expedition. It reflected great credit on the Militia Department that, in very little more than a week from the date of the Order-in-Council, the men had been gathered from all parts of Ontario and Quebec, armed, equipped, supplied and started on their journey. The remainder of the supplies, horses, &c., left Collingwood in the steamer *Manitoba* on the same day, and the two steamers arrived at Thunder Bay on the 24th. The route pursued was the same as that of the first expedition, but, the road from Thunder Bay to Shebandowan Lake being finished, the transfer of troops, stores, &c., was made in *thirty-four hours*, instead of more than six weeks, which it took Colonel Wolsey to accomplish the same distance. The first brigade of boats left Shebandowan at 1:30 p.m. on the 27th, and the remainder on the following day. The winter set in unusually early this year, and the expedition had to fight its way through a succession of snow-storms; cut channels for the boats through ice two inches thick, wade through half-frozen mud and water, dragging the heavy boats after them down the shallow rivers, where there was frequently not enough water to float a laden canoe, and bear the utmost exposure to cold, with the thermometer often nearly down to zero. The hardships to be endured and the difficulties to be overcome were much greater than those of the previous expedition; but the men bore with and overcome them with the utmost good will, laughing at the most serious obstacles, and manfully fighting onwards, every man seeming to be alive to the

great importance of getting through quickly, and reaching Fort Garry before the winter finally closed in. The expedition arrived within twelve miles of the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods on 12th of November, when the ice became so solid that there was no hope of advancing further by boats, and the flotilla was put into winter quarters and the men marched across the ice to the road to Fort Garry. Colonel Smith had joined the expedition at the mouth of Rainy River on the 11th and led it into Fort Garry, which place was reached at mid-day on the 18th, the distance from the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, 110 miles, having been marched in four days and a half, and the whole journey from Collingwood to Fort Garry made in twenty-eight days, without the loss of a man, or a serious accident of any kind, in spite of the most trying weather. Colonel Smith says in his report, "From first to last the weather was of the most unfavorable nature; rain, snow, intense cold, and violent gales alternating in rapid succession, presented all obstacles that the commencement of winter season in these high latitudes offers to the progress of troops." The Red and Assiniboine rivers were both frozen over before the men reached them, and were marched across on their way to the Fort.

13.—Three Half-breeds were arrested for participation in the attack on the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina on the 5th of October, and tried for treason at the Quarterly Court opened at Fort Garry on 17th of November, 1871, Judge Johnson presiding. The men tried were R. Villeneuve, the evidence against whom was not very clear, and who was found "not guilty" by the Jury; Andre Jerome St. Matthe, in whose case the Jury failed to agree; and Oiseau L'Entendre, who was found guilty and sentenced to be hung on the 24th of February, 1872, but was pardoned. The result of these trials, added to the arrival of the volunteers, served to convince the French Half-breeds that playing at treason might prove a dangerous game, and no attempt at further disturbances

\$5,000 reward for the arrest of the murderers of Scott, offered by the Ontario Government.

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was made during the winter. With the new year came another cause of danger, not from an unexpected source, which for a moment created great excitement and threatened to be the means of a fresh outbreak. It will be recollected that both in the House of Commons and in the Ontario Legislature the Opposition had endeavored to pass a vote of censure on the Dominion Government for not endeavoring to bring the murderers of Scott to justice; and, also, that the Government of the Hon. John Sanfield Macdonald had been defeated in Ontario and a new Ministry formed by the Reform party under Mr. Blake. The cry for vengeance on the murderers of Scott had been made to do good party duty during the election, and to the bitter sectarian feeling thus engendered was partly due the defeat of the Government. On his accession to office, on the 17th of December, 1871, Mr. Blake did not lose much time in bringing the subject of Scott's murder again before the House, and on the 18th of February, in Supply, an appropriation of \$5,000 was voted to be offered as a reward for the arrest of the murderers of Scott. The County of Middlesex also offered a reward, and it was expected that these rewards would lead to an attempt to cause the arrest of the parties principally concerned in the murder of Scott. The fact that Riel and Lépine were allowed to reside quietly at their homes, without any effort being made to punish them, was made the occasion of violent attacks on Governor Archibald and the Dominion Government by the Opposition press of Ontario, which, for party purposes, and to secure the Orange vote clamored for the punishment of these men, well knowing at the same time that an attempt to arrest them would lead to civil war in the Province, where the great bulk of the people regarded them as heroes and patriots, and deeply resented the endeavours of Ontario to regulate the affairs of Manitoba, while that Province enjoyed Responsible Government and nineteen out of twenty-four of the members of its Legislative Assembly were in favor of letting by-gones be by-gones. But, unfortunately, party spirit is sometimes so unreason-

able that it is quite willing to throw a whole country into the horrors of even a civil war and bring ruin and destruction upon thousands, provided a petty party triumph can be temporarily gained. By far the greater portion of the agitation in Ontario for vengeance on the murderers of Scott, was a party political movement from beginning to end, and that it did not cause a war of races and creeds throughout the Dominion was no fault of the party leaders, but was due to the policy of keeping off premature action until "time, the great curer of evils," had calmed excited feeling and obliterated much of the asperity which existed during the years immediately following the troubles of 1869-70.\*

14.—The feeling of the French Half-breeds on receipt of the intelligence that rewards had been offered for the capture of Riel and Lépine was most intense, and meetings were again held for the purpose of advocating resistance should any attempt be made to arrest them. The temper of the people, and the condition of affairs in the Province, is fully expressed in the following extract from a letter from Lt.-Governor Archibald to Sir Geo. E. Cartier, under date 24th February, 1872: "I have had a rather anxious time since the intelligence arrived of the rewards offered by Middlesex County Council and the Legislature of Ontario. Intense excitement prevailed for awhile among the French Half-breeds. On the point of blotting out the past, there is little or no division among them. Even those of them who did not side with Riel and the men of the movement, as they are called here, look upon the question of punishment of the offenders as one of race, and would consider an attempt of the kind on any of these people as an attack upon the whole. I had learned privately, through the instrumentality of the police, that immediately after the arrival of the telegraphic news, meetings were held in each

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\* "Time, the great curer of evils, will soon calm down the apprehensions of those engaged in the rising, and all will go well with you, especially if Riel and those directly implicated in Scott's death submit to a voluntary exile."—Extract from a letter from Sir John A. Macdonald to Governor Archibald, dated 1st November, 1870.

French parish on the subject, and that there was but one feeling among the people on the subject. They determined that the parties against whom the rewards were directed should remain in the country, and that the people should protect them by an armed force against any attempt to arrest them. I fear very much that had the attempt been made it would have led to serious bloodshed. Happily the feelings of the great body of the English people of this country have so changed that it is difficult to find a magistrate who does not hesitate to issue warrants which may lead to fatal consequences; and several Justices, who were themselves sufferers at the time of the troubles, and who a year ago were urging all kinds of vindictive proceedings, have refused to issue warrants now. I am not aware whether any warrant has actually been issued up to this moment. The difficulty is not among the people of the country, but among the small band of lawless men, idlers and roughs who infest the taverns of Winnipeg. These men have no influence except for mischief, but they might light a flame it would be hard to extinguish. For a few days I felt the danger was extreme. The only possible way to avoid a serious outbreak was to get rid of the two men whose presence in the country formed the pretext for the action of the roughs at Winnipeg."

15.—We have said that the action of the Ontario Government was not altogether unexpected; and steps had been taken by the Dominion Government to render that action innoxious as far as disturbing the peace of

Riel and Lépine assisted by the Dominion Government to leave the country.

Manitoba by attempting the arrest of Riel was concerned, by providing for the withdrawal of Riel and Lépine to the United States for awhile, until the excitement had blown over. It seems curious that the Government of the Dominion should not only connive at, but actually assist, the escape of criminals from justice, while the Government of one of the Provinces should see fit to offer a reward for the apprehension of those same criminals; but it must be remembered that the circumstances were peculiar in every respect. The Dominion Government was a

Coalition one, the main strength of which was the French Conservative members from Quebec—or, to be more exact, Sir George E. Cartier, who represented that party; the Quebec members were almost unanimously of opinion not only that no prosecutions for anything arising out of the troubles in the North-West should take place, but that the Imperial Government should be urged to grant a complete amnesty for past offences; on the other hand, a number of the Ontario supporters of the Government were Orangemen, who not only opposed the granting of an amnesty, but were willing—to put it mildly—that the ring-leaders of the insurgents should be tried for the murder of Scott. To conciliate these conflicting opinions so as to maintain the Government was no easy task. To advocate the granting of an amnesty was to lose the support of the Ontario members and court certain defeat;\* to initiate criminal proceedings against Riel and his followers was to alienate the Quebec members, and, probably, precipitate a war of religion and races in which the French and Irish Catholics of all the Provinces—for a war of this kind could never be confined to Manitoba once it broke out—would be arrayed against the Protestants, and the ultimate result of which would be the destruction of the country. To avoid both these difficulties Sir John A. Macdonald adopted a temporising policy, dealing with the amnesty question as one which was impossible at present, but would be satisfactorily settled "by-and-by;" and simply taking no action in the matter of prosecutions, and when other parties proposed to do so, furnishing the means for Riel and Lépine to disappear for awhile until the excitement had subsided. On the morality, or immorality of this policy we make no comment, contenting ourselves with stating it; it served its purpose for the time, but, even as a mere party measure—leaving morality and justice out of the question altogether—it is very questionable whether it

\* "When I spoke to Sir John A. Macdonald on the subject he never denied that the amnesty had been promised, but he said 'No Government could stand on that question.' I told him there had been promises of amnesty frequently, and he did not deny the statement. He repeated that no Government could stand that would endeavour to procure the amnesty." Archbishop Taché before the Select Committee, April 18, 1871.

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was the most judicious which could have been adopted, or whether it would not have been better to have asked the Imperial Government to proclaim a partial amnesty—such as was afterwards granted—and have left the question of punishment for the murder of Scott entirely to the Courts, and the action of private prosecutors if they desired to take any. That would, at least, have conciliated one party and the Government would have been stronger on its appeal to the country in 1872, when it was so weakened that it only needed the *coup de Grace* of the Pacific Scandal to drive it ignominiously from office. As the case stood, however, when the Ontario Government offered its reward there was no other course to pursue than to induce Riel to run away again, as he had done once before, and so save further trouble. Negotiations had already been entered into between Archbishop Taché and Sir John A. Macdonald, before the Proclamation of the Ontario Government, for the withdrawal of Riel from the Province on account of his being spoken of as a candidate for the House of Commons from Provencher at the General Election, and it was thought that his presence would cause trouble; but the offer of the reward hastened his departure. Archbishop Taché left Manitoba on the 23rd of September, 1871, and, consequently, was not in the Province at the time of the Fenian Raid. He proceeded to Canada, and while there had several interviews with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, who urged him to use his influence with Riel to induce him to leave, which he finally consented to do, on condition that something was given Riel to support him, as he was a poor man and had a mother and three sisters dependant on him. This was agreed to, and Sir John sent him a draft for \$1,000.\* The

Archbishop returned to St. Boniface on the 16th of January, 1872, and shortly after opened negotiations with Riel for his departure. Riel pretended reluctance to leave, and wanted better terms than the Archbishop could offer him. Before the question of his leaving had been decided, information was received that a reward had been offered by the Ontario Government, and Lieutenant-Governor Archibald at once opened negotiations with Archbishop Taché to get Riel and Lépine out of the way. After some little haggling it was decided that they should have \$1,600 each to go, and provision should be made for their families during their absence, which was not to be less than a year. The money (£600 stg.) was advanced by Mr. Donald A. Smith, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the men went to the United States, thus removing any cause of immediate anxiety on the ground of arrest. The Province then lapsed into a state of quietude, and there we will leave it for the present.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR.—FIFTH SESSION, FIRST PARLIAMENT, 1872.

1. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. SPEECH FROM THE THRONE. NEW MEMBERS.—2. DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.—3. PROTECTION TO MANUFACTURING INTERESTS.—4. MR. JONES (LEEDS) REQUESTS PROTECTION FOR THE FARMER AS WELL AS THE MANUFACTURER.—5. THE NINE-HOUR MOVEMENT. THE LAW RELATING TO TRADES UNIONS.—6. AMENDMENTS TO THE LAWS ADOPTED.—7. IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION AID SOCIETIES.—8. FINANCIAL STATEMENT. A SURPLUS OF OVER THREE AND A HALF MILLIONS.—9. THE PROSPEROUS CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY COMMERCIALY.—10. DEBATE ON THE BUDGET.—11. CONTINUATION OF DEBATE ON BUDGET.—12. REPEAL OF THE DUTIES ON TEA AND COFFEE.—13. SUPPLY BILL.

1.—The last session of the first Parliament of

\* (Private and strictly Confidential.)

" OTTAWA, December 27th, 1871.

" MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I have been able to make the arrangement for the individual that we have talked about.

" I now send you a sight draft on the Bank of Montreal for \$1,000; I need not press upon your Grace the importance of the money being paid to him periodically (say monthly or quarterly) and not in a lump, otherwise the money would be wasted and our embarrassment begin again. The payment should spread over a year.

Believe me your Grace's

Very obedient servant,

" His Grace " (Signed.) JOHN A. MACDONALD.

" The Archbishop of " " St. Boniface, Montreal."

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the Dominion was opened by the Governor-General, in person, at Ottawa, on the 11th of April, with the usual ceremonies. The only feature of

Opening of  
Parliament, Speech  
from the Throne.  
New members.

special interest was the presence, for the first time, of Senators from Manitoba and British Columbia. The speech referred to the recovery of the Prince of Wales from his recent illness, and recommended that the two Houses join in the thanksgiving for his recovery, to be celebrated on the fifteenth. Explanation was made that the meeting of Parliament had been postponed at the request of the Imperial Government, and the House congratulated on the entrance of British Columbia into the Union. Reference was made to the Fenian raid in Manitoba; the Washington Treaty, and the conference of Dominion and Provincial representatives on the subject of immigration. It was announced that surveys for the Pacific Railway had been in progress; and attention called to the necessity for improving the canal communications of the Dominion, and also of providing water communication between the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy. Measures were promised for the readjustment of representation, as required by the Union Act, consequent on the taking of the census; for the regulation and management of Public Lands and Mines of the Dominion in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and for amending the laws relating to public health. The speech concluded with a reference to the general prosperity of the country, and successful issue of the efforts to consolidate the Dominion. On the return of the members to the Commons Chamber after the delivery of the Speech from the Throne, the six new members elected from British Columbia were introduced,\* and also Mr. Edward Carter, elected for Brome in the place of the Hon. Mr. Dunkin, who had been appointed a Judge of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec; the Hon. J. H. Pope, who had been re-elected

by acclamation for Compton on his being called to the Privy Council, on 25th October, 1871, as Minister of Agriculture, on the resignation of the Hon. Christopher Dunkin on his appointment to a Judgeship; and Lieut.-Col. F. W. Cumberland, who had been elected for Algoma on the resignation of Mr. Simpson on his being appointed Indian Commissioner for the North-West Territories.

2.—The Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved in the Senate by the Hon. Mr. Girard, one of the Debate on the address. newly appointed Senators from Manitoba, and seconded by Senator Robertson. In moving the Address Senator Girard took occasion to express his gratification at the reference made in the Speech to Manitoba, and to assure the House that the people of Manitoba were deeply attached to British institutions and were ready to join with the sister Provinces in maintaining the integrity of the Dominion. No amendment was offered, and the Address was adopted after a very brief discussion. In the House Mr. Nathan, of Victoria, B. C., moved the Address, seconded by Mr. Edward Carter, Q.C. The principal topics of the Speech were touched on and the policy of the Government as foreshadowed fully endorsed. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie in reviewing the policy of the Government criticised not so much what was in the Speech as what was not in it; and complained that the Government had not announced any line of policy on the Washington Treaty, nor with reference to the application of New Brunswick for "Better Terms"; that no reference was made to any Act to be introduced for the trial of Controverted Elections, nor for the establishment of a Supreme Court which was deemed of the utmost importance, and characterised the Speech as "a most meagre bill of fare." He sharply criticised the Treaty of Washington, which he contended should not have been signed by the Canadian Commissioner, as it was not required that it should be signed by all the Commissioners, and entered into a short discussion on the state of public feeling on the subject. On the subject of the admission of

\*The following were the members from British Columbia, who were elected in December, 1871: Hon. Amor DeCosmos and Henry Nathan, Victoria; J. Spencer Thompson, Cariboo; Robert Wallace, Vancouver; Hugh Nelson, New Westminster; Philip Houghton, Yale.

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British Columbia Mr. Mackenzie said that the Opposition had been misrepresented as being opposed to the union with that Province. The Opposition was glad to have British Columbia in the Union, but what it objected to was the terms on which that Province had been admitted, which were altogether beyond the means of Canada to carry out. Sir Francis Hincks defended the policy of the Government. He said that the Treaty itself would have to be dealt with by the House; but, on account of a difficulty which had arisen between the British Government and that of the United States on the subject, it was not advisable to discuss it just then. He argued that the clause which stipulated that the Treaty may be signed by a less number than the whole of the Commissioners was only intended to provide for the possibility of one of them dying; and contended that as both sides of the Imperial Parliament had agreed that the English Government alone was responsible for the Treaty, it was most unfair to endeavor to blame Sir John A. Macdonald for it. Hon. Mr. Holton held that the Premier was responsible to Parliament and to no other power in dealing with the interests of Canada; he had been appointed a member of the Joint High Commission by virtue of his position as Premier, and nothing could relieve him of his responsibility to the House. Hon. Mr. Macdougall said that now that the question of acceptance or non-acceptance of the Treaty was closed, all that was left for them to do as loyal subjects was to submit to it; and he regretted to find, from the remarks of the Finance Minister, that the Government was not disposed to ratify the Treaty. Sir Francis Hincks said it was a misapprehension to suppose that he had said that the Government was in opposition to the Treaty. What he had said was that the Ministry had protested against the Treaty, and a good deal of correspondence had since taken place with the Imperial Government, the result of which would be made known when the papers were brought down; he may say, however, that the Ministry was now in entire accord with the Imperial authorities. After some further debate

the Address was carried without any amendment being offered.

3.—The Question of Protection to manufactures occupied the attention of the House at an early date, and led to an animated debate, on the 17th of April, on the motion of Mr.

Protection to  
manufacturing  
interests.

Magill for "a Select Committee to enquire into and report to this House on the extent and condition of the manufacturing interests of the Dominion, with the power to send for persons, papers, and records, and to make such recommendations as in their opinion may conduce to the encouragement of this important interest, thereby furnishing employment for our increasing population, and procuring a home market for our productions." He contended that the best way to encourage immigration was to encourage out manufacturing interests which would tend to promote the prosperity of the whole country. Sir. Francis Hincks said that the Government would have no objection to the appointment of the Committee, which he had no doubt might do much good; but he did not wish it to be supposed that the manufacturing interests were in a state of depression, for he knew, on the contrary that many of them were in a very flourishing condition. Hon. Mr. Holton condemned the action of the Administration in "governing by Commission." Last year they had appointed a Commission to discover a canal policy for them, and now they wanted a Commission to find a commercial policy. Hon. Mr. Huntingdon thought that the question of encouraging our manufactures was likely to become one of the utmost importance. He did not think that our relations with our neighbors were so far settled as to warrant the adoption of a fixed fiscal policy for the country; but when they were, he hoped to see this question raised above a mere party cry to be used by demagogues at election time, for it was one of too great import to the welfare of the country. Mr. Jones (Leeds) wished to amend the motion so as to have the agricultural interests included, and spoke at some length on the importance of

having those interests protected as well as manufactures. Mr. Workman, in seconding the motion for a Committee, said that he was not in favor of a High Protection Tariff; as a manufacturer himself he was satisfied with the present duties; at the same time he thought there were some manufactures which needed Protection, but he was not in favor of a very high tariff. Mr. Young thought the farmers were too intelligent to want duties on their produce, for they knew it was the foreign market which ruled prices, and that duties would do them no good, while they would prevent American produce from finding an outlet through Canada. He was willing to encourage manufactures within the bounds of a revenue tariff; but thought that anything like the absurd Protective duties of the United States would be an injury instead of an advantage to the country. No system could be for the benefit of the whole country if it forced capital and labor into unproductive channels, although it might build up monopolies; and he hoped that the Committee would study the interests of the whole community and not of a class. After some further discussion Mr. Jones withdrew his amendment that agriculture should be included, and the motion to appoint a Select Committee on encouragement of manufactures was then adopted.

4.—On the 24th Mr. Jones (Leeds) moved for a Select Committee to enquire into and report upon the agricultural interests of the country. He contended that the agricultural interest was the most important one in the whole Dominion, and that, as there was now no hope of having a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, he thought we ought to have a protective tariff on agricultural products as well as on manufactures. He maintained that the small duties put on agricultural products in 1870 and repealed in 1871 had been of benefit to the farmers while they were imposed; and favored a general Protective Tariff. Mr. DeCosmos in seconding the motion, said that British Columbia was an unit on the question of Protection to

Mr. Jones (Leeds) requests Protection for the farmer as well as the manufacturer.

agriculture as she would never be able to compete with California without it. Mr. Mills said that the motion, as well as that previously adopted with regard to manufactures, asked for Protection, which was only another way of saying that certain classes of the community should have a part of their money taken out of their pockets by law, every time they made a purchase, and placed in the pockets of certain other classes who produced protected articles. He argued, on principles of political economy that such pretensions were absurd; the price of our surplus products must be determined by the state of the foreign markets, and not by Protection. Mr. Bodwell said that it had been urged that Ontario and British Columbia farmers would be benefited by Protection to agricultural products; but it must be remembered that other portions of the Dominion would be correspondingly injured. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had to import large quantities of breadstuffs, and would suffer from such a tariff, for the benefit of Ontario. He quoted a number of statistics to show that the Dominion exported about four times as much agricultural products as were imported, and argued that as long as we exported so largely to foreign markets, our home prices must be ruled by those markets. He claimed that the whole Protection agitation was got up by a few manufacturers who were anxious to realize fortunes. Mr. Ferguson favored Protection for the farmers; he thought that they were already laboring under great difficulties, and if the agitation for nine hours as a days work spread to the agricultural classes, and farmers were compelled to pay the same rates they now paid for only nine hours work, the sooner they emigrated to some other part of the world the better it would be for them. After a little further discussion, the motion was adopted. This motion only empowered the Committee to "enquire into the condition of the agricultural interests of the Dominion, with power to collect evidence and report," but some of the advocates of Protection desired a more pronounced expression of opinion on the

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question of protection to agricultural interests, and, on the 20th of May, Mr. Ross (Dundas) moved that the House go into Committee on certain resolutions for the purpose of imposing duties on barley, oats and Indian corn. The Speaker ruled the motion out of order, as a private member could not propose to consider a question of the imposition of duties, which must originate with the Government. Here the question rested for the session, for, after their experience with the "National Policy" the Government did not seem disposed to accept the responsibility of again proposing to the House to place a duty on agricultural products.

5.—The vexed question of Capital vs. Labor came into more than usual prominence during the winter of 1871-1872, and the injustice of the existing laws as affecting employers and employés was made very apparent. The National Labor League of the United States, which was actively engaged in agitating what was popularly known as "the nine-hour movement," established several branches in Canada, especially in Toronto, Montreal and Hamilton; and a few demagogues were soon found who for pay, or on the chance of future political preferment, undertook to show how much better it was to work only nine hours a day instead of ten—receiving the same wages, however, as if working full time; and how much better eight hours' work was than nine, and so on in a descending scale as to the number of hours, and an ascending one as far as wages were concerned. The agitation soon became popular amongst nearly all classes of employés, who were quite willing to work shorter hours, provided there was no diminution of wages. The Trades Unions being united, and working well together, it seemed at first as if the employés would carry their point and have nine hours recognized as a working day, without any corresponding reduction of wages, and a few employers agreed to the demand for a reduction of working hours. The large majority of the employers of labor, however, were opposed to this increase of wages,—for such it virtually

was—and combinations of employers were made to resist the demands of the employés. The question was brought to a square issue in Toronto by the strike of Typographical Union No. 91 on the 25th of March, when the printers on the *Globe*, *Telegraph*, and *Express*, and in all the job offices, struck work because the employers would not reduce the hours from ten to nine. The master-printers had had notice of the intended strike, and formed an union amongst themselves to resist it. This they partially succeeded in doing by engaging printers from the country and from the United States to take the places of those on strike. The officers of the Typographical Union were very active in inducing the new arrivals to desert those who had engaged them and join the strikers, and many were induced either to return home or leave their work. This became so annoying at last that Mr. George Brown, of the *Globe*, caused the arrest of thirteen of the principal members of the Typographical Union on a charge of conspiring to deter men from going to their work. The arrests were made on the 16th of April, and the examination commenced before Police Magistrate McNab on the 18th. The gravamen of the charge was that under the laws of Canada Trades Unions were illegal societies, and that the members of Typographical Union No. 91 had, by intimidation or otherwise, endeavoured to deter persons engaged to perform certain duties from so doing. The case was postponed until the 6th of May, when evidence was given, and further postponed until the 18th, when the prisoners were committed for trial at the next Assizes, but released on their own recognizances.

6.—The arrest of these printers caused considerable excitement, not only in Toronto but throughout the Dominion. There was scarcely any difference of opinion amongst counsel as to the illegality of Trades Unions as the laws then stood; but there was an almost equal unanimity of feeling amongst all classes that the law ought to be at once amended, and that no man, or body of men, should remain subject to arrest and imprison-

The nine-hour movement. The law relating to Trades Unions.

Amendments to the laws adopted.

ment for no greater offense than that of endeavoring to get the best price he could for his labor. On the 7th of May, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced two bills into the House, one on the subject of Trades Unions, assimilating the law to that of Great Britain, and one on violence, threats and molestation defining what constitutes such offenses as applied to the relations of employers and employed to each other. On the 11th of June the Trades Union Bill came up for second reading when Sir John A. Macdonald said there was nothing in it which could do injustice to either employer or employee. Its object was to repeal a harsh Act, under which mechanics could be indicted for every association they might form. The amendment had been adopted in the British Parliament without a dissenting voice, because it was felt that the old law was too oppressive to be borne by free men, and he thought that recent events in Toronto showed that the law needed to be changed here. Mr. Mackenzie thought that the Dominion Parliament was exceeding its power in requiring Trades Unions to be registered, otherwise he was satisfied with the Act. After a little opposition from Mr. Masson, the Bill was passed without amendment or division. The Act as passed assimilates the law with regard to Trades Unions to that of Great Britain. Unions are not illegal nor agreements void merely because in restraint of trade. Damages are not recoverable for breach of an agreement between members of an Union respecting conditions under which they may trade or seek or give employment, or for a subscription to the Union, or to apply its funds for benefits to members or remuneration for obeying the rules and resolutions of the Union, or to pay a fine of a member, or of agreements between several Unions, or any bond to secure the execution of such agreements. Acts for the incorporation of charitable or provident Associations shall not apply to Unions, nor shall any Union not registered have the benefit of the Act. To others the old law respecting agreements, &c. in restraint of trade will apply. Any seven members of a Union may register it,

provided none of its purposes are illegal. Each branch is to be considered a separate Union. Upon registration it becomes a Corporation and may hold property, &c.

7.—Two Acts were passed at this session with a view to encouraging immigration; the first being to amend the Immigration Act of 1869 by abolishing the capitation tax of one dollar per head, and substituting instead a tax of two dollars for each immigrant to be collected from the Captains of any vessels not cleared under the sanction of the Imperial Immigration Commissioners, not carrying a surgeon, and on board of which proper precautions for preservation of the health of passengers and crew, had not been observed during the voyage. The second Act provided for the formation of Societies for the promotion of immigration by subscriptions and advances made to intending emigrants from abroad, and providing means for recovering such advances in cash or labor. The Minister of Agriculture was authorized to divide the country into Immigration districts, and any twenty-five persons in a district may form a society, the capital of which must not be less than \$500, half of which must be paid up in cash, and the constitution and by-laws of the Society must be approved of by the Minister of Agriculture. Societies may receive aid from municipal or other corporations; and may receive applications for immigrants and forward them through the Department to immigration agents abroad, who may enter into contracts with such emigrants enforceable after their arrival. They may also act as agents of persons or societies in the old country to renew advances made by them to assist intending emigrants. In introducing the bill in the Senate, on the 8th of May, Honble. Alexander Campbell said that it had been prepared in consequence of the formation last winter, at Ottawa, of a society to aid in bringing immigrants into the country. He explained the provisions of the bill, as given above, and said it was the object of the Government to give all possible aid to societies which were endeavoring

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to increase the population of the country. Hon. Mr. Sanborn thought that so far we had had very expensive immigration machinery with very poor results, which he attributed partly to divided authority, and partly to the public lands remaining in the hands of the local authorities. He thought the best immigration agents were local industries; encourage manufactures, provide a market for labor, and labor would find the market without much aid from the Immigration office. Hon. Mr. Wark thought the bill was calculated to do much good, as it would tend to give newly arrived immigrants some experience on cleared and settled farms before plunging into the wilderness to attempt to clear a farm for themselves. After a little more discussion the bill was adopted. In moving the second reading in the House on the 18th May, Hon. Mr. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, said that from every quarter there came the cry that if the Government would only give some assistance towards the passage money, plenty of immigrants could be had; it was therefore proposed to provide for the formation of societies for the purpose of making such advances and being secured for repayment, and he thought much benefit would be derived from the Act. Mr. Jackson was of opinion that the clause giving societies power to recover from immigrants was liable to abuse, as a system of slavery might be inaugurated and immigrants made to suffer very much. Hon. Mr. Blake thought that the clause dealt with property and civil rights, and was not within the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament. As soon as the laboring men found out that every shilling they earned could be taken from them in Court by these Immigration Societies, it would have the effect of diverting immigrants from Canada to other countries. Hon. Mr. Chauveau agreed with the main purpose of the bill, but thought that it trenchanted upon the rights of the Local Governments. Mr. Ferguson argued that under the Homestead law of Ontario the clause of the bill giving a lien on the immigrants' land for the advance would be inoperative; and the Minister of

Agriculture would be practicing a deception if he led societies to believe that they could recover where free grants were concerned. Mr. Jones (Leeds and Grenville) had very little confidence in any scheme for attracting immigration; we had had many such, and plenty of expensive agents, but during the past ten years the immigration had not been one per cent. per annum. He thought it would be far wiser to protect our own industries and thus offer inducements to our population to stay at home, than to spend large sums in bringing immigrants here, and have our own people constantly going away because they could get better employment elsewhere. Mr. Blanchet thought that the most practical way to encourage immigration was to proceed at once with the Pacific railway and other great public works. Mr. Mills objected to the bill on the constitutional ground that the House was infringing on the rights of the Provincial Legislatures. Hon. Mr. Anglin agreed with the exceptions taken by Messrs. Blake and Mills, and thought that the passage of the Act would be equivalent to introducing the Coolie system. Sir Francis Hincks defended the bill, and pointed out the differences which existed between it and the Coolie system. After some further debate the bill passed its second reading, and was adopted without further discussion.

8.—The Minister of Finance, Sir Francis Hincks, made his Budget speech on the 30th of April, and was again able to make a most favorable exhibit, the receipts for the financial year ending 30th June, 1871, having exceeded the expenditures by more than \$3,500,000. In moving the House into Committee of Supply Sir Francis said that he would make the statement, as was usual, for the past year 1870-71, for the current year, 1871-72, and for the coming year, 1872-73. First as to the amount of the debt; on the 30th June, 1871, it was \$77,706,517, or, in round figures \$80,000,000, a large portion of the interest on which was met by the interest accruing from valuable assets, that interest amounting to nearly twenty per cent.

Financial Statement.  
A Surplus of over  
three and a half  
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of the whole interest paid on the debt. One reason why the debt appeared larger than it really was, was the unsettled condition of the surplus debt of the old Province of Canada which had not yet been divided between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and which made the Dominion debt appear more than it really was by about \$7,500,000; but this amount also appeared as an asset, and it did not affect the amount of interest at all. The statements relating to expenditure on capital account were of the most satisfactory kind. During the four years since Confederation, \$7,268,698 had been spent on the Intercolonial Railway, and on the purchase of the North West and expenses consequent on opening up that territory; \$813,205 had also been expended on other Public Works chargeable to capital account, making a gross expenditure of \$8,081,903, yet the total increase of the debt since Confederation was only \$1,977,876 showing that \$6,104,027 had been expended out of current revenue on important Public Works. Although the large sum of \$3,640,248 had been expended in Public Works during the year 1870-71, still the net debt had been decreased \$503,224. The amount of Savings Banks deposits was about \$4,500,000, against which there was \$1,362,666 in five per cent. Canada Bonds held in London, where they could be converted into money at a moments notice, so that there need be no anxiety on that score. The Government had also to its credit in the Bank of Montreal, on interest, \$1,400,000 on Intercolonial account; there was also £600,000 sterling in London in Imperial Guaranteed Bonds and Canada five per cents, and over \$1,000,000 on deposit, at interest, in various Banks, so that, he held, the financial position of the Dominion was unassailable. With regard to the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1871, he had estimated the receipts at \$17,600,000, but the actual receipts had been \$19,335,560, and as the expenditure had only been \$15,623,081, it left a surplus on the year's transactions of \$3,712,479.

9.—He proceeded to state that the revenue of 1870-71 had exceeded that of 1869-70 by \$1,925,-

387.35, which had been chiefly gained on spirits, cigars, tea, wines, sugar, cotton and woollen goods, iron and hardware, silks and satins. With reference to the current year, 1871-72, he said that in spite of the reduction of taxes last year, which would amount to about \$800,000, the revenue would still be in excess of 1871-72, even after making allowance for British Columbia. The total receipts would be about \$20,050,000, and expenditures \$17,040,695; so that he counted on a surplus of \$3,115,467 for the current year. For the year 1872-73 the income was estimated at \$20,630,000, and expenditure about \$19,600,000, so that he looked for a surplus of about \$1,000,000. He referred at considerable length to the Washington Treaty, and to the guarantee of a loan of £2,500,000 which Great Britain had agreed to make in consideration of Canada abandoning her claims against the United States for indemnity for the Fenian raids; and argued that although the Treaty was not all that could be desired, still it was a very material advantage to Canada to have the British guarantee of nearly half the sum which would have to be raised to build the Pacific Railway, as it would enable her to get the money on much better terms, and would, according to his estimates, effect a saving of about \$600,000 a-year in interest, which he thought was "infinitely better than negotiating a Bill for Fenian claims, and encountering the danger of irritation on both sides which must arise in the settlement of disputed claims." Referring to the public works which would have to be undertaken, the Pacific Railway, the enlargement of the canals, &c., which, he estimated, would involve a charge of about \$3,000,000 per annum, he said:—"In undertaking works of such considerable magnitude, it is important to see what is the state of the increase of the commerce of the country. Now, sir, that increase is really wonderful. In 1869 our total exports were \$49,320,000, while in 1871 they were \$55,151,000. The aggregate of exports and imports in 1869 was \$116,725,000 in 1871

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\$142,098,000, or an increase of nearly 22 per cent. And when we come to the details of the exports we find them most satisfactory. The produce of the Mines has increased from \$2,093,000 to \$3,221,000; of Fish, from \$3,242,000 to \$3,994,000; of Forests, from \$19,838,000 to \$22,352,000; of Animals and their products, from \$8,769,000 to \$12,582,000, the latter chiefly owing to an enormous increase of exports of butter and cheese." With reference to the tariff, he said that the Government did not propose to offer any changes to the consideration of the House just then; but, owing to their being a proposition before the United States Congress to take off the duty on tea, it was possible that the Government might feel compelled to propose a similar course to the House later in the session.

10.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie severely criticised the action of the Government in giving up the Fenian claims and the fisheries for a small money consideration from Great Britain. He hoped no Ministry would ever again go on a begging expedition to the Imperial Government. He looked with loathing and disgust upon the course which had been pursued, and he regarded the result as most humiliating. For some time the Government spoke in the strongest and most offensive terms to the British Government, with reference to our rights of property and the Fenian outrages, and he felt humiliated to think that while the American people were forcing the Alabama claims on the British Government, we had not pressed our claims against the United States for outrages committed on our frontier. He felt humiliated that the British and Canadian Governments should have yielded so tamely to the rejection of this as a legitimate subject for discussion and reparation, and for an apology on the part of the United States. It seemed as if the Government thought of nothing but the amount of money it was to get, and the House was now asked to rejoice over an Imperial guarantee of £2,500,000 as compensation for injury by the Fenian raids, and the loss of the fisheries. He saw no cause for congratulation.

He denied the accuracy of the Finance Minister's figures as to the value of the proposed guarantee. Assuming a gain by it, however, we had this huckstering for the sake of saving, at the very outside, about \$120,000 a year. A humiliation had been imposed on us which he was quite sure the country would not submit to for twice that amount. We were able to pay our way, and interest on our debt, and to contract whatever debt we might require for national improvements, even if the Imperial Government should decline to aid us by guarantees. He did not agree with the honorable gentleman's course with regard to the surplus. With one this year of nearly four millions, and one anticipated for next year of three millions and a half, and a prospective surplus of a million and a half for the year following, he did not propose to effect any reduction of duties on articles where some relief might naturally be looked for. He regretted this as he did not see that there was any immediate requirement for the money, and he thought it would be better to reduce taxation a little while the finances were in a condition to permit of its being done. Sir A. T. Galt joined in the congratulations of the Finance Minister on the prosperous condition of the finances, and agreed with him that it would not be judicious, in view of proposed heavy expenditures on public works, to introduce any change in the fiscal policy. He did not think that the present enormous revenue could continue, and hoped that Ministers would be warned by the past and not lead the country into extravagance on the strength of momentary prosperity. He objected to the introduction of the Washington Treaty into the Budget speech, thinking that that subject should be dealt with by itself. Hon. W. Macdougall regretted that the Government had not advocated a policy of closer commercial relations with the United States, and argued that Canada should exercise greater liberty in the matter of commercial treaties. Mr. Joly quoted from the Washington Treaty correspondence to show that the Government had not used every means possible to obtain a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty.

Debate on the Budget.

11.—After recess the debate was continued by Hon. Mr. Blake, who regretted that the

*Continuation of  
debate on Budget.*

Premier had not seen fit to make any explanation to the House with reference to the Washington Treaty, but had left it to the Finance Minister to make a sort of apology. He thought that the question should not be regarded as one of money only, and quite agreed with the Ministers of the Crown when they told the Imperial Government that the idea of a money payment was repugnant to the people of Canada; but, if it was to be treated as such—if we were to be told that a sufficient price had been paid, then it became material that the figures of the honorable gentleman should be correct. He then analyzed the figures to show that the saving effected by having the guarantee would only be some \$150,000 instead of \$600,000, as claimed by the Finance Minister, and from this \$150,000 must be deducted what compensation must be paid New Brunswick for losing her timber duties under the treaty, so that there would be very little left; and it must be remembered that the only advantage the guarantee was to the Dominion, was in what could be saved on the interest, for both principal and interest had eventually to be paid by the people of the Dominion. Mr. Cartwright deprecated mixing up the Washington Treaty with the Budget. He thought the present statement highly favorable, but reminded the House that the present remarkable expansion could not be expected to continue, as periods of great prosperity were almost invariably followed by periods of depression, and he condemned the financial arrangements of the Finance Minister, not because they would cause mischief at the moment, but that they did not make provision for the future disasters which might overtake us. He contended that the large increase in the Customs and Excise during the past three years, amounting to \$6,000,000, was not likely to be maintained, but was much more likely to be diminished. Hon. Mr. Morris said it was quite refreshing to hear the leader of the Opposition talk about our being able to pay our own way, when last session he had nothing but groanings

and lamentations that the country was being driven into enormous taxation and ultimate bankruptcy. Mr. Workman, (Montreal,) said that he had heard the financial statement with great pleasure. He had feared that the country was going to be sunk in debt, but the fear had now been removed from his mind. He was glad to hear that there was to be no increased taxation, but that the great public works could be carried out on the present taxation, and he was satisfied with the position the Dominion was assuming before the world. He trusted that the Government would be guarded in the proposed large expenditure. A very great amount of borrowed money was being introduced into the country, and difficulties in future years were very possible. After some remarks from Hon. Mr. Tilley, the motion to go into Committee was carried.

12.—Although Sir Francis Hincks said in his Budget speech that it was not the intention of the Government to make any <sup>Repeal of the duties on tea and coffee.</sup> change in the tariff, he soon had to propose a very important one, namely the repeal of the duties on tea and coffee, caused by the United States Congress having repealed the duties on those articles. On the 7th of May he gave notice that on the following Tuesday he would move the House into Committee to consider resolutions repealing those duties, and on the 21st the resolutions were adopted and a bill based on them read a first time. The Act provided for the repeal of duties on tea and coffee imported after the 1st of July 1872, and allowed a drawback on all previously imported and re-warehoused in original packages before the 29th June. It was also provided that if at any time a greater duty was imposed by the United States on tea or coffee imported into that country from Canada than from any other country, then the Governor-in-Council may impose a similar duty on tea and coffee imported from the United States. Mr. Bodwell thought that as the Finance Minister had announced a surplus of \$3,500,000, and as the repeal of the tea and coffee duties would only reduce the revenue about \$1,250,000, other

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necessaries may be added to the free list, and he moved in amendment that rice be added to the articles on which duty should be repealed. Sir Francis Hincks said that in view of the heavy expenditures which would be needed for public works it was not deemed expedient to make any further reductions, and, after a short discussion, the amendment was withdrawn. On the bill coming up for a second reading Sir Francis Hincks explained that both the Houses of Congress had agreed to impose a duty of ten per cent. on tea and coffee imported from any country west of the Cape of Good Hope, and the proviso in the bill was intended to allow the Governor-in-Council to impose a like tax on tea and coffee imported from the States to what they imposed on similar articles from Canada, but tea and coffee coming through the United States in bond would be admitted free. Mr. Mackenzie thought this was a violation of the treaty obligations with the United States by which we were bound not to impose discriminating duties, and he did not think it was possible to pursue the course proposed. Aside from that he did not believe in retaliatory measures; he did not believe in laying a burden on ourselves simply because others took a burden upon themselves. Sir Francis Hincks did not think the bill was an infringement of the treaty, and read the clause referred to in support of his argument, and after a brief discussion the bill was passed.

13.—The supply bill granted \$688,999.37 for the year ending 30th June, 1872, and \$20,729,060.85 for the year ending 30th June, 1873. Amongst the items passed were \$190,000 unexpended balance for taking the census, Hon. Mr. Pope stating in reply to a question that the total cost of taking the census would be about \$410,000.00. Items of \$17,712 to pay salaries of Immigration officers, \$12,000 for travelling agents, and \$70,000 to assist the various Provinces in encouraging immigration were passed. The latter item caused some discussion, Mr. Young doubting whether the vote was quite constitutional as it looked like increasing the subsidies to the

Provinces. Sir Francis Hincks explained that the item was the result of a conference between Dominion and Provincial Immigration Agents, it being found that there were many expenses which could be better met by the Provincial Agents; the amount would be distributed \$25,000 to Ontario, \$20,000 to Quebec, \$10,000 each to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and \$5,000 to Manitoba. The item was passed. Amongst the important items passed were \$5,400,000 for the Intercolonial; \$3,490,000 for Canal improvements; \$1,549,400 for maintaining the Militia; \$644,000 for Public Buildings; \$471,584 for lighthouses and coast guard service; \$113,735 for protection and preservation of the fisheries; \$576,500 for maintenance of Indians in British Columbia and the North-West; \$559,183 for Customs; \$200,000 for improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Quebec; \$110,600 for the North Shore Railway; \$99,250 for European and North American Railway; \$70,000 for temporary water supply to Welland Canal; \$165,000 for planks, &c. for the Red River road.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—THE NEW BRUNSWICK SCHOOL ACT, 1872.

1. THE SCHOOL LAW OF NEW BRUNSWICK PRIOR TO CONFEDERATION.—2. THE COMMON SCHOOL LAW PASSED IN 1871.—3. OPPOSITION TO THE ACT BY THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE PROVINCE.—4. PETITIONS TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO DISALLOW THE BILL.
5. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD ADVISES THE APPROVAL OF THE BILL.—6. REMARKS ON THE OPINION OF SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.—7. MOTION FOR CORRESPONDENCE, &c.—8. MR. COSTIGAN'S MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS PRAYING THE DISALLOWANCE OF THE ACT.—9. DEBATE ON MR. COSTIGAN'S MOTION.—10. HON. MR. GRAY'S AMENDMENT TO MR. COSTIGAN'S MOTION.—11. HON. MR. CHAUVEAU'S AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT.—

12. CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE.—13. DEFEAT OF HON. MR. CHAUVEAU'S AMENDMENT.—14. AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY MR. COLBY ADOPTED.—15. HON. MR. MACKENZIE'S AMENDMENT. THE MOTION WAS FINALLY ADOPTED.

1.—One of the most interesting debates of the session of 1872 was on the question of the disallowance by the Governor-General of the New Brunswick School Act; and although the Act itself properly belongs to the history of that Province, still as the matter was brought before the Dominion Parliament, and it was a subject which interested the people of the whole Dominion, it will be more convenient to consider it here than to leave it entirely to our history of that Province. To thoroughly understand the matter it will be necessary to state the condition of the School Laws in New Brunswick before Confederation; the effect if any had on them by Confederation, and what change was proposed by the new law. It must be borne in mind that the population of New Brunswick is a mixed one as far as religion is concerned, about one-third being Roman Catholics and the remainder belonging to various Protestant denominations.\* The School Law in force in the Province at Confederation provided for a Provincial Board of Education consisting of the Governor and Council, with the Superintendent of Schools, which Board had the power to provide for the organization, government and discipline of all Public Schools, and apportioned the annual Legislative grant for school purposes amongst the various parishes. Under this law Roman Catholics, as well as other denominations, could establish Public Schools at which their religion formed part of the course of instruction. By the 93rd Section of the British North America

The School Law of New Brunswick prior to Confederation.

\* The Census of 1871 gives the figures as follows:—Roman Catholics, 96,016; Baptists, 70,507; Church of England, 45,481; Presbyterian, 38,852; Methodist, 29,856; Other denominations, 4,502—Total, 285,591. It will thus be seen that although the Roman Catholics were more numerous than any other denomination, they were only about one-third of the whole population.

Act, 1867, it was provided that "In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education," subject to certain provisions. These provisions were to the effect that any exceptional rights or privileges enjoyed by any Denominational Schools at the time of Union should be respected; and that, in the event of any law being passed by any Provincial Legislature infringing on those rights or privileges the Dominion Government should interfere, but not in any other case.\*

2.—The Provincial Legislature of New Brunswick was not satisfied with the working of the old School Laws, and, during the session of 1871, passed a new <sup>The Common School Law, passed in 1871.</sup> Act, which was assented to on the 17th of May. This Act introduced an entirely new Free Public School System, similar to that in Ontario, and provided for the Province being divided into School districts, for which Trustees were to be appointed who were bound to provide school accommodation for all children in the district between the ages of five and twenty, free of charge; arrangements with existing schools could only be made on the conditions that they were made free and came under the provisions of the Act and regulations; a school tax equal to thirty cents per head was imposed, and the raising of additional

\* As frequent reference is made in the debates on this question to the Confederation Act, we give the sub-sections of Section 93, which relate to the possible interference of the Dominion Government in Provincial matters:—

(1) "Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union;

(2) "All the powers, privileges, and duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be, and the same are hereby, extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec;

(3) "Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by Law at the Union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education;

(4) "In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council or any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section."

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funds for school purposes—including a poll-tax of one dollar on every male resident—was provided for. A new Board of Education was established, which had power to provide a training and model school; to appoint Inspectors of Schools; to divide the Province into School districts; to make regulations for the organization, government and discipline of schools; to prescribe text-books and apparatus, &c.; to determine appeals from Inspectors; to make regulations for the distribution of school monies, and to make general regulations. Trustees were given the right to borrow money for not more than seven years for the erection of school-houses, and were made a body corporate and invested with all the school property of the district. Three Trustees were to be elected by the ratepayers of each district, to serve three years; the first three to be elected for one, two and three years respectively, so that one should retire each year. All schools to be non-sectarian.

3.—This Act met with strenuous opposition from the Roman Catholics, who used every lawful means to defeat it in the House, claiming that to establish a system of Common Schools in which the text books would be beyond the control of their clergy, and in which their religion would not be taught, would be to establish a system which they could not conscientiously support, and the result would be that they would have to maintain schools for the education of their own children, while taxed in the general assessment for the maintenance of schools to which they had conscientious objections. A petition signed by the clergy and laity was presented, praying that the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick should, at least, be put on an equality with those of Ontario and the Protestant minority of Quebec, in both of which Provinces separate schools were allowed, so that school taxes paid by Catholics in the one Province and by Protestants in the other, were applied for the education of Catholic or Protestant children as the case may be, and the believers in neither creed were made to con-

tribute to the Educational fund of the other. Amendments to this effect were made during the passage of the Act through the Legislative Assembly, but were voted down by about two to one, the expression of opinion against sectarian schools being very strong. In the Legislative Council an effort was made to pass an amendment recognizing separate schools, and, on the 16th of May, the Hon. Owen McInerney moved the following amendment to the second clause of the Act: "All schools existing at the time of the passing of this Act, and all schools to be hereafter established, whether separate or common schools, shall, provided they comply with the requirements thereof, be entitled to their share *pro rata* of the district assessment and other funds, for the support of schools, such shares to be determined and fixed by the Trustees of the district where such school or schools is or are situated." The vote on this amendment stood even, six for six against, and was passed in the negative under the rules of the House, which are that all ties count as a negative vote. Although the Act was highly distasteful to the Roman Catholics, it was satisfactory to the majority of the people, and Lieut.-Governor Wilmot, doubtless, well expressed their satisfaction when he said, in his prorogation speech, on 17th May: "It is with great satisfaction that I have given my assent to the Bill relating to common schools, and most sincerely do I congratulate you upon the provision therein made for the education of our youth. Many measures of great importance have been enacted by the Legislature of this Province, but the session now brought to a close will ever be remembered as that which inaugurated a system of free schools, a measure so far transcending as the cultivation and development of the intellect surpasses in value and importance all other sources of national wealth and power. You have prepared the way for the poorer man to secure as his right that elementary instruction which will fit him for an intelligent discharge of his duties as a citizen of a great and growing Dominion."

4.—Finding all efforts to defeat the Bill in the

Opposition to the Act  
by the Roman  
Catholics of the  
Province.

Local Legislature fruitless, the Catholics next addressed themselves to securing

Petitions to the Governor-General to disallow the Bill.

its disallowance by the Governor-General, and petitions to that effect were forwarded from the Bishops, clergy and laity of the whole Province. A few extracts from one of these petitions will give the grounds of complaint taken by the Catholics:

"The petition of the undersigned Catholics of Memramcook, Dorchester, Westmoreland, in the Province of New Brunswick, humbly sheweth:

"That the Act relating to common schools passed at the late session of the Local Legislature of this Province, if allowed to go into operation, will destroy or greatly diminish the educational privileges which the Catholics of this Province enjoyed at the time of the passing of the British North America Act, and subsequently.

"That under the school law in force in this Province at the time of the passing of the British North America Act, and up to the present time, Catholics were enabled, wherever their numbers were sufficiently large, to establish schools in which a good religious and secular education was afforded.

"That in the cities, and other centres of large populations, for the wants of which the law did not sufficiently provide; your petitioners at a cost truly enormous when compared to their means, erected large and commodious buildings in which they established and maintained graded schools, equal in all respects to any primary schools existing in these Provinces, and that they received Legislative grants to aid in the maintenance of those schools. To those grants they may in most cases be fairly regarded as having a prescriptive right.

\* \* \* \* \*

"That if this Act be allowed to go into operation, your petitioners will be compelled to contribute to the support of a school system of which they conscientiously disapprove; and if they would not expose their children to what they regard as the most serious and alarming dangers, they must maintain other schools at their own expense, thus paying twice where

others pay but once; or when their numbers or means will not enable them to establish and maintain schools, to which they can with safety send their children, they will be compelled to allow them to grow up in ignorance.

"That this would be a most serious infringement upon the rights of your petitioners, a most serious deprivation of the educational privileges they have hitherto enjoyed, and a palpable violation of the spirit of the British North America Act. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Excellency will be pleased to disallow the said Act."

5.—In due course the Bills passed by the Local Legislature of New Brunswick were forwarded to the Governor-General for approval, and were referred to the Minister of Justice,

Sir J. A. Macdonald advises the approval of the Bill.

Sir John A. Macdonald; at the same time the numerous petitions received were submitted to him, and he reported upon the bills and petitions on the 20th of January, 1871, to the Privy Council, advising that assent be given to all the bills, and the report was adopted by the Council on the same day. His reasons for advising that assent be given to the School Bill were very clear, and we reproduce them here:

"Numerous petitions to His Excellency the Governor-General, from the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick, most respectably signed, have been received, praying that the Act, chapter 21, intituled 'An Act relating to Common Schools' be disallowed. The grounds upon which this prayer are based are:

"That the Act will greatly destroy or greatly diminish the educational privileges which Catholics enjoyed at the time of the passing of the British North America Act, and subsequently.

"That the pecuniary grants hitherto made to the graded schools have been taken away, although to these grants Catholics may in most cases be fairly regarded as having a prescriptive right.

"Now the Provincial Legislatures have exclusive powers to make laws in relation to Education, subject to the provisions of the 93rd

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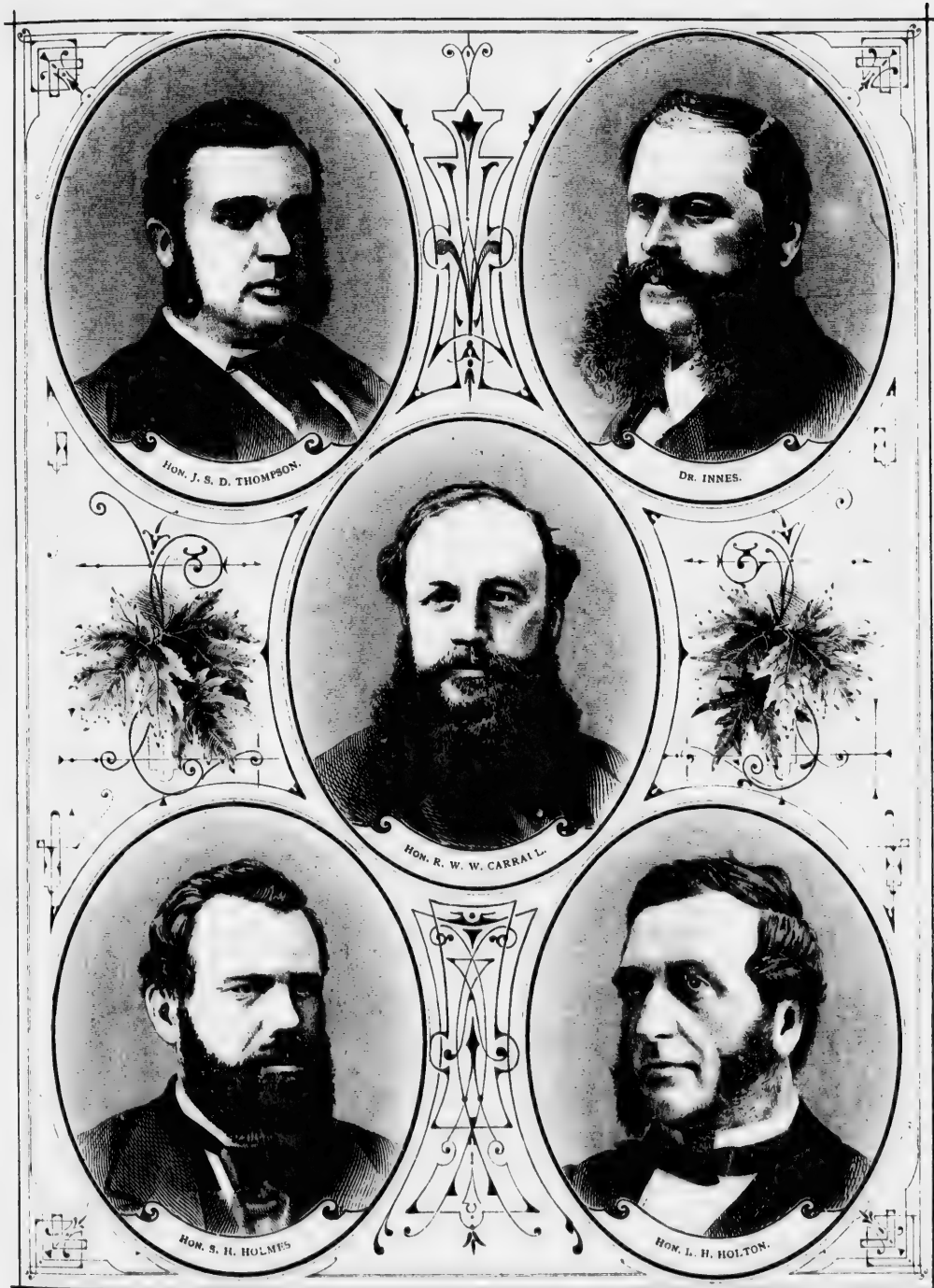
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clause of the British North America Act. Those provisions apply exclusively to the Denominational, Separate or Dissident Schools, they do not in any way affect or lessen the power of such Provincial Legislatures to pass laws respecting the General Educational system of the Province.

"The Act complained of is an Act relating to Common Schools, and the Acts repealed by it apply to Parish, Grammar, Superior, and Common Schools.

"No reference is made in them to Separate Dissident, or Denominational Schools, and the undersigned does not, on examination, find that any Statute of the Province exists establishing such Special Schools.

"It may be that the Act in question may operate unfavorably on the Catholics, or on other religious denominations, and if so, it is for such religious bodies to appeal to the Provincial Legislature, which has the sole power to grant redress.

"As, therefore, the Act applies to the whole school system of New Brunswick, and is not specially applicable to denominational schools, the Governor-General, has, in the opinion of the undersigned, no right to intervene.

"As to the second objection, respecting pecuniary grants, those must, of course, be under the annual supervision of the Legislature, which has the sole power to deal with the Public funds; unless by special enactment, those grants have been conferred for a specified period by an Act of the Legislature.

"In such case the grant might be considered in the nature of a contract, and the repeal might be held to be a breach of that contract.

"The undersigned does not find that any such statutory contract has been made. Under these circumstances he is, therefore, of opinion that no other course is open to the Governor-General, than to allow the Act to go into operation.

"All of which is respectfully submitted.

"(Signed), JOHN A. MACDONALD."

6.—The excitement on the school question was very great during 1871-72, and was not

confined to the Catholics of New Brunswick but shared in by all of that denomination throughout

Remarks on the opinion of Sir John A. Macdonald.

the Dominion, and especially in Quebec; it being considered that the Protestant majority was harshly and unjustly using its power, and was infringing on the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick. Whether the passage of this Act was or was not an arbitrary abuse of power by the majority, it is beyond our purpose to enquire; but that it was strictly within the letter of the law for it to do so, was abundantly shown afterwards by opinions of the Law Officers of the Crown and by decision of the Privy Council the opinion of Sir John A. Macdonald (given in preceding paragraphs) that the Local Legislature had power to pass the Act, and that the Dominion Government had no right to interfere, being fully sustained. It appears hard, at first sight, that the Roman Catholic minority of Ontario and the Protestant minority of Quebec should be allowed to maintain separate schools which receive Government aid, and that the Catholic minority of New Brunswick should be debarred the same privilege; but, it must be remembered that the circumstances of the case were somewhat different. Catholics and Protestants had had a long and bitter fight in the Parliament of the old Province of Canada over the question of Education, and it was only settled by mutual concessions, the Catholic majority in Lower Canada yielding a little to the Protestant minority, in consideration of the Protestant majority in Upper Canada doing the same by the Catholic minority in that Province, and the privileges thus mutually granted were fully secured by the provisions of the 93rd section of the British North America Act. In New Brunswick the question had not arisen at the time of Confederation and no provision was made to secure to the Catholics any right to have separate schools, and the whole question of schools in that Province, therefore, came under the general provisions of the Act leaving all matters relating to Education entirely in the hands of the Local Legislatures. There being

no schools in New Brunswick recognised by law as Denominational, Dissident or Separate at the time of Confederation, and schools of these classes being the only ones exempted from the general Act, it follows that the opinion of the Minister of Justice was strictly correct, and that the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick had no means of redress except through their own Legislature, which alone has power over all matters appertaining to Education in the Province.

7.—The feeling of the Local House, however, was so strongly against allowing Denominational or Separate schools that the Catholics saw they had no chance of obtaining any redress from it, at that time, and they, therefore, used every means to induce the Dominion Parliament to interfere, either by recommending the Governor General to disallow the Bill, or by adopting an address to Her Majesty praying for an amendment to the British North America Act which would secure to Catholics in New Brunswick the same privileges as were enjoyed by Catholics in Ontario. On the 29th of April, 1872, Mr. Renaud, member for Kent, N.B., moved for all correspondence, &c., relating to the School Act passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick. He urged in support of his motion that the law was unfair to the Roman Catholics, as it ignored their religious scruples; and that it was unconstitutional as the Local Legislature had exceeded its powers. Hon. Mr. Anglin maintained that the law was unconstitutional as it took away rights which the Catholics enjoyed at the time of Confederation, and that, therefore, although he deprecated the interference of the Dominion Government in Local matters as a general thing, it was right for the General Government to interfere in this instance, and protect the rights of the minority. He contended that the Dominion Government ought not to have decided on the petitions addressed to it as a mere question of law, but as one of justice and policy as well; and that the legal opinion given by the Minister of Justice that the Act could not be disallowed by the Governor-General, had aggravated the wrongs

of the Catholics by causing the Local Legislature to be extremely severe in the "Regulations" issued under the Act, so as to preclude the possibility of Catholics having separate schools under their own control, or of conducting the religious exercises of the schools in the manner they would desire. Sir John A. Macdonald said that the House, as a House, could not consider the question as to whether the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick should have a Separate School Act or not, whatever the opinions of individual members might be, that being a question entirely within the jurisdiction of the Local Legislature. In his opinion there were only two cases in which the Dominion Government was justified in interfering with a Local Act; the first was, if the Local Legislature exceeded its powers and passed an Act which it had not the legal power to pass; and the second was if the Act passed, although within the jurisdiction of the Province, was inimical to the interests of the Dominion. As to the first case, there was no question in his mind—and he thought that every lawyer would agree with him—that the New Brunswick Legislature had the legal right to pass the Act, and the legal question was the only one for the Dominion Government to consider. As to the second case, he could not see how the passing of a School Act for the Province of New Brunswick alone could affect the Dominion at large; and, therefore, on neither ground would the Dominion Government be justified in interfering. Individually he was in favor of Separate Schools, and had consistently advocated them in his own Province; but the proper place for the Catholics of New Brunswick to strive for them was in the Legislature of their own Province, and at the polls, as the Catholics of Ontario had had to do; and as they held the balance of power in the Province they ought to be successful eventually. Sir George E. Cartier, Mr. Bellerose, Colonel Gray, Mr. Costigan and Mr. Joly spoke on the motion, which was then carried.

8.—The papers asked for were duly brought down, and, on the 20th of May, Mr. Costigan

Motion for  
Correspondence &c.

Mr. Costigan  
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Mr. Costigan's motion  
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moved, that an address be voted to His Excellency, representing "That it is essential to the peace and prosperity of the Dominion of Canada that the several religions therein prevailing should be followed in perfect harmony by those professing them in accord with each other, and that every law passed either by this Parliament or by the Local Legislature disregarding the rights and usages tolerated by one of such religions is of a nature to destroy that harmony:—That the Local Legislature of New Brunswick in its last session, in 1871, adopted a law respecting Common Schools forbidding the imparting of any religious education to pupils, and that that prohibition is opposed to the sentiments of the entire population of the Dominion in general and to the religious convictions of the Roman Catholic population in particular:—That the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick cannot, without acting unconscientiously, send their children to schools established under the law in question and are yet compelled like the remainder of the population, to pay taxes to be devoted to the maintenance of those schools:—That the said law is unjust, and causes much uneasiness among the Roman Catholic population in general disseminated throughout the whole Dominion of Canada, and that such a state of affairs may prove the cause of disastrous results to all the Confederated Provinces:—And praying His Excellency in consequence at the earliest possible period to disallow the said New Brunswick School Law." He urged that the Catholic minority of New Brunswick asked no greater privileges than were enjoyed by the Protestant minority of Quebec, and that their request should be granted. He contended that at the time of Confederation the Catholics virtually had Separate Schools, that their rights were guaranteed them under the Act of Confederation; that the New Brunswick School Act sought to deprive them of those rights, and that, therefore it was unconstitutional and ought to be disallowed.

9.—Mr. Bellerose said that the Government

had admitted that this Act pressed unfairly on the Catholics of New Brunswick, and, therefore, it was the duty of the Government to use every constitutional means to remove the cause of complaint. He argued that the injustice was not to the Catholics of New Brunswick alone, but to Catholics throughout the Dominion; and that the Dominion Government should protect the minority from the tyrannous action of the majority. Sir George E. Cartier said that the resolution tended to upset the action of the British North America Act, and to place the subject of Education in the hands of the Dominion Parliament instead of the Local Legislatures; for if the principle was admitted that minorities could appeal to the Dominion House against the action of the majority in their Province, the Dominion Parliament would, virtually, have the power of legislating in all educational matters. This would place the large Catholic majority of the Province of Quebec at the mercy of the Dominion House, which was largely Protestant, and was what had been specially guarded against at Confederation. He argued that as the old laws repealed by the New Brunswick Legislature did not provide for Separate Schools, the Local House had not infringed any right possessed by the Catholics by passing the new Act, and there was no ground for disallowance. Besides, he held it was incompatible with Responsible Government for the House to advise the Governor-General; that advice should come through his Ministers alone, and the motion as it stood was, virtually, a motion of want of confidence in the Ministry. Mr. Masson (Terrebonne) contended that the Act was injurious to the whole Dominion, as it was an unjust oppression of a minority; and if the principle was admitted the Catholic majority of Quebec might oppress the Protestant minority without redress. He held that the Dominion Parliament stood in the same relation to the Provincial Legislatures as the Imperial Parliament did to that of the Dominion; and if the Imperial Parliament had the right to disallow the Act of the Dominion

Debate on Mr.  
Costigan's motion.

Parliament reducing the Governor-General's salary, surely the latter had the right to disallow the unfair New Brunswick School Act. Hon. Mr. Langevin said that he personally disapproved of the New Brunswick School Act; but the only question for the Government to consider was whether it was Constitutional, and not whether the individual members of the Ministry approved of it or not. He had no doubt that the Local Legislature of New Brunswick had the right to pass that Act, and, therefore, he could not favor its disallowance, however unjust he may think it. Hon. Mr. Dorion held that Separate Schools were virtually in existence in New Brunswick before Confederation, although the word "Separate" did not appear on the statute book, and that, therefore, the spirit if not the letter of the law was broken by the Act lately passed. He wished to know for what purpose the veto power was vested in the Dominion Government if it was not to protect minorities from the unjust oppression of majorities? He contended that the Act should have been disallowed, which would not have been an injustice to the majority, for the Local Legislature would have had the right to consider the Act again, and would, perhaps, have amended it so as to remove the objections to it. The Act was prejudicial to the interests of the Dominion, for it would cause dissension between Catholics and Protestants not in New Brunswick alone, but throughout the whole Dominion; and what we wanted was a feeling of perfect equality before the law, so that no class should feel that any of its rights or privileges had been trampled upon. Mr. Alonzo Wright said that as a Protestant representing a Catholic constituency he would be false to his constituents, as well as false to his own feelings as a Liberal Protestant, if he did not vote to accord to the Catholic minority of New Brunswick the same rights and privileges as were enjoyed by the Protestant minority of the Province of Quebec; he would, therefore, support the motion. Hon. Mr. Anglin thought it was not correct to say that the House was called on to over-ride the

Legislature of New Brunswick, all that was desired was that an act of injustice should be prevented by a simple exercise of the veto power. The School Law of New Brunswick was based on the principle that the child belonged to the State, and not to its parents or the Church—a principle which ought not to be admitted in any Christian community. He argued that the Dominion Ministers having failed in their duty to advise the Governor-General to disallow the Act, it was competent for the House to adopt the resolution advising its disallowance. All that the Catholics wanted was permission to use their own money to educate their children in the way they thought right. On motion of Hon. Mr. Gray, the debate was adjourned.

10.—On the 22nd the debate was resumed by the Hon. Colonel Gray, who said that he had been struck by the kindly feelings which existed between Ontario and Quebec, when they existed

Hon. Mr. Gray's  
Amendment to Mr.  
Costigan's motion.

as the old Province of Canada, on religious as well as other questions; and he attributed it to the fact of their being allowed to settle their differences their own way amongst themselves, without outside influence being brought to bear on them. This, he argued, was the best plan and should be adopted towards New Brunswick. The people there should be left to settle their differences without any interference by the Dominion Government; if there were any grievances to redress the Local Legislature was the proper place to redress them, and he had no doubt but that the people would be better satisfied in the end than if any outside influence was used. He entered at length into the question of the constitutionality of the Act, arguing that it was quite within the power of the Local Legislature to pass it, and that it should not be disturbed by the Dominion Parliament. He concluded by offering an amendment, so as to make the motion read: "That it is essential to the peace and prosperity of the Dominion of Canada, that the constitutional rights of the several Provinces should be in no way impaired by the order of this Parliament; that the Law

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passed by the Local Legislature of New Brunswick, respecting Common Schools is strictly within the limits of its constitutional powers, and is amenable to be repealed or altered by the Local Legislature, should it prove injurious or unsatisfactory in its operation; that not having yet been in force six months, and no injurious consequences to the Dominion having been shown to result therefrom, this House does not deem it proper to interfere with the advice that may be tendered to His Excellency the Governor-General by the responsible Ministers of the Crown, respecting the New Brunswick School Law."

11.—Hon. Mr. Chauveau said that the two main points which the House had to consider were, whether it had the power to do what was asked of it, and whether what was asked of it was right. He held that the spirit of the British North America Act was to maintain the *status quo* of the minorities in the several Provinces; and that if the New Brunswick School Act was not unconstitutional it was the next thing to it, as it was a violation of the spirit if not of the letter, of the British North America Act. He contended that non-sectarian schools was as repugnant to Catholics as Catholic schools were to Protestants; and that wherever they had been tried—in Ontario, in Ireland, in Prussia, and elsewhere—they had proved unsuccessful. Non-sectarian schools to Catholics meant no education at all, or an obligation to pay taxes to support schools they could not conscientiously send their children to, and having to pay again for other means of educating them. He admitted that it was a grave responsibility for the Dominion Parliament to undertake to veto an Act of a Local House, but the Act perpetrated a grievous wrong, and of two evils he considered the veto was the lesser. He concluded by moving, in amendment to the amendment, that all after the first word, "That," be struck out and the following substituted: "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will be pleased to cause an Act to be passed amending the British North America Act, 1867, in the

sense which this House believes to have been intended at the time of the passage of the said Act, by providing that every religious denomination in the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, shall continue to possess all such rights, advantages, and privileges, with regard to their schools, as such denomination enjoyed in such Province at the time of the passage of the said last-mentioned Act, to the same extent as if such rights advantages and privileges had been then duly established by law." Hon. Mr. Smith, (Westmoreland) said that the question was such an important one to New Brunswick, that the members from that Province ought to have an opportunity for consulting together, and he, therefore, moved an adjournment of the debate, which was agreed to.

12.—On the 29th the debate was resumed by the Hon. Mr. Smith (Westmoreland), who deprecated any attempt to alter the constitution of the country. Continuation of the debate. He said that he had opposed Confederation, but since the measure had been carried he had given it his support, and the principal reason he had done so, and the people of New Brunswick had done so, was that he and they had felt confidence in the stability of the measure, confidence that under the Act of Union the rights of the weaker Provinces would be respected and maintained; but if the constitution was to be changed whenever political necessity required, then confidence in the constitution would be gone, and the stronger Provinces could infringe on the rights of the weaker ones whenever they pleased. He warned the House that the people of New Brunswick were already greatly excited on this subject, and that any attempt of the House to interfere with the right of the Local Legislature to manage its own affairs might lead to serious consequences. Mr. Colby regretted that the question of religion should have been introduced into Dominion politics, as it was the question from which Confederation had most to fear, but as it had been introduced the House was obliged to deal with it. He could neither agree with the motion of the honorable member from

Hon. Mr. Chauveau's  
Amendment to the  
Amendment.

Victoria (Mr. Costigan) that the veto power should be exercised, nor could he agree with the amendment of the Premier of Quebec (Hon. Mr. Chauveau) to appeal to the Imperial Parliament, as the veto power should only be used in very extreme cases where a Local Legislature had clearly violated the constitution, and it would be very dangerous to establish the precedent of appeal to the Imperial Parliament whenever a difficulty arose; but, he thought that a course might be found on which both Protestants and Catholics could unite, which was to express a regret that the Act had been passed, and a hope that any substantial grievance that existed would be redressed by the Legislature whose special function it was to act in the matter. He would therefore move, in the event of the amendment of the Premier of Quebec (Hon. Mr. Chauveau) being either withdrawn or defeated, an amendment to the effect that, "This House regrets that the school Act recently passed in New Brunswick is unsatisfactory to a portion of the inhabitants of that Province, and hopes that it may be so modified during the next session of the Legislature of New Brunswick, as to remove any just grounds of discontent that now exist." Mr. Costigan said that before proceeding any further he would like to ask whether the Government intended to support the amendment of the Premier of Quebec. Sir John A. Macdonald said, on behalf of the Government, that he fully recognized and appreciated the motives of his honorable friend from Quebec in so framing his amendment as to relieve the Government from some embarrassment, but they (the Government) thought that a motion such as that suggested by the honorable member for Stanstead (Mr. Colby) was most likely to conduce to the public interest, and they would, therefore, support that amendment when offered.

13.—Mr. Costigan said that it had been generally believed that the Government had intended to accept the amendment of the member for Quebec, and it had been so announced by the Government press; but if it was not their intention

to do so, then he (Mr. Costigan) would not accept it as he would have been willing to do if the Government had supported it. He characterised the proposed amendment of the member for Stanstead (Mr. Colby) as very weak and unsatisfactory, and asked if the House had no right to veto the Act of the New Brunswick Legislature, what right had it to express regret that it had been passed, and hope that it would be amended? He claimed that pressure had been brought to bear on the Government to make them change their minds, and that pressure had not come from Ontario or Quebec, but from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The member for Westmoreland (Hon. Mr. Smith) had said that if the Constitution was altered it would cause a revolution in New Brunswick; he (Mr. Costigan) stood as the advocate of the rights of one-third of the population of New Brunswick, and he could tell them that if the just plea of the Catholics for fair play was not granted, if after exhausting every reasonable means they failed to convince the good sense of the Dominion of the justness of their claims, there would be no revolution. The wound would sink deep into their hearts, but they would bear it with patience and fortitude, and there need be no talk of revolution. He had hoped that the Government would have accepted the amendment of the member for Quebec, but as they would not it would be useless, even if it were carried, and therefore he should vote against it. Hon. Mr. Chauveau wished to explain that he had no intention by his resolution to amend the constitution, but simply to remove a doubt as to the construction to be put upon it. Hon. Mr. Macdougall argued that there was no ground for disallowance; he considered that the amendment of Mr. Chauveau would establish a dangerous precedent, and that that suggested by Mr. Colby would amply meet the requirements of the case, therefore, he would support it when offered. Mr. Joly held that religious education was essential to the happiness of a country, and if this was admitted, it must be seen at once that it was impossible not to have Separate Schools in a mixed community. He believed

Defeat of Hon. Mr.  
Chauveau's  
amendment.

to accept the amendment of the member for Quebec, and it had been so announced by the Government press; but if it was not their intention

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that the right of the minority to educate their children as they pleased should be as zealously guarded as that of the majority. Hon. Mr. Anglin, Messrs. Bolton, McKeagney, Killam, Connell and Ryan also spoke, after which Hon. Mr. Chauveau's amendment was put and lost. Yeas, 34; Nays, 126.

14.—Mr. Colby then moved the amendment of which he had given notice (see paragraph 12).

Amendment proposed by Mr. Colby adopted.

Mr. Dorion said that the amendment acknowledged that injustice had been done and expressed regret, but afforded no relief. He believed that the veto power was reserved to meet just such cases, and he thought that the Government ought to use it. He would vote against the amendment as he thought it an empty and meaningless motion which would be regarded as an impertinence by the Legislature of New Brunswick, and it would be of no practical use to the minority. Hon. Mr. Blake said that he had studied the question of the New Brunswick School Law, and confessed not being very well satisfied as to its constitutionality; the opinion of the Minister of Justice may be correct, and he was not sure that it was not, but on the other hand there were circumstances which made him doubtful about it. He then at considerable length reviewed the old School Law of New Brunswick holding that although Denominational Schools were not mentioned by name, denominational teaching was clearly recognized, and he regretted that the Local Legislature had taken away that right to denominational teaching by inserting a clause in the new Act that all schools should be non-sectarian. He thought that the remedy proposed, amending the constitution, was a most dangerous one, and should not be resorted to; but he suggested that the fourth sub-section of section ninety-three of the British North America Act provided a means whereby the Parliament of Canada may pass remedial laws, under certain circumstances, and he would like to have the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in England as to whether the School Law lately passed by the New Brunswick Legislature came under the provision

of that sub-section or not. If it did, and the Local Legislature failed to give the relief required, then it would be competent for the House to deal with the question and to pass any remedial law. He concluded by saying that his friend the member for Lambton would move an amendment to that effect later on. Mr. Wallace (New Brunswick) argued that Parliament had no power to interfere with the Provincial rights of New Brunswick, and he considered the amendment just voted down an insult to that Province. A division was then taken on Mr. Colby's amendment which was carried. Yeas 117; Nays 42.

15.—Hon. Mr. Dorion said that the motion just adopted was only meant to gloss over the difficulty by which the Government was menaced by a direct vote on the motion of the member for Victoria (Mr. Costigan); and that in order to bring the matter back as near as possible to the original motion, he would move that the following words be added: "And this House further regrets that to allay such well grounded discontent, His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to disallow the School Act of 1871, passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick." Sir John A. Macdonald thanked the mover for his manliness in moving a straight vote of want of confidence. Mr. Anglin hoped that every member would consider that he was choosing between relief to an oppressed minority and the convenience of the Government. Mr. Costigan said that he had not intended a vote of want of confidence by his original motion; but the Government had done its best to defeat his object, and he should be obliged, reluctantly, to vote a want of confidence. A vote was then taken, and Hon. Mr. Dorion's amendment defeated. Yeas, 38; Nays, 117. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said he was not satisfied that the Catholics of New Brunswick had been fairly dealt with in the School Bill; nor was he quite sure that the Government would be justified in disallowing the Act. There was room for considerable doubt in the matter, and he would, therefore, move in amendment that

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's amendment. The motion as finally adopted.

the following words be added: "And that this House deems it expedient, that the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in England, and if possible the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be obtained as to the right of the New Brunswick Legislature to make such changes in the School Law as deprived the Roman Catholics of the privileges they enjoyed at the time of the Union, in respect of religious education in the Common Schools, with the view of ascertaining whether the case comes within the terms of the fourth sub-section of the ninety-third clause of the British North America Act, 1867, which authorizes the Parliament of Canada to enact remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions respecting Education in the said Act." Sir John A. Macdonald agreed to the amendment, and said it was for the benefit of all parties that the question should be set at rest, for the Catholics to know exactly how they stood under the new law, and for the Protestants to know whether that law was constitutional or not. He took it that the case to be submitted should be satisfactory to the Government of New Brunswick and also to those who were opposed to the law. Mr. Mackenzie's amendment was then carried, and the main motion adopted. The main motion as finally adopted reads as follows: "That this House regrets that the School Act recently passed in New Brunswick is unsatisfactory to a portion of the inhabitants of that Province, and hopes that it may be so modified during the next session of the Legislature of New Brunswick, as to remove any just grounds of discontent that now exist; and that this House deems it expedient that the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in England, and if possible the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, should be obtained as to the right of the New Brunswick Legislature to make such changes in the School Law as deprived the Roman Catholics of the privileges they enjoyed at the time of the Union in respect of religious education in the Common Schools, with the view of ascertaining whether the case comes within the terms of the fourth sub-section of the ninety-third clause of

the British North America Act, 1867, which authorizes the Parliament of Canada to enact remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions respecting Education in the said Act." The reference of the question to the Law Officers of the Crown had the effect of temporarily quieting the excitement in New Brunswick, and the other Provinces where it was regarded as one of the leading questions of the day; and both sides were content to wait patiently until the case had been submitted and an opinion obtained. What that opinion was and what further action was taken will be recorded in a future chapter.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR — THE PACIFIC RAILWAY BILL, 1872.

1. THE "FATHER" OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.—2. INCEPTION OF THE CANADA PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.—3. THE INTER-OCEANIC COMPANY.—4. CHARTERS GRANTED BOTH COMPANIES.—5. THE GOVERNMENT BILL.—6. HON. MR. MACKENZIE'S OBJECTIONS.—7. DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTIONS.—8. AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MACDONALD (GLENGARRY).—9. HON. MR. MACKENZIE'S AMENDMENT.—10. THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.—11. AMENDMENTS LOCATING THE TERMINUS LOST.—12. ANOTHER AMENDMENT BY MR. MACKENZIE DEFEATED.—13. SIR JOHN'S EXPLANATION.—14. MR. MACKENZIE'S AMENDMENT REGARDING FREE GRANT LANDS.—15. THE BILL PASSED.

1.—The terms on which British Columbia was admitted to the Union, required that that Province should be connected with the other portions of the Dominion by a railway, to be commenced in two years after the date of

The "Father" of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Union, and completed in ten; and the resolutions adopted in Parliament provided that the work should be done by an incorporated Company, assisted by a subsidy from the Government, and not as a public work. The Opposition made it one of their strong points against the Bill admitting British Columbia that no Company would be found either able or willing to undertake the work, and that the result would be that the Government would be compelled to construct the road itself, in order that faith may be kept with British Columbia; it was found, however, that after the terms were actually agreed to and it was positively determined that the road must be built, that there was no lack of Companies willing to undertake the work. The first person to interest himself in the matter, and who should be known as the "Father" of the Canadian Pacific Railway, was Mr. Alfred Waddington,\* an English gentleman who had resided many years in British Columbia, and who was quite an enthusiast on the subject of a trans-continental railway through Canadian territory, which, he held, offered an easier and more practicable route than could be found in the United States.

2.—Mr. Waddington had devoted much time and money to surveys and explorations, and was, probably, the best informed man in Canada as to the possibilities of a Canadian railway, at the time that the Act of Union with British Columbia was passed. The Government surveys were commenced early in the summer of 1871—before the formal union had actually taken place,—and while they were in progress, Mr. Waddington had an interview with Sir John A. Macdonald and offered to propose a scheme for building the railway, in conjunction with a number of American capitalists whom he had interested with him in the proposed undertaking. The representatives of these capitalists, Messrs. G. W. McMullen and C. M. Smith, of Chicago, accompanied by Mr. Waddington, subsequently

had an interview with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Francis Hincks, some time in July, 1871, but were informed that the Government was not in a position to entertain any proposals at all, at that time. Shortly after Sir Francis Hincks met Sir Hugh Allan, and suggested to him that if American capitalists could see a good thing in the Canadian railway, surely Canadian capitalists could do so, and gave him a list of the names of the American capitalists which had been left with him by Mr. McMullen—amongst these names were Jay Cooke & Co., W. B. Ogden, General Cass, Thomas B. Scott, and other prominent capitalists, principally connected with the Northern Pacific Railway. Sir Hugh put himself in communication with some of these parties, and the result was that they entered into an agreement, under date 23rd December, 1871, for building the road, provided a charter could be obtained from the Canadian Government; and notice was given in the *Canada Gazette* that application would be made at the next session of Parliament for the incorporation of the Canada Pacific Railway Company, with a capital of \$10,000,000.

3.—While these negotiations were going on between Sir Hugh Allan and his American associates, Sir John A. Macdonald had suggested to some of his friends in Toronto the propriety of forming a Canadian Company,\* saying that if the Americans could make it pay Canadians could. The proposal was rather coldly received, and it was not until late in the fall of 1871, that the project was taken up with any degree of warmth, when Hon. Mr. Macpherson interested himself in it, and soon notice was given that application would be made to Parliament for the charter of

Inception of the  
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The Inter-Oceanic  
Company.

\* "I first communicated with several gentlemen in Ontario, principally in Toronto, endeavoring to enlist their interest in the enterprise. I told them that it was a great pity that a great work of this kind should be carried off by foreign competitors, and if American capitalists could make it a paying enterprise, surely Canadians could do so as well. I spoke to my friends and mentioned the fact that these American gentlemen had come and made this proposition. \* \* \* This I think added to the urgent request of myself on frequent occasions to a number of gentlemen in Toronto, induced I think the formation of the Inter-Oceanic Company. I had spoken to Mr. Macpherson, Mr. Howland, Mr. Cumberland, Mr. Worts, and a number of other gentlemen in Toronto to try to interest them in it, and the Company was formed."—Sir John A. Macdonald's evidence before the Royal Commission.

\* Mr. Waddington died of smallpox, at Ottawa, 26th February, 1872.



another Company, to be known as the Inter-Oceanic. These two Companies soon developed into direct rivalry. It was well known that Sir Hugh Allan had associated with him a number of Americans, and, as soon as it became known that these were the same parties interested in the Northern Pacific Railway—what was considered a rival road—the cry was raised that these parties were not entering the enterprise with any idea of building an entirely Canadian road, but of constructing a road in such a manner that it should act as a feeder to the Northern Pacific, and Canadian interests be sacrificed to American. So strong did this feeling grow that Sir Hugh Allan found it necessary to change his original plan, and drop all the American names, so that the Company appeared to be a purely Canadian one on the face of it—although he still kept up his connection with the Americans, and it was understood that they should retain their interest under Canadian names. Besides this cry against the introduction of American capital, there was also the old feeling of Provincial jealousy roused between Ontario and Quebec—the Inter-Oceanic being essentially an Ontario Company, while the Canada Pacific was quite as much a Quebec Company. Thus matters stood at the opening of the session of 1872; instead of having any difficulty about getting a Company to undertake the work, the Government had two ready to offer for it; and there seemed to be no reason to fear that the construction of the road would fall through for want of competent parties to undertake it.

4.—The Government offered no opposition to the incorporation of either Company, and they both obtained their charters on equal terms. These terms were that the capital should be \$10,000,000, in \$100 shares, and the Company should not be considered organized until all the stock was subscribed, and 10 per cent. paid in. Each Company was given power to enter into an agreement with the Government for building the Pacific Railway from some point in Ontario, near Lake Nipissing, to the Pacific coast; and power was also given for an extension from

the mainland terminus in British Columbia to Vancouver Island, and across that island to Barclay Sound; also for a branch to the St. Mary River between lakes Huron and Superior; one to Nipigon Bay or Thunder Bay; one from or near the Winnipeg River to the Lake of the Woods, and one from Fort Garry to Pembina or to some other point on the United States boundary; also a branch line in British Columbia to the United States frontier to connect with their railway system on the Pacific coast. Power was also given to build railway bridges across the St. Mary River and Johnson's Straits, and to own or charter and sail steam and other vessels on the inland waters along the route and on the Pacific Ocean.\*

5.—Although no opposition was made to the incorporation of these two Companies it was felt that the Government could not very well enter into an arrangement with either, as to have done so would have estranged the section represented by the other Company; and, therefore it was determined to pass a general Act giving the Governor-in-Council authority to enter into a contract with either of the chartered Companies, or with the two Companies amalgamated, or failing that to grant a charter to a new Company. On the 26th of April 1872, Sir George E. Cartier moved the House into Committee of the Whole on certain resolutions respecting the Pacific Railway. He explained that the terms of union with British Columbia required the road to be commenced in two years and completed in ten, and that surveys had already been commenced. He said that what the Government wanted was

Charters granted  
both companies.

both obtained their charters on  
equal terms.

\*The Provisional Directors of both Companies were Canadians, although, as we have said above, Sir Hugh Allan still maintained his connection with his American friends. The Provisional Directors were as follows:—

INTER-OCEANIC COMPANY.—Hon. D. L. Macpherson; Hon. W. McMaster; Hon. Frank Smith; Hon. John Simpson; Hon. John Carling; Hon. D. E. Price; Hon. I. Thibault; Hon. C. F. Cornwall; Hon. James Macdonald; Hon. J. Sutherland. Messrs. Walter Shanly; D. Thompson, M.P.; F. W. Cumberland; D. D. Calvin; J. G. Worts; W. H. Howland; A. Brown; D. Torrance; A. Thompson; J. Starr; T. Kenny; E. Russell; C. H. Fairweather; N. J. Randolph; J. Boyd.

CANADA PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.—Sir Hugh Allan; Sir Edward Kenny; Hon. James Skene; Hon. J. J. C. Abbott; Hon. A. B. Foster; Hon. D. Christie; Hon. G. Oimier; Hon. J. J. Ross, Messrs. D. A. Smith; W. Nathan; E. R. Barpee; A. Allan; D. McFane; L. Beaubien; C. F. Gildersleeve; J. B. Remud; E. Kersteman; E. Chiné.

authority from Parliament to agree with any Company empowered to make the road from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Coast, and to undertake the working of it when completed; and as the Government might not be able to make an agreement with one Company for the whole road, it was proposed that they should have power to enter into agreements with several Companies for parts. It was necessary for the Government to be protected against the possibility of a combination of Companies to demand their own price, and, therefore it was desired that they should have threefold power; 1st, to deal with a Company having a capital of \$10,000,000, with ten per cent. paid up; 2nd, to deal with an amalgamated Company; and 3rd, that the Government should be open to receive tenders from capitalists, and afterwards grant them a charter, on the principles of the General Railway Act. With regard to the assistance to be given by the Government, he said that it could not be expected that any Company, however wealthy, could build the road without assistance; and it was therefore proposed that the Government should have power to grant a quantity of land, not exceeding 50,000,000 acres, to be given in alternate blocks, twenty miles square on each side of the line, the alternate blocks reserved by the Government to be held for sale hereafter to reimburse the Government for the money subsidy it was proposed to give, which would be about \$30,000,000. These figures were the outside limit, but it did not necessarily follow that the Government would give the whole amount of either money or land. He dwelt on the fact of there being every likelihood of the money being eventually reimbursed from the sale of the lands; but maintained that even without that, considering the guarantee that England had given, the financial condition of the country would warrant the outlay without increasing taxation, and still provide for a sinking fund which would pay off the debt in thirty-five or forty years. The Bill also made provision for two branch lines, one from the main line in Manitoba to connect with the American railway system, and another from the main line to Lake

Superior. It was not proposed to pay any money subsidy for these branch lines, but to make such a land grant as may be agreed on between the Company and the Government.

6.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie maintained that the Pacific Railway could not be built in the time specified, and said he did not believe that even the Govern-<sup>Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's objections.</sup>ment expected that it would be. He said that the practical effect of the Bill would be to enable the Government to do anything it pleased in the construction of the Railway, and characterized the two Companies seeking incorporation as two "rings" who were making some efforts at amalgamation so that there might be "one great body to share the plunder that might fairly be expected from the construction of the work." He pointed out that the assumed length of the road was taken at 2,700 miles and the land subsidy based on that, but it was not taken into account that the road for several hundred miles ran through Ontario, where the Dominion Government had no lands to give away, and he wanted to know where the lands were to be taken from to make up this deficiency. It had been estimated by those competent to judge that there was only between forty-five and sixty-five millions of acres of good land in the North West, and if so much was given to the Company there would be very little left for settlement. He held that the settlement of the country was the most important point to be gained, and that of all means of settling a country giving the lands to a Railway Company was about the worst. With regard to the Imperial guarantee he said that he looked upon the acquirement of that small sum as "one of the smallest and most beggarly features of the whole subject."

7.—The resolutions were debated at length on the 7th of May, and several amendments suggested by the Opposition.<sup>Debate on the resolutions.</sup> On the twenty-first, on the motion to adopt the resolutions, Sir George E. Cartier said that the Government had decided to accept the suggestion of the member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) that the money sub-

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sily should be paid in instalments from time to time as the work progressed; and, also, his suggestion with regard to the lands to be granted for the Manitoba and Lake Nipigon branches, the grant to the former branch would be restricted to 20,000 acres to the mile, and for the latter to 25,000. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie objected to commencing the work on such very insufficient information. It was promised that the terminus should be on the South-West side of Lake Nipissing, but the little information they had showed that many serious engineering difficulties may be expected, and it was impossible that any Company could make any intelligent offer without knowing what they would really have to do. He thought that there was no necessity for hurrying on the road without proper surveys; and that it would be a fatal mistake to force on the work while there was no particular object to be accomplished, and no population to be accommodated. He thought it was unwise in principle that the Government should be allowed absolute control of so vast a sum as \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land; and held it to be essential that all contracts should receive the sanction of Parliament. Sir George E. Cartier said that the honorable member for Lambton (Mr. Mackenzie) had found fault with the Government scheme, but had suggested nothing in its place. He (Sir George) held that the scheme was a safe and comprehensive one. Mr. Young regarded the scheme as a leap in the dark, and had no expectation that the road would be completed for anything like the subsidies named. He objected to the extraordinary powers asked for by the Government, and protested against the Company being given the opportunity to lock up such a vast quantity of land. Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Cumberland supported the resolutions, and Mr. Anglin opposed them; and the House went into Committee, and reported the resolutions with amendments \*

\* The resolutions are as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to provide that a Railway, to be called The Canadian Pacific Railway, be constructed in pursuance of and in conformity with the agreement made between the Dominion and the Province of British Columbia and embodied in the Order of the Queen-

8.—On the motion of Sir George E. Cartier that the resolutions be read a second time, Mr. Macdonald (Glengarry) moved in amendment, "That the resolutions be not now read the second time, but that they be recommitted to the Committee of the Whole with instructions to provide that the route to be adopted for the

Amendment offered by Mr. Macdonald (Glengarry).

in Council admitting the said Province into the Union, under the 14th section of the British North America Act, 1867.

2. *Resolved*, That such Railway shall extend from some point on or near Lake Nipissing, to some point on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, the course and line thereof to be subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council.

3. *Resolved*, That the whole line of such Railway be constructed and worked by one Company, to be approved of and agreed with by the Governor-in-Council, and be commenced within two years and completed within ten years from the admission of British Columbia into the Dominion.

4. *Resolved*, That the Land Grant to such Company to secure the construction and working of the Railway, shall not exceed 50,000,000 acres, in blocks of twenty miles in depth on each side of the line of the Railway in Manitoba, the North-West Territories and British Columbia, alternating with blocks of like depth reserved for the Government of the Dominion, and to be sold by it, and the proceeds of such sale applied towards reimbursing to the Dominion the sums expended by it on the construction of the said Railway;—such lands to be granted from time to time as any portion of the Railway is completed, in proportion to the length, difficulty of construction and cost of such portion; and in Ontario such land grant to be subject to the arrangement which may be made in that behalf by the Government of the Dominion with the Government of that Province: Provided that if the total quantity of land in the alternate blocks to be so granted to the Company, should be less than 50,000,000 acres, then the Government may, in its discretion, grant to the Company such additional quantity of land elsewhere as will make up, with such alternate blocks, a quantity not exceeding 50,000,000 acres; and in the case of such additional grant, a quantity of land elsewhere equal to such additional grant shall be reserved and disposed of by the Government for the same purposes as the alternate blocks to be reserved as aforesaid by the Government on the line of the Railway.

5. *Resolved*, That the subsidy or aid in money to be granted to such Company be such sum not exceeding \$30,000,000 in the whole as may be agreed upon between the Government and the Company: the Company allowing the cost of the surveys of the line in 1871-72, as part of such subsidy;—and that the Governor-in-Council be authorized to raise by loan such sum as may be required to pay such subsidy.

6. *Resolved*, That the gauge of the Railway be four feet eight inches and a half; and the grades, materials and mode of construction such as the Government and Company shall agree upon.

7. *Resolved*, That the Government may make such agreement as aforesaid with any Company approved by the Governor-in-Council, and being incorporated with power to construct a Railway, on a line approved by him, from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean;—or, that if there be two or more such Companies having power singly or together, to construct such Railway, they may unite as one Company, and such agreement may be made with the united Company;—or, that if there be no such Company with whom the Government deems it advisable to make such agreement and there be persons able and willing to form such Company, the Government may by Charter incorporate them, and make such agreement with the Company so incorporated.

8. *Resolved*, That the Government may further agree with the Company with whom such agreement as aforesaid shall have been made, to construct and work a Branch line of Railway, from some point on the main line in Manitoba to some point on the boundary line between that Province and the United States to connect with the system of railways in the said States;—and another Branch line from some point on the main line to some point on Lake Superior in British Territory; and that such Branch lines shall be deemed part of the said Canadian Pacific Railway, and a land grant in aid thereof may be made by the Government to such extent as may be agreed upon between the Government and the Company.

Pacific Railway, shall be subject to the approval of Parliament, so as not to leave at the discretion of the Governor-in-Council the final determination of the location of a railway, towards the building of which it is proposed to give \$30,000,000 of the public funds, and 50,000,000 acres of the public lands." He said that in the case of the Intercolonial he had voted that the question of route should be left to the Government, and he now very much regretted that he had done so, and was not prepared to repeat the mistake. He claimed that the location of the Intercolonial was one of the greatest blunders ever committed; and held that the location of the Pacific road should be submitted to the House before the contract was given out. The amendment was lost on division. Yeas, 39; Nays, 83.

9.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said that the powers proposed to be conferred upon the Government were extravagant and dangerous; that it was a bad feature of the system of Government which had been introduced, that the House should be asked to delegate its power in this matter to the Ministry, and that if the resolutions were passed the House would be abdicating its functions, and submitting to the Government of the day questions over which it should retain the control. He moved, in amendment, "That the said Resolutions be not now read the second time, but that they be recommitted to a Committee of the Whole, with instructions to provide, that all proposed contracts before being entered upon shall be submitted to, and receive the approval of, Parliament,—and to expunge that portion which authorizes the Governor-in-Council to charter a Company to construct this Railway, without the sanction of Parliament." The amendment was lost on division: Yeas, 39; Nays, 82.

10.—Mr. Young moved, seconded by Mr. Macdougall (Renfrew), "That the said Resolutions be not now read the second time, but that the fourth Resolution be referred back to a Committee of the Whole, to provide that no engagement shall be entered into with any Company which will

prevent Parliament dealing with that part of the public lands not granted to the Company in such manner as the public interests may from time to time require, and so as not to leave in the hands of the Governor-in-Council the power of binding the country as to the disposition of 50,000,000 acres, an area equal to nearly six Provinces of the size of Manitoba." Hon. Mr. Anglin said that the amendment would have the effect of preventing the Company from selling its lands. As the House had pledged itself that lands should be granted, he did not think that that pledge should be hampered with a provision which would practically make the lands of no value to the Company. The amendment was lost—Yeas, 30; Nays, 86. The resolutions were then concurred in.

11.—On the 28th the resolutions were again considered in Committee and debated at length, some trifling amendments being agreed to by the Government. The discussion took the shape more of Provinces than party, the Ontario members generally trying to get the Government to agree that the terminus of the road should be definitely settled at some point South and West of Lake Nipissing, which would have been most favorable to Ontario as offering the easiest connection with her railway system, whilst the Quebec members advocated the Northern route as most favorable to the interests of their Province. The Government tried to conciliate both sides as much as possible by agreeing that the terminus should be fixed on the south side, but could not make any more positive promise in the absence of definite surveys. On the resolutions coming up for concurrence on the 31st, Hon. Mr. Blake moved in amendment to the first clause, that after the words "such Railway shall extend from some point on or near Lake Nipissing, and on the South side thereof," the following should be added: "passing, if practicable, South and West of the said Lake," which was lost on division—Yeas, 51; Nays, 91. Hon. Mr. Dorion thought that the terminus should be fixed at the point which would be most advantageous

The Resolutions adopted.

Amendments locating the terminus lost.

to the whole Dominion, and give the shortest and cheapest route across the continent. He moved in amendment, "That the Bill be recommitted for the purpose of providing that the Eastern Terminus of the said Pacific Railway shall be at such point West of the Ottawa River as shall be found to afford the shortest practicable route from the Pacific Ocean to such Eastern Terminus, and not as provided in the Bill at some point South of Lake Nipissing;" which was lost on division—Yeas, 15; Nays, 125.\*

12.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said that the question of the terminus had been practically settled;

Another amendment  
by Hon. Mr.  
Mackenzie defeated.

but he attached much more importance to the provisions of the Bill, which he considered one of

the most dangerous ever passed by any Legislature. He maintained that the Bill was an encroachment on the functions of Parliament, and an attempt at a centralization of power in the hands of the Governor-in-Council, which would lead to other encroachments, and greatly diminish the independence and usefulness of Parliament. He knew that the excuse offered for this unusual assumption of power on the part of the Government was, that otherwise there would not be sufficient time in which to carry out their agreement with British Columbia; but, he held that nothing would be gained by this undue hurry. On the contrary, he believed that an unwise beginning was sure to lead to calamitous proceedings for many years. In his opinion the proper way was to have a thorough instrumental survey of the proposed route, which would take a year or two, and the road could then be proceeded with much more rapidly than under existing circumstances. He thought it was not wise for Government to proceed in this hurried manner, and in order to do so, to ask for powers such as no Government in this country ever had, he believed, asked for before. He was sure all the practice of Parliamentary government was opposed to the assumption of such power; and he was certain that, when the country fully understood the extent to which power was taken, they would come to see the great danger to our

institutions involved in this Bill. He thought it a most serious attack on Parliamentary rule that the Government of the day should assume to itself power to give to Orders-in-Council the validity and force of Acts of Parliament; and in order to test the sense of the House on this point, he moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. Holton, "That the Bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole, with instructions to amend such sections as give Governor-in-Council the power of granting to a Railway Company, a Charter possessing the authority and validity of an act of the Legislature, and also such sections as confer upon the Governor-in-Council authority to change an Act of Parliament, by expunging therefrom all such provisions, as the granting of such powers to the Executive, would be an abdication by Parliament of its proper functions, and involve the adoption into our political system of a principle at variance with Parliamentary Government."

13.—Sir John A. Macdonald said that he could not see that there was any usurpation of power on the part of the Government Sir J. A. Macdonald's explanation. involved in the Act. Parliament decided where the road began and ended; how much assistance in money and land, and no more, the Company should receive; and all that was left to the Government was to select the men to proceed with the road at once. He argued that if the matter was put off until the consent of Parliament could be obtained, it would involve a delay of nearly two years, and would make it impossible to carry out the terms agreed on with British Columbia. He wanted to know what was the difference between granting the Charter to the capitalists who had applied for incorporation, and granting it to another body of capitalists who had not yet applied? The object of the Government was to prevent such a combination of the Companies as might create a monopoly, as had been the case with the Atlantic Cable Companies. It was simply to prevent monopoly and keep these Companies in order, that the clause was inserted. The Government did not seek for any discretionary power over money or land; they only asked for such powers as were requisite



to decide, after a careful survey, which would be the best line for the railway, and who were the best capitalists to be entrusted with building it. After some debate, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's amendment was put and lost on division: Yeas, 52; Nays, 97.

14.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie then said that he desired to get an expression of opinion from the

Hon. Mr.  
Mackenzie's  
amendment with  
regard to Free Grant  
lands.

House on the subject of the land policy of the Government as conveyed in the Bill. He argued

that actual settlers ought to be allowed to enter upon the lands along the railway whether they were in the blocks reserved for the Government, or those given to the Company; and moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. Dorion, "That the Bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole with instructions so to amend the same as to provide that actual settlers may enter upon any unsold or unoccupied lands belonging either to the Company to be entrusted with the construction of the Railway, or to the Government in the alternate blocks reserved, on terms and conditions to be made; which terms and conditions should be subject to the approval of Parliament; and further to provide that nothing therein contained shall prevent provision being made for setting apart a portion of the land reserved by the Government, in the alternate blocks or elsewhere, as free grants to actual settlers." Sir John A. Macdonald said that the hon. gentleman had objected to the road because the country was not able to afford it, and now he wanted to take away the best security the country had to offer for building the road. It was all nonsense to suppose that the people of Canada were going to build the road for the comfort and convenience of emigrants from the Old Country, so that they may have a railroad running past their doors; there was plenty of land outside the twenty mile belt which would be given to settlers free, but this belt of twenty miles was looked on as the principal means of paying for the construction of the road, and it was ridiculous to propose to give it away. After a short discussion, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's amendment was lost on division. Yeas, 33; Nays, 101.

Hon. Mr. Wood then moved an amendment to the effect that the subsidy of money and land should be made by annual grants by Parliament, which was lost on division, and the amended Bill was then read a second time.

15.—On the Bill coming up for the third reading, on the first of June, Hon. Mr. Wood again moved his amendment

The Bill passed.  
Remarks.

that the subsidy to the Company should be made by annual grant by Parliament, which was negatived by a vote, 33 for, 100 against. Mr. Mills then moved in amendment, "That the said Bill be recommitted to a Committee of the Whole to make provision that the Government shall not have power to grant to any Company, which has amongst its shareholders a Member or Members of Parliament, the public monies and public lands set apart by this Bill for the construction of the Pacific Railway," which was lost on a division: Yeas, 42; Nays, 83. The Bill was then read a third time and passed. The bill was discussed in the Senate on the 6th and 7th of June, and a trifling amendment made to the third clause, which was agreed to by the House, on the 11th, and consent was given to the Bill on the 14th, when the House was prorogued. We have followed this Bill through step by step, very carefully to show the objections which were raised to it by the Opposition, as they have great bearing on what was afterwards known as "The Pacific Scandal." The gravamen of these objections was, that by abrogating its power of revision of all charters, before granting them, Parliament placed in the hands of the Government of the day the power to grant the Charter to such parties as they pleased, on what terms they liked; and the gravamen of the charges subsequently made by Hon. Mr. Huntington (2nd of April, 1873), was, that the fears entertained by the Opposition had been realized, and that the Government had used the power granted them to further their own ends, by granting the Charter to the parties who would give them the most money to be used in the General Elections.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—THE  
TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

1. THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON CAUSED BY THE ACTION OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT.—2. HON. MR. CAMPBELL'S MISSION TO ENGLAND IN 1870.—3. HON. MR. CAMPBELL'S REPORT. THE FENIAN INVASION.—4. HON. MR. CAMPBELL'S REPORT. THE FISHERIES.—5. PROPOSAL TO APPOINT A JOINT HIGH COMMISSION AGREED TO BY THE UNITED STATES.—6. THE PROPOSAL OF A COMMISSION WELL RECEIVED IN CANADA.—7. MEETING OF THE COMMISSIONERS AT WASHINGTON, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1871.—8. THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS DECLINE TO ACCEPT RECIPROCITY AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS.—9. THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS OFFER \$1,000,000 FOR THE RIGHT TO USE THE FISHERIES FOR EVER.—10. RECIPROCITY IN COAL, SALT AND FISH OFFERED.—11. THE BASIS OF AN ARRANGEMENT FINALLY ARRIVED AT. AND ARTICLES 18 TO 25 AGREED TO.—12. REMARKS ON THE TERMS AGREED ON.—13. NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE. TRANSPORTATION IN BOND, &C. ARTICLES 26 TO 33.—14. THE SAN JUAN BOUNDARY QUESTION. ARTICLES 34 TO 42.—15. CANADA'S CLAIMS TO INDEMNITY FOR FENIAN RAIDS REJECTED BY THE COMMISSIONERS.

1.—It is a curious fact that to Canada England owes the settlement of a question which had for eight years been a troublesome one to her and had almost led her into war with the United States, and that it was due to the action of the Canadian Ministry that those negotiations were instituted which resulted in the Treaty of Washington of 1871, and the establishment of the precedent of settling by Arbitration such important matters as the "Alabama" claims, and other questions between the two Nations which the diplomatists of the two countries had found it impossible to satisfactorily arrange after years of voluminous correspondence on the subjects,

The Treaty of  
Washington caused  
by the action of the  
Canadian  
Government.

and the opening and breaking off of many negotiations. Of course, we do not say that the idea of submitting the settlement of the "Alabama" claims, to a board of Arbitrators originated with the Canadian Government—that honor belongs to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, United States Minister to Great Britain, by whom it was first mooted; but the proposal was not then entertained by the English Government, and it was only after the Canadian Government had suggested to the British Government that the questions at issue between Canada and the United States—the Fisheries and the indemnity for Fenian Raids—should be submitted to Arbitration, that the idea of submitting all the questions at issue between the two countries, including the "Alabama" claims, was renewed, and that action followed which led to the Treaty of Washington and the various Commissions incident to that treaty, for the settlement of the different outstanding differences between the two Governments. Perhaps it would have been more advantageous to Canada if the questions which affected Imperial interests could have been kept distinct from those which were of Colonial interest only, and the subject of the depredations of Southern cruisers, in which Canada had no share or part, not mixed up with the Fenian Raids claims and the right of Canada to her own fisheries; but, as an integral part of the Empire we had, of course, an interest in all that affected the Empire at large, and if our individual interest suffered a little, we had to console ourselves with the reflection that it was for the general peace and well being of the whole Empire at large.

2.—The continued encroachments of United States fishermen into Canadian waters, and the open encouragement given to Fenian filibusters by the people, if not by the Government of the United States, had caused so much ill-feeling and dissatisfaction in Canada that the Government felt that it was necessary that a strong effort should be made to have these questions definitely and satisfactorily settled. Accordingly,

Hon. Mr. Campbell's  
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on the 9th of June, 1870, an Order-in-Council was adopted to the effect that it was expedient that a member of the Privy Council should proceed to England and have a personal interview with members of Her Majesty's Government on "the proposed withdrawal of Imperial troops from Canada; the question of fortifications; the recent invasion of Canadian Territory by citizens of the United States, and the previous threats and hostile preparations which compelled the Government to call out the Militia, and to obtain the consent of Parliament to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; the systematic trespasses on Canadian fishing grounds by United States fishermen, and the unsettled question as to the limits within which foreigners can fish under the Treaty of 1818."\* By the same order the Hon. Alexander Campbell, Postmaster-General, was appointed as the member of the Privy Council to consult with Her Majesty's Ministers, and he sailed for England shortly after. Owing to the death of Lord Clarendon, and the consequent appointment of the Earl of Kimberley to the Colonial Secretaryship, there was some little delay in Hon. Mr. Campbell's completing his mission, and it was not until the end of July that he succeeded in arriving at an understanding with the Colonial Secretary on the different subjects brought under his notice. What his understanding was will be best arrived at by quoting from the report of the Hon. Mr. Campbell to Sir John Young, under date 10th September, 1870, and from Lord Kimberley's despatch, under date 27th July, 1870, taking the four subjects, Fenian raids; Withdrawal of the troops; Fisheries, and Fortifications, as dealt with in Hon. Mr. Campbell's report.

3.—On the question of indemnity for Fenian invasions, Hon. Mr. Campbell urged the amount of loss, trouble and expense to which Canada had for many years been put by the Fenian marauders, "that these men were American citizens, many of them not even Irish by descent;

that they were enlisted, armed, and drilled in the large cities of the Union, under the orders of a Fenian Congress and Executive assuming the pretensions of a Government, the drilling occasionally even taking place in company with Militia Corps, under officers believed to hold commissions under the Government of the United States, the United States journals of the day giving the fullest publicity to everything which was being done." He then dwelt at some length on the raid of 1866, and the claim for indemnity made by Messrs. Macdonald and Cartier on that account; on the raid of 1870, and the constant state of excitement in which the country had been kept, and the expense to which it had been put, and concluded as follows: "We thought a very strong case might be made out for a demand for indemnity from the United States. Messrs. Cartier and Macdonald had asked that such a demand should be made with reference to the loss sustained in 1866, and we considered that we were entitled to ask for indemnity in reference to all the expenditure that had been since caused to us by the Fenians. Failing the obtaining of such an indemnity from the United States, we thought the Empire should join with Canada in meeting the losses; the Fenian difficulties were not of our creating, but grew out of real or imaginary wrongs that the Empire had in the past inflicted on Ireland, and we were fighting battles which were not ours but those of the Empire. We were quite ready as a portion of the Empire to bear our share of these or any other troubles in which the country might be involved, but it was not fair that we should be allowed to suffer alone for all the losses and consequences of the Imperial Acts or policy which were complained of, and I strongly urged that for the past and the future, should any further Fenian troubles arise, the Empire, as a whole, should bear the burden of resisting such attacks, and that Canada should only contribute as a portion of the Empire." In his despatch to Sir John Young, Lord Kimberley says on this head: "Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered what steps it would be advisable to take in this

Hon. Mr. Campbell's report. The Fenian invasions.

\* Extract from a Report of a Committee of the Privy Council, 9th June, 1870.

matter, and I have to advise you that they are of opinion that in the first instance your Ministers should draw up a full and authentic statement of the facts and of the claims which they found upon them. This statement should be transmitted by you to Her Majesty's Government, in order that it may be laid by them before the Government of the United States, and I need scarcely say that whilst it should contain everything which is material to the case, it should be a document of such a character, as may properly be communicated to the Government of a State with which Her Majesty is on terms of amity." Nothing is said in this despatch about the claim set up by Hon. Mr. Campbell that, failing redress from the United States, the whole Empire should become liable for the Fenian losses and not Canada alone; but in his report Hon. Mr. Campbell says that His Lordship promised "he would consider it himself and obtain early consideration of it by his colleagues, letting the Canadian Government know what view was taken."

4.—It is not necessary to dwell on the subject of the withdrawal of the troops, which has been already dealt with (Chapter xvii; par. 6), nor with the Loan for Fortifications, the Act guaranteeing which was passed by the Imperial Parliament; we will therefore, proceed to the only other question Hon. Mr. Campbell had to deal with, namely, the fisheries. Hon. Mr. Campbell in his report says on this head: "I urged upon Lord Kimberley, the great importance to Canada of the fisheries, which employed a large number of seamen, and had many collateral pursuits and industries dependent upon them. We possessed the whole of the herring and mackerel fisheries on the western side of the Atlantic, the Americans having no in-shore fisheries of any great value. This possession was of the first importance to us, and we felt exceedingly anxious that it should be maintained in accordance with treaty rights. Induced by a strong sense of the responsibility involved in the matter, and out of deference to Imperial views, we had proposed, in 1865, the License System; we had given every possible

Hon. Mr. Campbell's  
report. The Fisheries.

opening in this direction, at a sacrifice of our immediate interests in order that our affairs might not tend to endanger the peace of the Empire. This system had been continued to the present year, and we were satisfied that no advantageous results would be obtained from it. Lord Kimberley admitted that the time had come when Canadians might reasonably expect that the state of things anterior to the Reciprocity Treaty should be reverted to, or that some other definite arrangement with the Americans, on this subject, should be arrived at. He added that he was glad that I had not mixed up the two questions of Reciprocity and the Fisheries, because he saw no reason to expect a renewal of that treaty; he agreed, he said, that the Fisheries question should be treated by itself. I said that we in Canada had arrived at similar conclusions. The policy of conciliation had been fully tried, and we ceased to expect anything from the Americans from it. We thought the only course now open to us was to ask the Imperial Government to fall back upon the rights which we enjoyed and maintained anterior to the Reciprocity Treaty, and I was directed to request this at the hands of the Government. Lord Kimberley said there might be some difference with regard to the interpretation of the Treaty as to Bays. I replied that we thought it clear upon that point, but that the suggestion made by Mr. Adams, in 1866, and adopted by Lord Clarendon, to have a joint commission to settle on the ground the line within which, under the Treaty, exclusive fishing was to be enjoyed would be a satisfactory mode, as far as the Canadian Government was concerned, of disposing of any difficulty which might exist as to the interpreting of the Treaty as regards Bays; but I urged that should a Commission be appointed a representative from Canada should be upon it, and that its sittings should be held in America, and if possible in Ottawa or Halifax." Lord Kimberley, in his dispatch says: "On this point (the protection of Canadian fisheries) I concur with your Ministers, that it would be desirable that the questions which have been so long in dispute with the United States, as to

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the geographical limits of the exclusive fishing rights of Canada under the Treaty of 1818, should be settled by a joint British and American Commission on which the Dominion should be represented. Her Majesty's Government will propose to the United States Government the appointment of such a Commission."

5.—On the 26th of January, 1871, Sir Edward Thornton, British Minister at Washington, by direction of Earl Granville, addressed a letter to the Hon.

Proposal to appoint a Joint High Commission agreed to by the United States.

Hamilton Fish, Secretary of

State of the United States, proposing the appointment of a Joint High Commission, to hold its sessions at Washington, to "treat of and discuss the mode of settling the different questions which have arisen out of the Fisheries, as well as all those which affect the relations of the United States towards Her Majesty's Possessions in North America." Mr. Fish replied, under date 30th January, 1871, that the President approved of the proposal to appoint a Joint High Commission on the Fisheries question; but was of opinion "that the removal of the differences which arose during the rebellion in the United States, and which have existed since then, growing out of the acts committed by the several armed vessels which have given rise to the claims generally known as the 'Alabama Claims,' will also be essential to the restoration of cordial and amicable relations between the two Governments," and, therefore, proposed "that this subject also may be treated of by the proposed High Commission." This proposition was at once telegraphed to Lord Granville; and Sir Edward Thornton advised Mr. Fish, under date 1st February, that he had been instructed to accept the proposal "provided that all other claims, both of British subjects and citizens of the United States, arising out of acts committed during the recent civil war in this country, are similarly referred to the same Commission." Mr. Fish, under date 3rd February, acceded to this "if there be other and further claims," and the preliminary proposals being thus made and agreed to, both sides proceeded to appoint

Commissioners at once, so that no time might be lost in the meeting of the Commissioners and the commencement of their labors.

6.—We have traced the early steps of the negotiations with reference to the appointment of a Joint High Commission

somewhat at length in order to show that although the initiative was taken by Canada, still the United States Government was not slow to accept the proposal, but took advantage of the offer to suggest that the scope of the Commission should be so enlarged that a question of vital Imperial interest should be introduced, and, therefore, take precedence of the one of almost purely Colonial interest; and the British Government was, also, very willing that all "pending questions between this country and the United States"\* should be submitted to the Commissioners, as by mixing all the "pending questions" up together a settlement of the "Alabama Claims" might be arrived at—a consummation which it did not appear at all likely would ever be reached as long as they were considered by themselves only. In other words, both Great Britain and the United States were very willing that the two questions of the Fisheries and the Alabama claims should be considered together, so that one may serve, as it were, as an offset to the other, and two troublesome questions settled at once—even if it was somewhat at the expense of Canada. The proposal of the appointment of a Joint High Commission was generally well received throughout Canada, for it was supposed that all questions at issue between Canada and the United States would be submitted, and that the Fenian claims would be considered as well as the Fisheries and other questions; but it will presently be seen that, although the proposition of Sir Edward Thornton was for a Commission to "discuss the mode of settling the different questions which have arisen out of the Fisheries, as well as all those which affect the relations of the United States towards Her

The proposal of a Commission well received in Canada.

\* Earl Granville's despatch to Sir Edward Thornton, 23rd February, 1871.



Majesty's Possessions in North America," the United States Commissioner declined to admit the question of the Fenian raids claims, and the British Commissioners yielded to the objection.

7.—The Commissioners on behalf of the United States were appointed by the President,

Meeting of the  
Commissioners at  
Washington 25th  
February, 1871.

under date 10th February, and those on behalf of Great Britain under date 16th, idem., and on both sides the appointees were gentlemen of approved and acknowledged ability and high standing in their respective countries. The American Commissioners were Messrs. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; Robert C. Schenck, United States Minister to Great Britain; Samuel Nelson, Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court; Ex-Judge E. R. Hoar of Massachusetts, and George H. Williams, of Oregon. On behalf of Great Britain the Commissioners were, Earl de Grey and Ripon, President of the Privy Council; Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P.; Sir Edward Thornton, British Minister at Washington; Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier of Canada; and Bernard Montague, Esq., Professor of International Law, in the University of Oxford. Lord Tenterden acted as Secretary to the British Commissioners, and Mr. J. C. Bancroft Davis, to the American. The first meeting was held on the 27th February, and the Commission adjourned from time to time, having thirty-seven sittings altogether, until the eighth of May, when the Treaty of Washington was signed. With that portion of the meetings, and of the Treaty, which refer to the settlement of the Alabama claims we do not propose to deal, confining ourselves to those articles of the Treaty which refer to Canada, and the discussions which arose on them, drawing our information from the protocols of the conferences drawn up by Lord Tenterden and Mr. J. C. Bancroft Davis, who were appointed Joint Protocolists.\* Of course,

\* We give below Articles 18 to 31 of the Treaty, being those which relate more particularly to Canada:

#### THE FISHERIES.

ARTICLE XVIII.—It is agreed by the High Contracting Parties that, in addition to the liberty secured to the United States' fishermen by the Convention between Great Britain and the United States, signed at London on the 29th day of October, 1818, of taking, curing, and drying fish on certain coasts of the British North American Colonies therein

the meetings of the Commissioners were private, and the result was only made known after the terms of the Treaty were agreed to.

8.—The Joint High Commission commenced the consideration of the Fisheries question on the 6th of March, when the British Commissioners announced that

The American  
Commissioners  
decline to accept  
Reciprocity as a  
basis for negotiations.

they were prepared to discuss the question of the Fisheries, either in detail or generally, so as either to enter into an examination of the respective rights of the two countries under the Treaty of 1818, and the general law of nations, or to come at once to

defined, the inhabitants of the United States shall have, in common with the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, the liberty, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this Treaty, to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish, on the sea-coasts and shores, and in the Bays, Harbours and Creeks of the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Colony of Prince Edward Island, and of the several islands thereto adjacent, without being restricted to any distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the said coasts and shores and islands, and also upon the Magdalen Islands, for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish; provided that, in so doing, they do not interfere with the rights of private property, or with British fishermen, in the peaceable use of any part of the said coasts in their occupancy for the same purpose. It is understood that the above-mentioned liberty applies solely to the sea fishery, and that the salmon and shad fisheries, and all other fisheries in rivers and the mouths of rivers, are hereby reserved exclusively for British fishermen.

ARTICLE XIX.—It is agreed by the High Contracting Parties that British subjects shall have, in common with the citizens of the United States, the liberty, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this Treaty, to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish, on the Eastern sea-coasts and shores of the United States north of the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude, and on the shores of the several islands thereunto adjacent, and in the Bays, Harbours and Creeks of the said sea-coasts and shores of the United States and of the said islands, without being restricted to any distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the said coasts of the United States and of the islands aforesaid, for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish; provided that, in so doing, they do not interfere with the rights of private property, or with the fishermen of the United States, in the peaceable use of any part of the said coasts in their occupancy for the same purpose. It is understood that the above-mentioned liberty applies solely to the sea fishery, and that salmon and shad fisheries, and all other fisheries in rivers and mouths of rivers are hereby reserved exclusively for fishermen of the United States.

ARTICLE XX.—It is agreed that the places designated by the Commissioners appointed under the first Article of the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, concluded at Washington on the 5th of June, 1851, upon the coasts of Her Britannic Majesty's Dominions and the United States as places reserved from the common right of fishing under that Treaty, shall be regarded as in like manner reserved from the common right of fishing under the preceding Articles. In case any question should arise between the Governments of Her Britannic Majesty and of the United States as to the common right of fishing in places not thus designated as reserved, it is agreed that a Commission shall be appointed to designate such places, and shall be constituted in the same manner, and have the same powers, duties, and authority as the Commission appointed under the said first Article of the Treaty of the 5th of June, 1851.

ARTICLE XXI.—It is agreed that, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this Treaty, fish-oil and fish of all kinds (except fish of the inland lakes and of the rivers falling into them, and except fish preserved in salt, being the produce of the fisheries of the Dominion of Canada, or of Prince Edward Island, or of the United States, shall be admitted into each country, respectively, free of duty.

a settlement of the question on a broad and comprehensive basis. The American Commissioners thought that it might save time and prevent useless discussion if it was first stated what basis would be satisfactory to the British Commissioners, if such a course should be adopted in preference to discussing the respective rights of both nations under the Treaty of 1818. To this the British Commissioners replied, that they thought the question may be fairly considered on the basis of a renewal of

the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. On the American Commissioners positively declining to accept the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, as a basis for negotiations, the British Commissioners suggested that, if any considerable modification were made in the Tariff arrangements of that Treaty, the coasting trade of the Dominion and the United States should be reciprocally thrown open, and also the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the use of Canadian canals. The American Commissioners objected to this

## COMPENSATION FOR FISHERIES.

ARTICLE XXII.—Inasmuch as it is asserted by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty that the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under Article XVIII of this Treaty are of greater value than those accorded by Articles XIX and XXI of this Treaty to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, and this assertion is not admitted by the Government of the United States; it is further agreed that Commissioners shall be appointed to determine, having regard to the privileges accorded by the United States to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, as stated in Articles XIX and XXI of this Treaty, the amount of any compensation which, in their opinion, ought to be paid by the Government of the United States to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty in return for the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under Article XVIII of this Treaty; and that any sum of money which the said Commissioners may so award shall be paid by the United States Government, in a gross sum, within twelve months after such award shall have been given.

ARTICLE XXIII.—The Commissioners referred to in the preceding Article shall be appointed in the following manner, that is to say:—One Commissioner shall be named by Her Britannic Majesty, one by the President of the United States, and a third by Her Britannic Majesty and the President of the United States conjointly; and in case the third Commissioner shall not have been so named within a period of three months from the date when this Article shall take effect, then the third Commissioner shall be named by the Representative at London of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of any Commissioner, or in the event of any Commissioner omitting or ceasing to act, the vacancy shall be filled in the manner hereinafter provided for making the original appointment, the period of three months in case of such substitution being calculated from the date of the happening of the vacancy. The Commissioners so named shall meet in the City of Halifax, in the Province of Nova Scotia, at the earliest convenient period after they have been respectively named, and shall, before proceeding to any business, make and subscribe a solemn declaration that they will impartially and carefully examine and decide the matters referred to them to the best of their judgment, and according to justice and equity; and such declaration shall be entered on the record of their proceedings. Each of the High Contracting Parties shall also name one person to attend the Commission as its agent, to represent it generally in all matters connected with the Commission.

ARTICLE XXIV.—The proceedings shall be conducted in such order as the Commissioners appointed under Article XXII and XXIII of this Treaty shall determine. They shall be bound to receive such oral or written testimony as either Government may present. If either Party shall offer oral testimony, the other Party shall have the right of cross-examination, under such rules as the Commissioners shall prescribe. If in the case submitted to the Commissioners either Party shall have specified or alluded to any report or document in its own exclusive possession, without annexing a copy, such Party shall be bound, if the other Party thinks proper to apply for it, to furnish that party with a copy thereof; and either party may call upon the other, through the Commissioners, to produce the originals or certified copies of any papers adduced as evidence, giving in each instance such reasonable notice as the Commissioners may require. The case on either side shall be closed within a period of six months from the date of the organization of the Commission, and the Commissioners shall be requested to give their award as soon as

possible thereafter. The aforesaid period of six months may be extended for three months in case of a vacancy occurring among the Commissioners under the circumstances contemplated in Article XXIII of this Treaty.

ARTICLE XXV.—The Commissioners shall keep an accurate record and correct minutes or notes of all their proceedings, with the dates thereof, and may appoint and employ a Secretary and any other necessary officer or officers to assist them in the transaction of the business which may come before them. Each of the High Contracting Parties shall pay its own Commissioner and Agent or Counsel; all other expenses shall be defrayed by the two Governments in equal moieties.

## NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.

ARTICLE XXVI.—The navigation of the River St. Lawrence, ascending and descending from the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude, where it ceases to form the boundary between the two countries, from, to, and into the sea, shall for ever remain free and open for the purposes of commerce to the citizens of the United States, subject to any laws and regulations of Great Britain, or of the Dominion of Canada, not inconsistent with such privilege of free navigation. The navigation of the Rivers Yukon, Porcupine, and Stikine, ascending and descending from, to, and into the sea, shall for ever remain free and open for the purposes of commerce to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty and to the citizens of the United States, subject to any laws and regulations of either country within its own territory, not inconsistent with such privilege of free navigation.

## CANADIAN CANALS AND LAKE MICHIGAN.

ARTICLE XXVII.—The Government of Her Britannic Majesty engages to urge upon the Government of the Dominion of Canada to secure to the citizens of the United States the use of the Welland, St. Lawrence, and other canals in the Dominion on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion, and the Government of the United States engages that the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall enjoy the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal on the terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States, and further engages to urge upon the State Governments to secure to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty the use of the several State canals connected with the navigation of the Lakes or Rivers traversed by or contiguous to the boundary line between the possessions of the High Contracting Parties on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—The navigation of Lake Michigan shall also, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this Treaty, be free and open for the purposes of commerce to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, subject to any laws and regulations of the United States or of the States bordering thereon not inconsistent with such privilege of free navigation.

## TRANSPORTATION IN BOATS.

ARTICLE XXIX.—It is agreed that, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this Treaty, goods, wares, or merchandise arriving at the ports of New York, Boston, and Portland, and any other ports in the United States which have been or may from time to time be specially designated by the President of the United States, and destined for Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in North America, may be entered at the proper Customs-house and conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, through the territory of the United States, under such rules, regulations, and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the Government of the United States may from time to time prescribe; and under like rules, regulations and conditions, goods, wares, or merchandise may be conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, from

proposal, and declined to entertain the question of Reciprocity at all, claiming that it had proved highly unsatisfactory to the people of the United States, and consequently the Treaty had been terminated, and they did not think that its renewal would be to the interest of the people of the United States, nor in accordance with their wishes. On the questions of the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the use of Canadian canals they preferred not to mix them up with the Fisheries question, but to deal with them and other commercial questions separately. At this point the negotiations on this subject rested for a few days, the British Commissioners making no further suggestion, and still being anxious to accomplish a settlement on a basis of Reciprocity, if possible.

such Possessions through the territory of the United States for export from the said ports of the United States. It is further agreed that for the like period goods, wares, or merchandise arriving at any of the ports of Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in North America and destined for the United States may be entered at the proper Customs-house and conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, through the said Possessions, under such rules and regulations, and conditions for the protection of the revenue, as the Governments of the said Possessions may from time to time prescribe; and under like rules, regulations and conditions, goods, wares, or merchandise may be conveyed in transit, without payment of duties, from the United States through the said Possessions to other places in the United States, or for export from ports in the said Possessions.

ARTICLE XXX.—It is agreed that for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this Treaty, subjects of Her Britannic Majesty may carry in British vessels, without payment of duty, goods, wares, or merchandise from one port or place within the territory of the United States upon the St. Lawrence, the great Lakes and the Rivers connecting the same, to another port or place within the territory of the United States as aforesaid; Provided, that a portion of such transportation is made through the Dominion of Canada by land carriage and in bond, under such rules and regulations as may be agreed upon between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and the Government of the United States. Citizens of the United States may for the like period carry in United States' vessels, without payment of duty, goods, wares, or merchandise from one port or place within the Possessions of Her Britannic Majesty in North America, to another port or place within the said Possessions; Provided, that a portion of such transportation is made through the territory of the United States by land carriage and in bond, under such rules and regulations as may be agreed upon between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and the Government of the United States. The Government of the United States further engages not to impose any export duties on goods, wares, or merchandise carried under this Article through the territory of the United States; and Her Majesty's Government engages to urge the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada and the Legislatures of the other Colonies not to impose any export duties on goods, wares, or merchandise carried under this Article; and the Government of the United States may, in case such export duties are imposed by the Dominion of Canada, suspend, during the period that such duties are imposed, the right of carrying granted under this Article in favor of the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty. The Government of the United States may suspend the right of carrying granted in favor of Her Britannic Majesty under this Article in case the Dominion of Canada should at any time deprive the citizens of the United States of the use of the canals in the said Dominion on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion, as provided in Article XXVIII.

9.—The consideration of the Fisheries question was resumed on the 20th, 22nd and 25th of March. The American Commissioners, <sup>The American Commissioners offer \$1,000,000 for the right to use the Fisheries for ever</sup> taking the initiative and offering a money payment as the basis for the purchase of the right to fish in perpetuity. They affected to regard the fisheries as of very little monetary importance, and offered \$1,000,000 as a fair sum to give for the right in perpetuity. This offer the British Commissioners declined as altogether inadequate, and held that no arrangement would be acceptable which did not provide for the free admission of fish and fish oil; they also strongly objected to the sale of the right in perpetuity. During this discussion the question of the jurisdiction of the various Provinces in the Fisheries was brought up, and the American

#### EXPORT DUTIES ON LUMBER.

ARTICLE XXXI.—The Government of Her Britannic Majesty further engages to urge upon the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada and the Legislature of New Brunswick, that no export duty, or other duty, shall be levied on lumber or timber of any kind cut on that portion of the American territory in the State of Maine watered by the River St. John and its tributaries, and floated down that river to the sea, where the same is shipped to the United States from the Province of New Brunswick. And, in case any such export or other duty continues to be levied after the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, it is agreed that the Government of the United States may suspend the right of carrying heretofore granted under Article XXX of this Treaty, for such period as such export or other duty may be levied.

#### TREATY MAY APPLY TO NEWTON ISLAND.

ARTICLE XXXII.—It is further agreed that the provisions and stipulations of Articles XXIII to XXV of this Treaty, inclusive, shall extend to the Colony of Newfoundland, so far as they are applicable. But if the Imperial Parliament, the Legislature of Newfoundland, or the Congress of the United States, shall not embrace the Colony of Newfoundland in their laws enacted for carrying the foregoing articles into effect, then this Article shall be of no effect; but the omission to make provision by law to give it effect, by either of the Legislative bodies aforesaid, shall not in any way impair any other Articles of this Treaty.

#### ASSENT OF PROVINCES REQUIRED.

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The foregoing Articles XXVIII to XXV inclusive, and Article XXX of this Treaty, shall take effect as soon as the laws required to carry them into operation shall have been passed by the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain, by the Parliament of Canada, and by the Legislature of Prince Edward Island on the one hand, and by the Congress of the United States on the other. Such assent having been given, the said Articles shall remain in force for the period of ten years from the date at which they may come into operation; and further, until the expiration of two years after either of the High Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same; each of the High Contracting Parties being at liberty to give such notice to the other at the end of the said period of ten years or at any time afterward.

#### THE SAN JUAN BOUNDARY.

Articles XXIV to XLII inclusive provide for the settlement of the boundary line between the United States and British Columbia, known as the San Juan Boundary question, the matter to be left to the Emperor of Germany to decide whether the American interpretation of the Treaty of 1846, by which they claimed that the Canal de Haro was the dividing line, or the English interpretation, which made the Rosario Strait the dividing line, was correct. His decision in the matter to be final and without appeal, both parties agreeing to abide by it.

Commissioners were informed that the Fisheries within the limits of maritime jurisdiction were the property of the several British Colonies, and that it would be necessary to refer any arrangement which might affect Colonial property or rights to the Colonial or Provincial Parliaments, and that legislation would also be required on the part of the Imperial Parliament.

10.—Throughout the whole negotiation the American Commissioners endeavoured to be-

little the value of the Fisheries, declaring that they were of very little commercial or intrinsic value, and that the United States desired to acquire a right and title to them more for the purpose of removing a vexatious and irritating question of difference between the two countries, than from any positive advantage they expected to gain from them. The British Commissioners, on the other hand, contended that the inshore fisheries were of very great intrinsic and commercial value, and again urged that the most equitable basis on which the Americans could acquire a right to their use, would be by offering a reciprocal tariff and reciprocity in the coasting trade. The American Commissioners declared that they could not hold out any hope that Congress would sanction any such reciprocal tariff arrangement as was proposed, or to any extended plan of the reciprocal free admission of the products of the two countries. They, however, suggested that coal, salt and fish should be reciprocally admitted free at once, and lumber after the 1st of July, 1874, saying that as one branch of Congress had already expressed itself in favor of removing the duties from coal and salt, and the whole tendency of legislation in the United States was towards a reduction of taxation, they were of opinion that Congress might be disposed to meet the views of the British Commissioners as far as those articles were concerned.

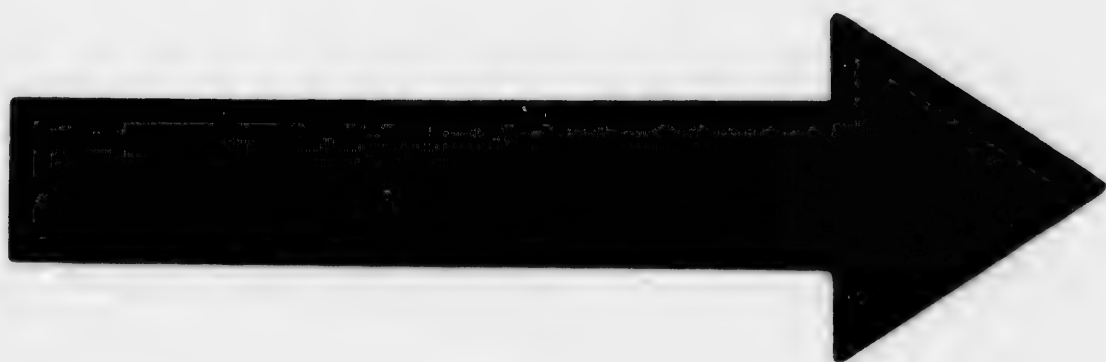
11.—This offer was made on the 25th of March, and the British Commissioners not feeling authorized to accept it, further consideration was postponed, in order that they may

consult their Government. In the meantime the Canadian Parliament, on the fourth of April, (See Chapter xix. par. 10), repealed the duties on coal, salt, &c., which had been imposed during the session of 1870, and, of course, it was no object to the Americans to offer to admit these articles to their markets free when they could have access to Canadian markets without giving anything in return. Accordingly, when the discussion was resumed, on the 17th of April, and the British Commissioners announced that their Government regarded the offer as inadequate, and considered that lumber should be admitted free and at once, and a money payment made in addition, the American Commissioners replied by withdrawing their proposal altogether, and reverting to their original offer of a money payment only, suggesting that if the two Governments could not agree on the sum to be paid, the amount should be left to be determined by an impartial Commission. The British Commissioners replied that it would not be possible to come to any arrangement which did not admit fish and fish oil free, and that any money payment could only be for the right to fish for a fixed term of years, and not in perpetuity. After some haggling on the part of the American Commissioners, who claimed that the admission of Canadian fish and fish oil free to American markets was alone equivalent to the privilege of inshore fishing without any money payment, it was agreed that the inshore Canadian fisheries should be free to American fishermen for twelve years; that fish and fish oil should be admitted free to both countries for the same period of time, and that a Commission should sit at Halifax to determine what amount, if any, should be paid in addition by the United States, it being understood that the payment of any award would be subject to the action of Congress after it was made. Articles xviii to xxv, as given below, were then assented to by the Commissioners of both Governments, on 22nd April.

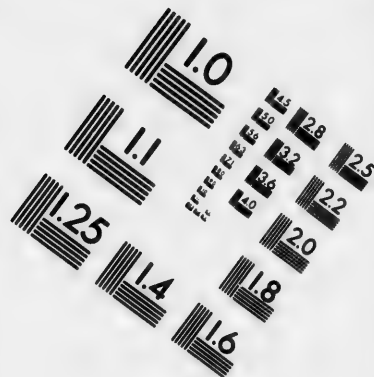
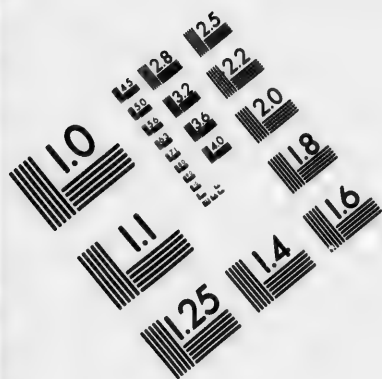
12.—It will be noticed as somewhat remarkable, that after the first opening of this subject between the respective Commissioners, the main point at issue

The basis of an arrangement finally arrived at, and articles 18 to 25 inserted.

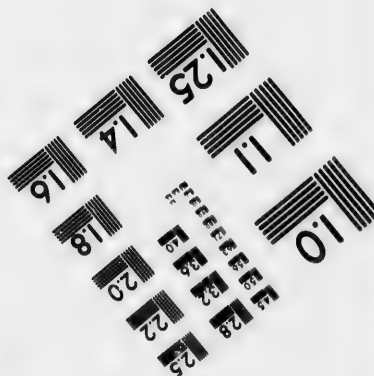
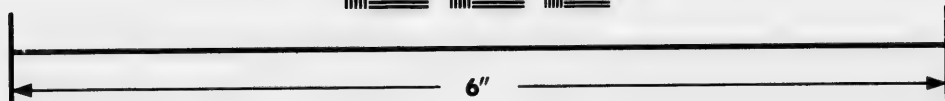
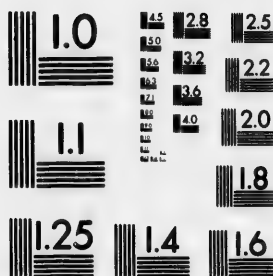
Remarks on the terms agreed to.







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between Canada and the United States was entirely lost sight of, and the whole energies of the Commissioners on both sides were devoted to settling how the United States could, with the greatest ease to themselves, acquire a right to which they had previously set up no claim, and the British Provinces had evinced no desire to part with, except on terms which the United States had accepted once, but now refused to renew. The whole question at issue since the revocation of the Reciprocity Treaty had been the interpretation of the terms of the Treaty of 1818, whether the three mile limit, marking inshore fishing, should be computed from head-land to head-land, or from the shore itself, following the indentations of the Bays and Creeks. The Americans had never set up the claim that they had the right to fish within three marine miles of the shore—although they constantly did it,—but that they had the right to enter the Bays to fish, no matter how much inside the line as drawn from head-land to head-land they were, so long as they kept three miles from the shore of the Bay itself; yet the Commissioners waived this question entirely, and considered nothing but the much more valuable privilege of fishing wherever a Canadian fisherman had the right to fish. It is quite safe to say, that had the question been considered on its own merits and alone, as was the intention of the Canadian Government when a Joint Commission was proposed, no such conclusion would have been arrived at, as the surrender of our valuable fisheries for the paltry privilege of selling a few fish duty free to the Americans, and a problematical money payment which might amount to nothing; but the introduction of the Alabama claims quite swamped the fisheries question, and so long as the Gladstone Administration could get that question settled at any price, and that *bête noir* peacefully laid to rest, they cared very little how much Canadian interests were sacrificed in the endeavor to propitiate the Americans; that the Halifax Commission did make an award of less than one half the money value of the fisheries, and that Canada was not left wholly unrecom-

pensed for her abandonment of a valuable right was certainly more due to the justice of the Commissioners than to the Government, which showed no great concern whether we got anything or not. As to Sir John A. Macdonald's share in this transaction we shall have something to say by-and-bye, but we may merely remark here that it would be preposterous to blame him for not accomplishing impossibilities—for it was impossible for him either to force Reciprocity from the Americans, situated as he was, or to prevent the sacrifice of our fisheries when the British Government was anxious and willing to render them up as a peace-offering.

13.—After the rejection by the American Commissioners of the proposal to consider the questions of the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the use of the Canadian canals in connection with the Fisheries question, these subjects were left for separate consideration. On the 23rd of March the question of the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the canals was taken up, when the British Commissioners stated that they considered that the concession of the navigation of Lake Michigan would be an equivalent for the navigation of the St. Lawrence. As to the canals they contended that the privilege of navigating the Canadian canals was much more valuable than that of using the American canals, and asked what equivalent the American Commissioners proposed. The American Commissioners contended that the United States was already entitled to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence from the point where it ceased to form the boundary line, from, to, and into the sea, and they could not concede that the navigation of Lake Michigan should be taken as an equivalent for that right. With regard to the canals they desired that an agreement should be made to enlarge the Welland Canal, or they would not be disposed to make any concessions. They then proposed in exchange for reciprocal transit and transshipment, and the use of American canals and Lake Michigan by Canadians, that the United States should have the free naviga-

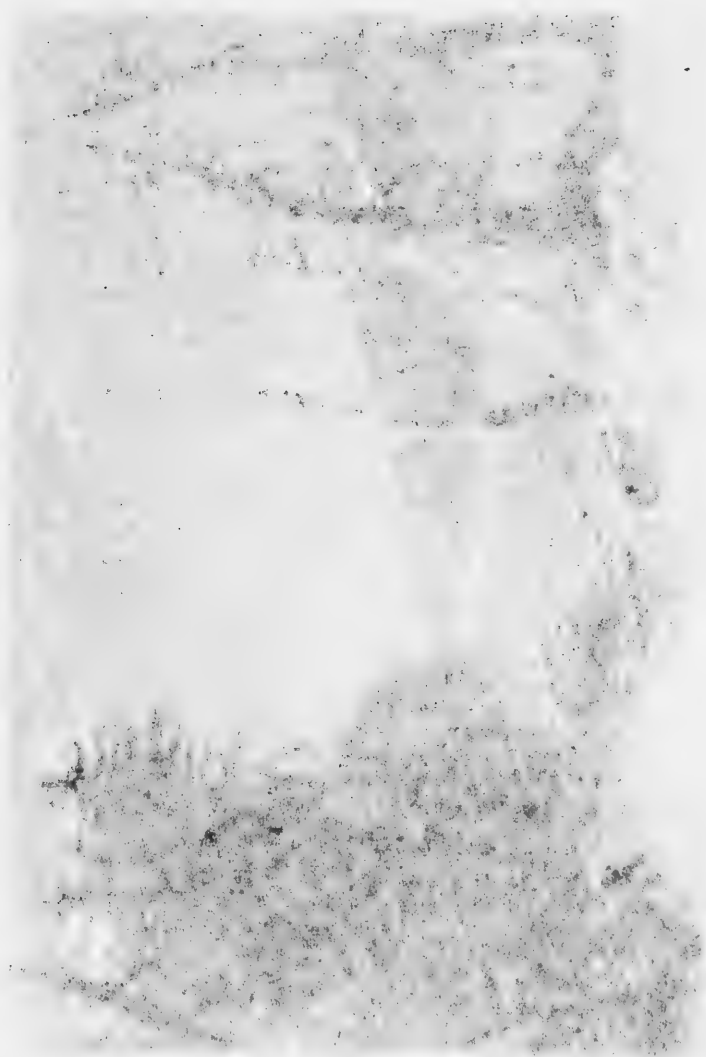
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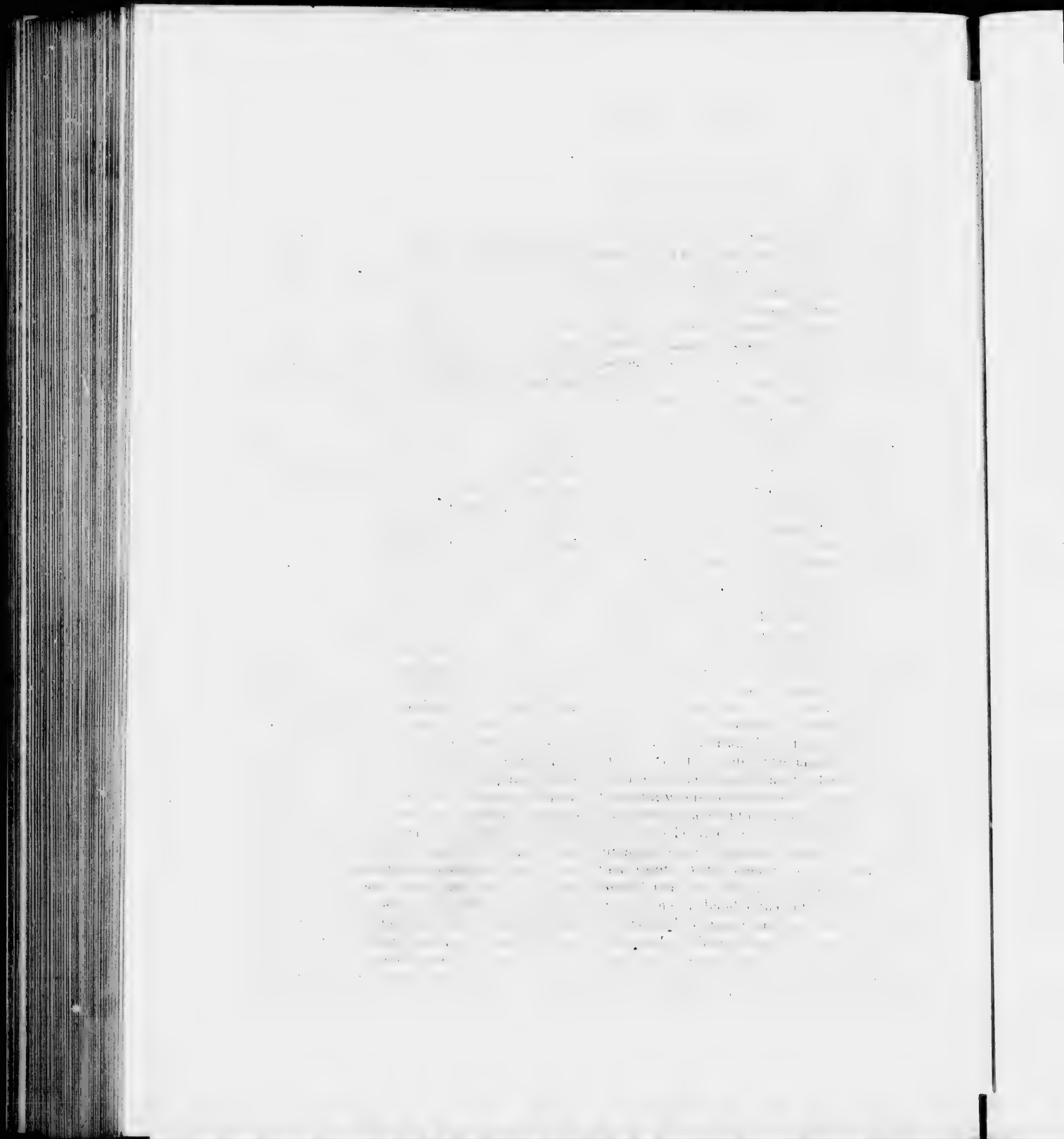
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tion of the St. Lawrence and the use, on equal terms, of Canadian canals, it being specially stipulated that the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals should be enlarged by the Canadian Government, and that no discriminating tolls should be charged, and the rate of toll to be fixed at just enough to cover interest on cost and provide for repairs and a sinking fund. This proposal was rejected by the British Commissioners as being altogether too much in favor of the United States and against Canada. On the 27th of March the discussion was resumed, when the British Commissioners stated that the Canadian Government had already provided for the enlargement of the Welland Canal, and that the expediency of enlarging the capacity of the St. Lawrence canals was under consideration. On the same day the American Commissioners proposed that the subject of the export duty charged in New Brunswick on American lumber floated down the St. John river should be considered by the Commission. On the 22nd of April the consideration of these subjects was again taken up when the British Commissioners proposed that the navigation of Lake Michigan should be given in exchange for the navigation of the St. Lawrence, the British Government agreeing to urge on the Government of Canada to give United States citizens the right to use the Canadian canals on equal terms with British subjects; provided that the United States Government would agree to urge on the several States to give British subjects the right to use the several State canals on equal terms with citizens of the United States. They also proposed, as part of the arrangement, a reciprocal agreement as to transit and transshipment, and that the British Government would urge on the Government of New Brunswick not to impose export duties on American lumber floated down the River St John. The American Commissioners renewed the claim of the United States to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, which was not admitted by the British Commissioners, who stated that, while not admitting the right the British Government had no wish to exclude the United States from its use; they

would, however, call the attention of the American Commissioners to the Rivers Yukon, Porcupine and Stikine, in Alaska, which should on like grounds be declared free and open to British subjects, in case the St. Lawrence should be declared free. The American Commissioners agreed to the proposal as far as the Rivers Yukon, Porcupine and Stikine were concerned; and also to the arrangement proposed with reference to canals, limiting it, as regarded American canals, to those connected with the navigation of the lakes and rivers traversed by the boundary line, or contiguous to it. They also agreed to give the right of navigating Lake Michigan for ten years. It was agreed that the transshipment arrangement should be made dependent on the non-existence of discriminating tolls or regulations on the Canadian canals, and also the abolition of the New Brunswick export duty on American lumber intended for the United States market. The right of carrying was also made dependent on the non-imposition of export duties on either side on the goods of the other party passing in transit. The British Commissioners desired to introduce the question of the survey of the boundary line along the forty-ninth parallel, between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains; but the American Commissioners held that the boundary survey was a matter for administrative action, and did not require to be dealt with by a Treaty provision. These subjects were discussed at the Conferences of 24th, 25th and 26th April, and embodied in Articles xxvi to xxxiii of the Treaty, which were agreed to on the 3rd of May.

14.—The question of the North-west Water Boundary was first brought up by the British Commissioners at the Conference The San Juan boundary question. Articles 34 to 42. on the 15th of March, when they proposed that an arbitration of this question should be made upon the basis of the provisions of the Treaty agreed on in 1869. The American Commissioners replied that although no formal vote on the ratification of that Treaty had been taken in the United States Senate, still it was so well understood that that Treaty was

unfavorably regarded that they could not accept it as a basis for the settlement of the question, and proposed that an effort should be made by the Joint High Commission to settle the question without reference to that Treaty. This was agreed to, and the British Commissioners adduced their reasons for holding that the Rosario Straits should be taken as the boundary line under the Treaty of 15th of June, 1846. The American Commissioners held that the Haro Channel was the channel contemplated by that Treaty, and adduced their reasons, including some original correspondence between the Hon. Edward Everett and the Government on the subject, which had not been alluded to in previous discussions of the question. The British Commissioners could see nothing in this new correspondence to cause them to change their opinion with regard to the Rosario Straits being the channel intended. The American Commissioners then proposed that, as the Treaty of 15th of June, 1846, might have been made under a mutual misunderstanding, and that, possibly, neither party would have signed it had it been known what construction the other party would put on it, therefore the whole of that part of the Treaty relating to the North-west Water Boundary should be abrogated, and a fresh attempt made to re-arrange the boundary line which had been in dispute before that Treaty was concluded. The British Commissioners replied that they had no power to entertain the proposal to abrogate the Treaty of 1846, and, therefore, on the 20th of March, the proposal of the American Commissioners was declined. On the 19th of April, the British Commissioners proposed, as a compromise, that the Middle Channel, commonly known as the Douglas Channel, should be adopted as the one through which the boundary line should pass, with the understanding that all the channels through the Archipelago should be free and common to both parties. This was declined by the American Commissioners, who proposed instead that the Haro Channel should be recognized as the one meant by the Treaty of 1846, with the understanding that no fortifications should be erected

by either party to obstruct or command it, and that provision should be made to protect the proprietary rights of British subjects in the island of San Juan. The British Commissioners declined this, and stated that their Government was so fully convinced of the justice of its interpretation of the Treaty of 1846, that it could not abandon its views, except after a fair decision by an impartial Arbitrator; they, therefore, proposed that the matter should be submitted to arbitration. The American Commissioners agreed to this, provided the other questions between the two Governments should be satisfactorily adjusted; but declined a proposal that the Arbitrator should be allowed to select a middle channel if he thought proper, declaring that what the United States Government desired was, not a compromise, but a decision as to the proper interpretation of the Treaty of 1846 as to whether the Haro Channel or the Rosario Straits was the channel referred to in that Treaty. This was finally accepted as the basis of agreement, and Articles xxxiv to xlii were assented to on the 22nd of April.

15.—We have now dealt with all the subjects relating to Canada which are included in the Treaty, but there is one other subject which was not considered by the Commission, the rejection of which caused much discontent in Canada for a while, and this was our claim for indemnity at the hands of the United States Government for the damages done by the Fenian raids. A statement of the case was very carefully prepared by Lord Tenterden, and, at the Conference of the 4th of March, the British Commissioners, referring to Sir Edward Thornton's letter of 26th of January relating to "the mode of settling the different questions which have arisen out of the Fisheries, as well as all those which affect the relations of the United States towards Her Majesty's Possessions in North America," proposed that the Commissioners should consider the injuries which the people of Canada had suffered by the Fenian raids. The American Commissioners objected to these claims being introduced, and the subject

Canada's claims to indemnity for Fenian raids rejected by the Commissioners.

was left in abeyance, while Articles xii to xvii, providing for a mixed Commission on the claims of British and American citizens arising out of the war, were agreed to. On the 26th of April the British Commissioners again urged the consideration of the Fenian raids claims, stating that they were instructed to urge them as coming within the class of subjects indicated by Sir Edward Thornton in his letter of 26th of January. The American Commissioners replied that they were instructed to say that the United States Government did not regard these claims as coming within the class of subjects indicated in that letter as subjects for the consideration of the Joint High Commission. The British Commissioners stated that, under the circumstances, they must refer to their Government for further instructions. On the 3rd of May the British Commissioners again urged the consideration of the claims, when the American Commissioners replied that they could see no reason to vary the reply formerly given to this proposal. In their view, the subject was not embraced in the scope of the correspondence between Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. Fish under either of the letters of the former; and that they did not feel justified in entering upon the consideration of any class of claims not contemplated at the time of the creation of the Commission, and that the claims referred to did not commend themselves to their favor. The British Commissioners then withdrew the claims, and Canada was thereby debarred from present compensation from the United States for the injury inflicted by the Fenians. Lord Kimberley, in his despatch of the 20th of June, 1871, to Lord Lisgar, thus defends the action of the British Commissioners: "Her Majesty's Government were well aware of the serious difficulties in the way of settling this question, and they could not, therefore, feel surprised at this result. At the same time, it was with much regret that they acquiesced in the omission of these claims from the general settlement of outstanding questions between Great Britain and the United States. But it seemed to them evident that the British Commissioners were right in thinking that there

was no reasonable probability that by further pressing the point an agreement would become to upon it with the American Commissioners, and when the choice lay between the settlement of all the other differences between the two countries on terms which Her Majesty's Government believed to be honorable to both, and beneficial alike to Canada and to the rest of the Empire, and the frustration of all hope of bringing the negotiations to a satisfactory issue, they could not hesitate as to the course which it was their duty to take." The Treaty was signed by the Commissioners at Washington on the 8th of May, and on the 9th an extra session of the United States Senate was convened to ratify it, which was done on the 24th (the Queen's Birthday). On the 17th of June it was duly ratified by both parties at London, and on the 4th of July President Grant issued a proclamation giving effect to those clauses which did not require the consent of the Parliament of Canada and the Legislatures of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE TREATY.

1. OPPOSITION OF PUBLIC OPINION TO THE TREATY.—2. THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW BRUNSWICK CONDEMNS THE TREATY.—3. THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO ADMIT AMERICAN FISHERMEN, PENDING RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY.—4. THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT EXPRESSES ITS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE TREATY.—5. LORD KIMBERLEY'S SATISFACTION WITH THE TREATY.—6. REPLY OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT. THE FENIAN RAIDS CLAIMS.—7. REPLY OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT. THE FISHERIES.—8. REPLY OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT. FURTHER OBJECTIONS.—9. THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY'S REPLY TO THE REPORT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.—10. THE POSITION IN WHICH THE CANADIAN GOVERN-



MENT FOUND ITSELF.—11. REPORT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL WITH REFERENCE TO COMPENSATION FOR FENIAN RAIDS.—12. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OFFERS TO GUARANTEE A LOAN OF £2,500,000.—13. THE TERMS AGREED TO. REMARKS.

1.—The terms of the Treaty of Washington were made public in Canada on the 14th of May, and at once awoke a storm of most marked disapprobation from the press of both parties, but especially from the Opposition papers which endeavored to throw a very large part of the blame on Sir John A. Macdonald for the share he had had in the transaction. It was generally felt that the interests of Canada had been most shamefully sacrificed, that the Americans had got all they asked for, and more too, and that Canada had not only received little or nothing in return, but that one of the main questions in which she was directly interested, and for the settlement of which it had been supposed that the Joint High Commission had been appointed (the Fenian Claims) had been dismissed with the brief comment that it did not come within the range of questions to be considered by the Commission.

2.—In no part of the Dominion was the dissatisfaction with the Treaty more deeply felt or more generally expressed than in New Brunswick, whose people found not only their fisheries taken from them, but also their chief means of raising a local revenue, by the proposed repeal of the export duty on American timber floated down the St. John River. Of course, it was understood that the Dominion Government would have to make good this deficit by an increased subsidy; but the people felt very keenly this interference with their right to raise revenue in the manner which suited them best. The Legislature was just about to adjourn, but on the day before prorogation, the 16th of May, Attorney-General King introduced a series of resolutions condemnatory of the treaty which were adopted unanimously, after a short debate,

*Opposition of Public Opinion to the Treaty.*

*The Legislature of New Brunswick condemns the Treaty.*

in which no one attempted to defend the Treaty. The resolutions, after condemning the Treaty as "a policy of unlimited and dangerous concessions," concluded as follows: "*Resolved*, That in any Treaty relating to the free use of the Fisheries and to the navigation of rivers and canals, Canada should at the same time make provision for the further regulation of commerce and navigation beyond those secured by the Articles of the Treaty as above concluded, in such manner as to render the same reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory."

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this House, the Parliament of Canada should, under existing circumstances, adhere to and carry out the policy of protection to the Fishery rights of the Dominion of Canada, recently adopted, and should not give assent to the Articles of the said Treaty relating to the Fisheries."

3.—The American Government having succeeded in having the fisheries capitulated to them, were in a great hurry to take possession of their new acquisition; and on the 8th of May—the day the Treaty was signed—Mr. Fish addressed a note to Sir Edward Thornton requesting the British Government to use its influence with the Governments of Canada, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland to induce them to allow American fishermen the free use of the fisheries, pending the ratification of the Treaty, quoting the action of the Provincial Governments at the time of the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 as a precedent; and Lord Kimberley, in his despatch of the 17th of June, urges the Canadian Government to "take no active steps to enforce those statutes (the Fishery laws) and to suspend the instructions to the Colonial cruisers to exclude American citizens from the fisheries." The Government of Prince Edward Island at once agreed to the request of the Imperial authorities, and, on the 24th of July, an Order-in-Council was passed suspending all regulations for the protection of the fisheries of that Province against the Americans, and throwing the fisheries open to them, pending

*The Canadian Government refuses to admit American fishermen pending ratification of the Treaty.*

the ratification of the Treaty. The Canadian Government, however, declined to take the responsibility of any such action without consulting Parliament, and could not see the analogy between the two cases. The Order-in-Council, passed on the 28th of July, on the Washington Treaty, concludes with the following paragraph with reference to this request:—"The Treaty of 1854 was negotiated with the concurrence of the Provincial Governments represented at Washington, and met with the general approbation of the people, whereas the Fishery clauses of the late Treaty were adopted *against the advice of the Canadian Government* and have been generally disapproved of in all parts of the Dominion. There can hardly be a doubt that any action on the part of the Canadian Government in anticipation of the decision of Parliament would increase the discontent which now exists."

4.—Although Sir John A. Macdonald signed the Treaty with the other British Commissioners, and in his capacity as a representative of Her Majesty at that conference, yet, as Premier of Canada, he strongly opposed the Fishery clauses and protested against the exclusion of the Fenian claims; and, although "Imperial necessity" was too powerful for him in Washington, he lost very little time after his return to Canada in informing the British Government of the dissatisfaction with which the clauses of the Treaty relating to Canada were regarded by the Canadian Government and the country at large. These objections were embodied in a resolution of Council passed on the seventh of June, and forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, in which the Council set forth their reasons for considering the Treaty highly unfavorable to the interests of Canada, and intimate that they were not disposed to recommend to Parliament the legislation requisite to give effect to some of its clauses, while matters remained in their present condition.

5.—The Earl of Kimberley, in his despatch of 17th of June, to Lord Lisgar, took occasion to

congratulate Canada on the very satisfactory Treaty which had been concluded, and in a subsequent despatch, 20th of June, expressed his regret that the Commission had refused to entertain the Fenian claims. (See Chap. XXVII, par. XV.) In the first mentioned despatch he says: "The Dominion is, from its geographical position as the immediate neighbor of the United States, so peculiarly interested in the maintenance of cordial relations between that Republic and the British Empire, that it must be a source of satisfaction to the Canadian Government, that Her Majesty has been able to conclude a Treaty for the amicable settlement of differences which might have seriously endangered the good understanding between the two countries;" and then goes on to say, "Moreover, the Rules laid down in Article VI, as to the international duties of neutral Governments are of special importance to the Dominion which carries on such an extensive and increasing maritime commerce, and possesses such a considerable merchant navy." He then takes up each question and shows, to his own satisfaction, that they are all highly advantageous to Canada. After recounting the difficulties which were in the way of a settlement of the Fishery question, and stating the various proposals which had been made and rejected by the Commissioners, he concludes, "the reciprocal concession of free fishery with free import of fish and fish oil, together with the payment of such a sum of money as may fairly represent the excess of value of the Colonial over the American concession, seems to be an equitable solution of the difficulty. It is perfectly true that the right of fishery on the United States coasts, conceded under Article XIX, is far less valuable than the right of fishery in Colonial waters, conceded under Article XVIII, to the United States, but on the other hand, it cannot be denied that it is most important to the Colonial fishermen to obtain free access to the American market for their fish and for fish oil, and the balance of advantage on the side of the United States will be duly redressed by the

Lord Kimberley's satisfaction with the Treaty.

The Canadian Government expresses its dissatisfaction with the Treaty.

Arbitrators under Article XXII. In some respects a direct money payment is perhaps a more distinct recognition of the rights of the Colonies than a tariff concession, and there does not seem to be any difference in principle between the admission of American fishermen for a term of years in consideration of the payment of a sum of money in gross, and their admission under the system of Licenses, calculated at so many dollars per ton, which was adopted by the Colonial Government for several years after the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty. In the latter case, it must be observed, the use of the Fisheries was granted without any tariff concession whatever on the part of the United States, even as to the importation of fish. Canada could not reasonably expect that this country should, for an indefinite period, incur the constant risk of serious misunderstanding with the United States—imperilling, perhaps, the peace of the whole Empire, in order to endeavor to force the American Government to change its commercial policy; and Her Majesty's Government are confident that, when the Treaty is considered as a whole, the Canadian people will see that their interests have been carefully borne in mind, and that the advantages which they will derive from its provisions are commensurate with the concessions which they are called upon to make."

6.—These despatches of Lord Kimberley's being referred to the Privy Council, that body expressed its opinion of the Treaty in pretty plain terms, in a report dated the 28th July,

*Reply of the Canadian Government.  
The Fenian raids  
Claims.*

1871, which we give almost entire, as embodying nearly everything which could be said on the subject in diplomatic language:—"The Committee of the Privy Council have not failed to give their anxious consideration to the important subject discussed in the Earl of Kimberley's despatches, and they feel assured that they will consult the best interests of the Empire, by stating frankly for the information of Her Majesty's Government the result of their deliberations, which they believe to be in

accordance with public opinion in all parts of the Dominion. The Committee of the Privy Council readily admit that Canada is deeply interested in the maintenance of cordial relations between the Republic of the United States and the British Empire, and they would, therefore, have been prepared, without hesitation, to recommend the Canadian Parliament to co-operate in procuring an amicable settlement of all differences likely to endanger the good understanding between the two countries. For such an object they would not have hesitated to recommend the concession of some valuable rights, which they have always claimed to enjoy under the Treaty of 1818, and for which, as the Earl of Kimberley observes, Her Majesty's Government have always contended, both Governments having acted on the interpretation given to the Treaty in question by high legal authorities. The general dissatisfaction which the publication of the Treaty of Washington has produced in Canada, and which has been expressed with as much force in the Agricultural Districts of the West as in the Maritime Provinces, arises chiefly from two causes:—

1st. That the principal cause of difference between Canada and the United States has not been removed by the Treaty, but remains a subject for anxiety.

2nd. That a cession of territorial rights of great value has been made to the United States, not only without the previous assent of Canada, but contrary to the express wishes of the Canadian Government.

The Committee of the Privy Council will submit their views on both those points for the information of Her Majesty's Government, in the hope that by means of discussion a more satisfactory understanding between the two Governments may be arrived at. The Earl of Kimberley has referred to the rules laid down in Article VI. of the Treaty of Washington, as to the International duties of neutral Governments, as being of special importance to the Dominion, but the Committee of the Privy Council, judging from past experience, are

much more apprehensive of misunderstanding, owing to the apparent difference of opinion between Canada and the United States, as to the relative duties of friendly States in a time of peace. It is unnecessary to enter into any lengthened discussion of the conduct of the United States during the last six or seven years with reference to the organization of considerable numbers of the citizens of those States under the designation of Fenians. The views of the Canadian Government on this subject are in possession of Her Majesty's Government, and it appears from the protocol of conference between the High Commissioners, that the British Commissioners presented the claims of the people of Canada, and were instructed to state that they were regarded by Her Majesty's Government as coming within the class of subjects indicated by Sir Edward Thornton, in his letter of 26th January last, as subjects for the consideration of the Joint High Commissioners. The Earl of Kimberley states that it was with much regret that Her Majesty's Government acquiesced in the omission of these claims from the general settlement of outstanding questions between Great Britain and the United States, and the Committee of the Privy Council, while fully participating in that regret, must add the fact that this Fenian organization is still in full vigor, and that there seems no reason to hope that the United States Government will perform its duty as a friendly neighbor any better in the future than in the past, leads them to entertain a just apprehension that the outstanding subject of difference with the United States is the one of all others which is of special importance to the Dominion. They must add that they are not aware that during the existence of this Fenian organization, which for nearly seven years has been a cause of irritation and expense to the people of Canada, Her Majesty's Government have made any vigorous effort to induce the Government of the United States to perform its duty to a neighboring people who earnestly desire to live with them on terms of amity, and who during the Civil war loyally performed all the duties of neutrals to

the expressed satisfaction of the Government of the United States. On the contrary, while in the opinion of the Government, and the entire people of Canada, the Government of the United States neglected, until much too late, to take the necessary measures to prevent the Fenian invasion of 1870, Her Majesty's Government hastened to acknowledge by cable telegram the prompt action of the President, and to thank him for it. The Committee of the Privy Council will only add on this painful subject that it is one on which the greatest unanimity exists among all classes of the people throughout the Dominion, and the failure of the High Commissioners to deal with it has been one cause of the prevailing dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Washington."

7.—"The Committee of the Privy Council will proceed to the consideration of the other subject of dissatisfaction in Canada, viz: the cession to the citizens of the United States of the right to the use of the inshore fisheries, in common with the people of Canada. The Earl of Kimberley, after observing that the Canadian Government took the initiative in suggesting that a joint British and American Commission should be appointed with a view to settle the disputes which had arisen as to the interpretation of the Treaty of 1818, proceeds to state, that 'The causes of the difficulty lay deeper than any question of interpretation, that the discussion of such points as the correct definition of bays, could not lead to a friendly agreement with the United States, and that it was necessary, therefore, to endeavor to find an equivalent which the United States might be willing to give in return for the fishery privileges.' In the foregoing opinion of the Earl of Kimberley, the Committee of the Privy Council are unable to concur, and they cannot but regret that no opportunity was afforded them of communicating to Her Majesty's Government their views on a subject of so much importance to Canada prior to the meeting of the Joint High Commission. When the Canadian Government took the initiative of suggesting the appointment of a Joint British

Reply of the  
Canadian  
Government. The  
Fisheries.

and American Commission they never contemplated the surrender of their territorial rights, and they had no reason to suppose that Her Majesty's Government entertained the sentiments expressed by the Earl of Kimberley in his recent despatch. Had such sentiments been expressed to the delegate appointed by the Canadian Government to confer with his Lordship a few months before the appointment of the Commission, it would at least have been in their power to have remonstrated against the cession of the inshore fisheries, and it would, moreover, have prevented any member of the Canadian Government from acting as a member of the Joint High Commission, unless on the clear understanding that no such cession should be embodied in the Treaty without their consent. The expediency of the cession of a common right to the inshore fisheries has been defended on the ground that such a sacrifice on the part of Canada should be made in the interests of peace. The Committee of the Privy Council, as they have already observed, would have been prepared to recommend any necessary concession for so desirable an object, but they must remind the Earl of Kimberley that the original proposition of Sir Edward Thornton, as appears by his letter of 26th January, was that 'a friendly and complete understanding should be come to between the two Governments, as to the extent of the rights which belong to the citizens of the United States and Her Majesty's subjects respectively, with reference to the fisheries on the coasts of Her Majesty's Possessions in North America.' In his reply, dated 30th January last, Mr. Secretary Fish informs Sir Edward Thornton that the President instructs him to say that 'he shares with Her Majesty's Government the appreciation of the importance of a friendly and complete understanding between the two Governments with reference to the subjects specially suggested for the consideration of the proposed Joint High Commission.' In accordance with the explicit understanding thus arrived at between the two Governments, Earl Granville issued instructions to Her

Majesty's High Commission, which, in the opinion of the Committee of the Privy Council, covered the whole ground of controversy. The United States had never pretended to claim a right on the part of their citizens to fish within three marine miles of the coasts and bays, according to their limited definition of the latter term, and although the right to enjoy the use of the inshore Fisheries might fairly have been made the subject of negotiation, with the view of ascertaining whether any proper equivalents could be found for such a concession, the United States was precluded by the original correspondence from insisting on it as a condition of the Treaty. The abandonment of the exclusive right to the inshore Fisheries without adequate compensation was not therefore necessary in order to come to a satisfactory understanding on the points really at issue. The Committee of the Privy Council forbear from entering into a controversial discussion as to the expediency of trying to influence the United States to adopt a more liberal commercial policy. They must, however, disclaim most emphatically the imputation of desiring to imperil the peace of the whole Empire in order to force the American Government to change its commercial policy. They had for a considerable time back ceased to urge the United States to alter their commercial policy; but they are of opinion that when Canada is asked to surrender her inshore Fisheries to foreigners, she is fairly entitled to name the proper equivalent. The Committee of the Privy Council may observe that the opposition of the Government of the United States to reciprocal free trade in the products of the two countries, was just as strong for some years prior to 1854, as it has been since the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty, and that the Treaty of 1854 was obtained chiefly by the vigorous protection of the Fisheries which preceded it, and that but for the conciliatory policy on the subject of the Fisheries, which Her Majesty's Government induced Canada to adopt after the abrogation of the Treaty of 1854, by the United States, it is not improbable that there would have been no difficulty in obtaining its renewal.



The Committee of the Privy Council have adverted to the policy of Her Majesty's Government because the Earl of Kimberley has stated that there is no difference in principle between a money payment and 'the system of licenses calculated at so many dollars a ton, which was adopted by the Colonial Government for several years after the termination of the 'Reciprocity Treaty.' Reference to the correspondence will prove that the license system was reluctantly adopted by the Canadian Government as a substitute for the still more objectionable policy pressed upon it by Her Majesty's Government, it having been clearly understood that the arrangement was of a temporary character. In his despatch of the 3rd March, 1866, Mr. Secretary Cardwell observed: 'Her Majesty's Government do not feel disinclined to allow the United States, for the season of 1866, the freedom of fishing granted to them in 1854, on the distinct understanding that unless some satisfactory arrangement between the two countries be made during the course of the year this privilege will cease, and all concessions made in the treaty of 1854, will be liable to be withdrawn.' The principle of a money payment for the concession of territorial rights has ever been most repugnant to the feelings of the Canadian people, and has only been entertained in deference to the wishes of the Imperial Government. What the Canadians were willing under the circumstances to accept as an equivalent, was the concession of certain commercial advantages, and it has therefore been most unsatisfactory to them that Her Majesty's Government should have consented to cede the use of the inshore Fisheries to foreigners, for considerations which are deemed wholly inadequate."

8.—"The Committee of the Privy Council need not enlarge further on the objectionable features of the Treaty as it bears on Canadian interests. These are admitted by many, who think that Canada should make sacrifices for the general interests of the Empire. The people

of Canada, on the other hand, seem unable to comprehend that there is any existing necessity for the cession of the right to use their inshore fisheries without adequate compensation. They have failed to discover that in the settlement of the so-called Alabama Claims, which was the most important question in dispute between the two nations, England gained such advantages as to be required to make further concessions at the expense of Canada, nor is there anything in the Earl of Kimberley's despatch to support such a view of the question. The other parts of the treaty are equally if not more advantageous to the United States than to Canada, and the fishery question must consequently be considered on its own merits; and if so considered no reason has yet been advanced to induce Canada to cede her inshore fisheries for what Her Majesty's Government have admitted to be an inadequate consideration. Having thus stated their views on the two chief objections to the late Treaty at Washington, the Committee of the Privy Council will proceed to the consideration of the correspondence between Sir Edward Thornton, and Mr. Fish, transmitted in the Earl of Kimberley's despatch of the 17th June, and of his Lordship's remarks thereon.\* This subject has already been under the consideration of the Committee of the Privy Council, and a report dated the 7th June, embodying their views on the subject, was transmitted to the Earl of Kimberley by your Excellency. In his despatch of the 26th June, acknowledging the receipt of that report, the Earl of Kimberley refers to his despatch of the 17th of that month, and 'trusts that the Canadian Government will, on mature consideration, accede to the proposal of the United States Government, on this subject.' The Committee of the Privy Council, in expressing their adherence to their report of the 7th June, must add that, inapplicability of the precedent of 1854, under which the action of the Canadian Parliament was anticipated by the Government, to the circumstances now existing, appears to them manifest. The Treaty

\* These letters were on the subject of throwing open the fisheries at once, pending the ratification of the Treaty.

Reply of the  
Canadian  
Government.  
Further objections.

of 1854 was negotiated with the concurrence of the Provincial Governments represented at Washington, and met with the general approbation of the people, whereas the Fishery clauses of the late Treaty were adopted against the advice of the Canadian Government, and have been generally disapproved of in all parts of the Dominion. There can hardly be a doubt that any action on the part of the Canadian Government in anticipation of the decision of Parliament would increase the discontent which now exists. The Committee of the Privy Council request that your Excellency will communicate to the Earl of Kimberley the views which they entertain on the subject of the Treaty of Washington in so far as it affects the interests of the Dominion."

9.—The foregoing report of the Committee of the Privy Council was forwarded to the Earl of

The Earl of Kimberley's reply to the report of the Privy Council

Kimberley by the Governor-General on the 15th of August, and was not replied to until the 23rd of November, when no reference at all was made to the Fenian Raids claims, and he reiterated, in substance, the assertion that Canada ought to be satisfied with the Fishery clauses of the treaty. "I shall endeavour, as far as possible," he says, "to avoid entering into further discussion of the clauses of the Treaty which apply especially to Canada, as I cannot think that any advantage would result from a prolonged controversy between the two Governments as to the details of the Treaty, and the manner in which the negotiation was conducted," and then proceeds to take exception to two statements in the report of the Privy Council. In the first place he objected to the imputation by the Privy Council that the right to use the Fisheries had been conceded to the United States without the consent of Canada, taking the ground that the right to give effect to that part of the Treaty was specially reserved to the Parliament of Canada, in the same manner as would be done towards the Imperial Parliament, "if the Crown were to conclude a similar Treaty as regards the Fisheries of the United Kingdom." He also contested the asser-

tion that the Fisheries were ceded for "what Her Majesty's Government have admitted to be an inadequate consideration," arguing that the reciprocal right to fish, with free importation of fish and fish oil, and a sum of money in addition was adequate compensation.

10.—The Canadian Government now found itself in this position: the Imperial Government having paid to the United States, with the Colonial Fisheries, the debt incurred by Great

The position in which the Canadian Government found itself.

Britain by the depredations of the Alabama and other cruisers, was determined to force the Dominion to accept the Treaty as it stood, and seemed disinclined to offer any assistance or recompense for the great sacrifice Canada was required to make. Of course, the Canadian Parliament could refuse or withhold the Legislation necessary to give effect to certain clauses of the Treaty, but the Treaty would go into effect all the same and the Americans would have the use of our Fisheries without our getting even the small advantages in return secured by the Treaty—for, as the Imperial Government had made up its mind to allow the Americans the use of the Fisheries, it would take no steps to protect them from the encroachment of foreign fishermen, British gunboats were withdrawn, and the Dominion having no power to commission vessels of war without Imperial sanction, it was evident that no practical resistance to the inroads of American fishermen could be made even should the assent of the Canadian Parliament be withheld. Again, the articles relating to transportation were made dependant on the ratification of the Fishery clauses, and any disruption of the existing arrangement for reaching the seaboard by way of Portland in the winter would have been a great drawback to Canada, pending the completion of the Intercolonial. Unpleasant, therefore, as it was to swallow the bitter pill of spoliation and humiliation, it was a painful necessity, and the only thing in the power of the Government to do was to endeavour to get it gilded a little so as to make it somewhat less nauseous to the public palate.

11.—When the claims for compensation on account of the Fenian Raids were withdrawn from the consideration of the Joint High Commission, it was on the understanding that their settlement would be assumed by Great Britain, and to this point the Canadian Government now addressed itself. On the 20th of January, 1872, a report of the Privy Council, in answer to the Earl of Kimberley's despatch of 23rd of November, 1871, was approved. After referring to the Fisheries clauses, and maintaining that Canada had just cause of complaint, the report goes on, as follows, to treat of the Fenian Claims:—"In the Earl of Kimberley's despatch to your Excellency, dated 23rd of November, no reference whatever is made to the subject of the Fenian Raids, and with regard to the Fishery clauses of the Treaty the only inference to be drawn from the despatch is that the objections raised by the Committee of Council are of very little weight. The Committee of Council readily admit that further controversial discussion on the points on which differences of opinion unfortunately exist between the two Governments would be unprofitable. It is, however, due both to Her Majesty's Government and to themselves that they should frankly explain to the former the conclusion at which they have arrived on the two questions discussed in their Report of 28th July last. They maintain that Canada has a just claim to compensation for the expenses incurred in consequence of the Fenian Raids. It seems unnecessary to support this opinion by further argument. \* \* \* While still adhering to their expressed opinion as to the Fishery Articles of the Treaty of Washington, they are yet most anxious to meet the views of Her Majesty's Government and to be placed in a position to propose the necessary legislative measures, and they will proceed to make a suggestion which they earnestly hope may receive a favorable response. The adoption of the principle of a money payment in satisfaction of the expenses incurred by the Fenian Raids, would not only be of no assistance to the

Treaty, but might lead to some complications. It is not improbable that differences of opinion might arise in the discussion of the details of those claims between the two Governments, which might lead to mutual dissatisfaction. Again, such a solution of the question would necessitate a discussion in the Imperial Parliament, in the course of which opinions might be expressed by members which might irritate the people of Canada and might moreover encourage the Fenian leaders in the United States, who have not ceased their agitation. There is in the opinion of the Committee of Council a mode by which their hands might be so materially strengthened that they would be enabled not only to abandon all claims on account of the Fenian Raids, but likewise to propose, with a fair prospect of success, the measures necessary to give effect to those clauses in the Treaty of Washington which require the concurrence of the Dominion Parliament. That mode is by an Imperial Guarantee to a portion of the loan which it will be necessary for Canada to raise in order to procure the construction of certain important public works, which will be highly beneficial to the United Kingdom as well as to Canada. It is not pretended that the construction of these works is contingent on an Imperial Guarantee. The credit of Canada has never stood so high in the money market as at the present time, its 5 per cent. securities being at a premium. But there is no doubt that with the Imperial Guarantee, a considerable saving of interest could be effected. The Committee of Council feel assured that Her Majesty's Government will recognise the scrupulous good faith which has invariably been observed by Canada under Governments of various shades of politics. Her Majesty's Government are aware that one of the conditions on which British Columbia joined the Confederation, was that Canada should procure the construction of an Inter-oceanic Railroad. In order to procure the construction of this gigantic work, a cash subsidy will have to be granted to the Company undertaking it, to the extent in all probability of five millions sterling. This

Report of the Privy Council with reference to compensation for Fenian Raids.

Railroad will open up for settlement the vast prairies of the North-West, which will sustain an enormous population. According to the most reliable statistics, the immigration from the United Kingdom to Canada, is in about the proportion of one to six to that from the United Kingdom to the United States, the population of the United States being more than ten times as great as that of Canada. On the other hand, the imports into Canada of staple articles of British manufacture, such as cottons, woollens, and iron and hardware, are about three times as large in proportion to population as those into the United States. It is therefore clearly the interest of the United Kingdom that the British North-West Territories should be opened for settlement as speedily as possible, and to effect this object, the Canadian Pacific Railroad is indispensably necessary. That Railroad, it may be added, would in all probability be found the most eligible mode of conveying a portion of Her Majesty's mails to the East. The time has arrived when the enlargement and extension of the Canadian Canals, so earnestly desired by the United States, as appears by the protocols attached to the Treaty of Washington, can no longer be postponed. The required works must be constructed by the Government, and will cost about three millions sterling, the aggregate of the Railroad and Canals being eight millions. The revenues of Canada are in a most satisfactory condition, and fully able to bear the increased charge which will be gradually thrown upon them. The taxes are much less than in the adjoining Republic, and are cheerfully borne by the people. The Committee of Council are of opinion that Her Majesty's Government might fairly be urged to propose to Parliament a guarantee for a Canadian loan, not to exceed four millions sterling, on the condition that such guaranteed loan should be raised at the same time, and in equal proportion with a Canadian unguaranteed loan for the same objects. The Committee of Council do not believe that any other mode can be suggested by which they would be enabled to surmount the difficulties in the way of their obtaining the consent of the

Canadian Parliament to the measures necessary to give effect to the Treaty of Washington, than that which they have felt it their duty to recommend. The Committee of Council trust, that should other difficulties be removed, Her Majesty's Government will enable them to assure the Canadian Parliament, that any recommendation made by Canada to terminate the Articles of the Treaty of Washington, numbered 18 to 25 inclusive, and likewise Article 30, in conformity with Article 33, would be acted on."

12.—This report was forwarded by the Governor-General on the 22nd of January, but was not replied to for nearly two months, the answer of the Earl of Kimberley being dated the

The British Government offers to guarantee a loan of £2,500,000.

18th of March, and the calling together of Parliament was delayed on that account until the 11th of April, as it was most desirable that the Government should either be in a position to recommend the legislation necessary to give effect to the Treaty of Washington, as soon as Parliament met, or be prepared to oppose the Treaty. The Earl of Kimberley in his reply says: "Her Majesty's Government have considered this suggestion (the guarantee of half of a loan of £8,000,000) with an earnest desire to remove the difficulties which are felt by the Canadian Government, and I have now to convey to you the conclusion at which they have arrived. They are of opinion that the most convenient course will be that it should be provided in the Acts to be passed by the Dominion Parliament to give effect to the Treaty that such Acts should only come into force upon the issue of a proclamation by the Governor-General in Council bringing them into operation. On their part Her Majesty's Government will engage that when the Treaty shall have taken effect by the issue of such proclamation, they will propose to Parliament to guarantee a Canadian loan of £2,500,000, such loan to be applied to the purposes indicated by the Council, namely, the construction of the railroad through British Territory from Canada to the Pacific, and the improvement and enlargement of the Canadian canals, and to be raised at

the same time and in equal proportion with the Canadian unguaranteed loan for the same objects, on the understanding that Canada abandon all claims on this Country on account of the Fenian Raids." With regard to the request that Her Majesty's Government would authorize the Canadian Government to announce to the Dominion Parliament that "any recommendation made by Canada to terminate the articles of the Treaty of Washington, numbered 18 to 25 inclusive, and likewise article 30, would be acted on." His Lordship replied, should a desire to terminate the Treaty at the proper time, he intimated by addresses from both Houses of the Canadian Parliament, the request should meet with due consideration at the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

13.—With this small concession, and the promise of terminating the Treaty at the end of

The terms agreed to.  
Remarks.

twelve years, the Canadian Government was forced to be content

as there appeared no chance of making any better arrangement; and, by a report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved on 15th of April, 1872, accepted the terms offered, and agreed to submit the necessary measures to the consideration of Parliament. The report concludes as follows: "The Committee of the Privy Council feel that although Her Majesty's Government have been unable to accede to their proposition in full, it is nevertheless their duty, in the interests both of Canada and the Empire at large, to accept the modified proposition of the Earl of Kimberley, and they will accordingly be prepared to propose to the Canadian Parliament, the measures necessary to give effect to those clauses of the Treaty relative to Canada." So ended the negotiations with the British Government with regard to this most unjust Treaty, and all that was left for the Canadian Government to do was to gain the consent of Parliament to the necessary legislation, a consent which there was now no doubt would be given, but which it is almost certain could not have been obtained had it been asked immediately after the Treaty was made public, and while both the press and the people were

excited at its unfairness, or if the Government had been forced to ask for it without having some equivalent—however slight—to show for the great sacrifices which Canada was called on to make. But, in the year which had elapsed since the promulgation of the Treaty the people had had time to think the matter over coolly, and to see that so long as a Liberal Government remained in power in England there was no hope of greater consideration of Canadian wishes or interests, and that we must either submit with the best grace possible, or be prepared for the agitation of the question of a separation from the Mother Country, a step which very few Canadians were prepared to advocate. The reflection that the treaty would only last twelve years was some consolation; and although the Americans had got all they demanded, still there were many who felt, as *Le Pays* expressed it, that "we ought perhaps to be thankful that they asked no more."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—DEBATE ON THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

1. BILL TO GIVE EFFECT TO THE TREATY INTRODUCED BY SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.—2. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD EXPLAINS HIS ACTION ON THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.—3. SIR JOHN'S EXPLANATION. EFFECT OF THE REPEAL OF THE DUTIES ON COAL, &c., ON THE NEGOTIATIONS.—4. SIR JOHN'S EXPLANATION. THE NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE AND LAKE MICHIGAN.—5. SIR JOHN'S EXPLANATION. THE BONDING SYSTEM AND SAN JUAN BOUNDARY QUESTION.—6. SIR JOHN'S EXPLANATION. THE OMISSION OF THE FENIAN CLAIMS FROM THE TREATY.—7. HON. MR. MACKENZIE CRITICIZES THE TREATY.—8. HON. MR. BLAKE MOVES AN AMENDMENT.—9. DEBATE ON HON. MR. BLAKE'S AMENDMENT.—10. AMENDMENTS VOTED DOWN AND BILL CARRIED BY A MAJORITY FROM EVERY PROVINCE.



1.—On the 18th of April—seven days after the meeting of Parliament, and three after the acceptance by the Privy Council of the terms offered by the Earl of Kimberley—the papers and correspondence relating to the Treaty of Washington were laid before the House; and, on the 3rd of May, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced a Bill to give effect to the Treaty. The Bill suspends certain Acts of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick inconsistent with the 18th Article of the Treaty. Fish and fish-oil (except fish of the inland lakes and rivers and those preserved in oil), being the produce of the Fisheries of the United States, are to be admitted free of duty. Goods arriving at any ports in Canada, whether from another portion of the United States or another country, may be passed through Canada free in bond, as may also goods brought from the United States to be exported from a port in Canada. United States citizens may carry goods in United States vessels, free of duty, from one place in Canada to another, provided a portion of the intermediate transportation has been by land through United States territory in bond, under regulations to be agreed upon. This Act to come into force when proclaimed by the Governor-General.\*

2.—In moving the first reading of the Bill, Sir John A. Macdonald entered into a very lengthy statement of the causes which led to the appointment of the Joint High Commission, the actions of that Commission, and the signing of the Treaty. He pointed out that the Parliament of Canada had a perfect right, if it so pleased, to reject the Bill he had brought in, no matter what the consequences of that rejection might be, which would have the effect of making clauses 18 to 25 of the Treaty a dead letter. He traced the action of the Canadian Government with reference to the Fisheries, after the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, their desire to return to the state of things anterior to that Treaty, and the entire exclusion of American

fishermen after the failure of the Howland-Galt mission to Washington to propose a new Reciprocity Treaty; the intervention of the British Government, and the subsequent adoption of the licensing system, at the suggestion of that Government; the failure of the licensing system, its abolition, the establishment of a Marine police, assisted by British cruisers, to protect the Fisheries, and the mission of the Hon. Mr. Campbell to England in 1870, to propose a Joint Commission to consider this question of the Fisheries as well as that of the Fenian Raids. He then referred to the Alabama claims, to the efforts which had been made to adjust them, the rejection of the Clarendon-Johnson Treaty by the United States Senate, and the source of constant weakness to the Empire which these unsettled claims were, so long as other nations knew that should England become engaged in war, the people of the United States would force the Government to press then for a settlement of those claims, continuing, "Hence, Mr. Speaker, the great desire of England, in my opinion, that that great question should be settled, and hence also, the intermingling of the particular questions relating to Canada with the larger Imperial questions, and, sir, in my opinion, it was of greater consequence to Canada than to England that the Alabama question should be settled." He then sketched the correspondence between the British and American Governments with reference to the Commission (as already given) and spoke of his own connection with the Commission and his reluctance to accept the position, as he felt that being only one out of five his opinions and wishes for the interest of Canada might be constantly outweighed by the other four; but that, at the advice of his colleagues he had accepted the post, so that Canada may not be unrepresented on the Commission. He then spoke of his correspondence by cable with the Imperial authorities, and the promise of the Home Government that the rights of the Dominion in the Fisheries should not be ceded without the consent of Canada, which, he held, was of great importance, as we could be assured

Bill to give effect to the Treaty introduced by Sir John A. Macdonald.

Sir John A. Macdonald explains his action on the Joint High Commission.

\* Year Book, 1873.

that "the rights of Canada to those Fisheries are beyond dispute, and that England cannot, and will not, under any circumstances whatever, cede those Fisheries without the consent of Canada. So that in any future arrangement between Canada and England or England and the United States the rights of Canada will be respected, as it is confirmed beyond dispute, that England has not the power to deprive Canada of them, so that we may rest certain that for all time to come England will not, without our consent, make any cession of these interests."

3.—Proceeding to take up the subjects of the Treaty in detail, he first dealt with the Fisheries, explaining that when he reached Washington he found the American Commissioners, as well as all the American Statesmen he met, very anxious to have that question settled, as it was feared that no matter what the wishes or intentions of the two Governments might be, the fishermen of the two nations might be drawn into actual conflict, if the policy of exclusion was continued. The first basis suggested was a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854; but the American Commissioners were certain—and from his own observation, he thought that they were correct in this assertion—that a Treaty providing for Reciprocity would not be ratified by the Senate, and it was not deemed prudent to run the risk of imperilling the settlement of all the outstanding differences between the two nations by insisting on this point; and, therefore, it was not pressed. He then referred to the partial Reciprocity which had been offered, the admission of fish, coal and salt free, and lumber after July, 1874 (see Chap. XXVI; par. 10), and the objection of the British Commissioners, that one-third of the time agreed on in the Treaty would have expired before lumber was admitted free. For the subsequent withdrawal of this proposal by the American Commissioners he held that the Canadian Parliament was to blame, for repealing the duties on coal and salt; he said, "I am as well satisfied as I can be of anything which I did not see occur that the

Sir John's explanation. Effect of the repeal of the duties on coal, &c., on the negotiations.

admission of Canadian coal and salt into the United States would have been placed in the Treaty if it had not been for the action of this Legislature. On the 25th of March that offer was made, and it was referred to England. The English Government stated that they quite agreed in the opinion that in addition to that offer there should be compensation in money, and then on the 17th of April, the American Commissioners withdrew as they had the right to do their offer altogether. And why did they withdraw the offer altogether? One of the Commissioners in conversation said to me, 'I am quite surprised to find the opposition that has sprung up to the admission of Canadian coal and salt into our market; I was quite unprepared for the feeling that is exhibited.' I know right well what the reason was. The monopolists having the control of American coal in Pennsylvania, and salt in New York, so long as the Treaty would open to them the markets in Canada for their products, were willing that it should carry, because they would have the advantage of both markets at once; but when the duty was taken off in Canada, when you had opened the market to them, whether or not, when they had the whole control of this market, whether for coal or salt, the monopolists brought down all their energies upon the Senate for the purpose of preventing the admission of Canadian coal and salt into the American market, and from that I have no doubt came the withdrawal by the American Commissioners of their offer." He then went on to say that after finding his hands as a Commissioner thus weakened by the action of the Canadian Parliament, he was forced to be content with the Reciprocity in fish and fish oil, and the agreement that a money payment should be paid, if the Arbitrators so awarded. With regard to the value of the privileges he said, "This Reciprocity Treaty is not a mere matter of sentiment—it is a most valuable privilege, which is not to be neglected, despised, or sneered at." He called attention to the fact that the fisheries of the Pacific coast and of Hudson's Bay were not included in the Treaty—both of which, he held, would before

the expiration of the Treaty be developed into very valuable privileges. With regard to the Fisheries of the inland lakes, he said that they had not been included in the Treaty at his request, as he considered that our side of the lakes had been most highly cultivated, and that the privilege of fishing in our waters on the lakes, would be far greater than that of our lake fishermen being permitted to take their catch into the American markets. Passing on to the value of the free admission of the catch of the inshore Fisheries to the people of the Maritime Provinces, he said, "The only market for the Canadian mackerel in the world is the United States," and proceeded to show how our fishermen were virtually excluded from it by the duty imposed. He claimed that the people of the Lower Provinces were in favor of the Treaty, because it gave them Reciprocity in fish, and argued that it would be unjust and ungenerous of the people of Ontario to reject the Treaty, because it did not also give them the Reciprocity which they desired. He next reviewed at length the pretensions to the Fisheries set up by the Americans under the Treaty of 1783, and their arguments that the rights given them by that Treaty had not been abrogated by the Treaty of 1814; and the constant source of dispute which had been furnished by the Convention of 1818; and argued that one of the greatest advantages of the present Treaty was, that it settled beyond the shadow of a doubt the question that our Fisheries belonged to us, for by paying a sum of money for the privilege of using them, the Americans acknowledge our proprietary right in them, just as much as a tenant acknowledged his landlord's proprietary right by paying him rent.

4.—With reference to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence granted to the Americans by the Treaty, he said that the right had been claimed by the Americans from 1822 to 1828, when it was thought that it was settled for ever by the refusal of the British Government to entertain the claim and the question had so remained until 1870, when it was again opened

by the President in his Annual Message to Congress, and had been finally settled by the Treaty. This was a subject, he said, which being one of boundary between two nations, and affecting a river forming that boundary, rested entirely with the Governments of those two countries. He pointed out that the only part of the river affected by the Treaty, was "the small piece of broken water between St. Regis and Montreal," for from its source to St. Regis the United States are part owners of the banks of the river, and, both by International law and by Treaty, the river was common to both nations; as for that portion from Montreal to the sea, no one could suppose that we desired to close that to the ships not only of the United States, but of any other nation. The real point of importance was the retention of the control of the canals, which alone made the navigation of the St. Lawrence above Montreal possible, and this had been secured to Canada, and her right to the canals acknowledged by the 27th Article. He claimed that this admission was highly important, for by the 26th Article, the navigation of the St. Lawrence, ascending to and descending from the point where it ceases to be a boundary, was secured to the United States for ever; and as the ascent could only be made by the aid of our canals, and as that was known at the time of the signing of the Treaty, he thought that the Americans might at some future time claim that the right to use the canals as well as the river was secured to them by this Article for ever, and therefore, the 27th clause had specially admitted that the canals were the property of Canada and under her control, so that this question had been provided for. As to the right to navigate the Yukon and other rivers in Alaska, he said, that their use had been guaranteed by a Treaty between Great Britain and Russia; but since the territory had been transferred to the United States, the question might be raised whether that Treaty was binding, and he thought it was of the utmost importance to the Western country that the navigation of these rivers should be declared free. With regard to the navigation of Lake

Sir John's explanation. The navigation of the St. Lawrence and Lake Michigan.

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Michigan, the honorable member for Lambton (Hon. Mr. Mackenzie) had said in one of his speeches that that lake was as much a part of the St. Lawrence as the river itself; he, (Sir John) failed to see on what ground any such claim could be made, as the lake was bounded on all sides by United States territory, had always been regarded as an inland sea—just the same as the Black Sea—and its navigation had never been claimed by Great Britain; however, he did not think the matter was of great importance, for there was no fear that the cities on Lake Michigan would ever desire to close their ports to the shipping of Canada.

5.—With reference to the 29th and 30th Articles, securing for twelve years the right of transportation in bond, and of carrying goods from one American port to another, provided part of the voyage was made through Canadian territory, he spoke of the great advantage of having secured to us by treaty what we had hitherto enjoyed by sufferance. It had been held over us as a threat by the American press that if Canadians were too "bumptious" this privilege should be taken away from them, and they should "remain cooped up in their frozen country;" but now we were secured in the right of transporting our goods in bond through American territory during the winter months when our own ports were closed, for twelve years. "And long before that time expires," he continued, "I hope we shall have the Canadian Pacific Railway reaching to the Pacific Ocean, and with the Intercolonial Railway reaching to Halifax, we shall have an uninterrupted line from one seaboard to the other." The privilege of carrying from one American port to another he considered might be a very valuable one, as it considerably ameliorated the harsh and exclusive coasting system of the United States, and opened a field for Canadian enterprise. With reference to the San Juan boundary question, he considered it was settled in a way no one could object to; and that, whatever the decision may be, neither party would have any reason to doubt the fair-

ness and impartiality of the Arbitrator, nor the ability of the many learned jurists whom he would have it in his power to consult, if he thought proper to do so.

6.—Passing from the questions which the Treaty had settled, he came to one which was omitted from it—the Fenian Raids claims. He pointed out that although we had suffered great wrong and damage by these raids, still, from our position as a Colony, we could not demand satisfaction for them ourselves but only through the British Government. The Imperial Government had been requested to present these claims against the United States and had promised to do so, and had asked the Canadian Government for a statement of the claims. This statement had not been furnished, and it had been said that it was a piece of Canadian carelessness not to furnish it; but he thought differently, he considered it a piece of Canadian caution. It was not usual in International claims of this kind for any amount to be mentioned, but only to have the principle admitted, and to have the claims themselves adjudicated upon by a mixed Commission—such as the one at present in session in Washington on claims arising out of the late civil war. The British Government had promised to urge these claims, and, when the Joint High Commission was appointed, it was considered that those claims were included; but when the British Commissioners had proposed to consider them, the American Commissioners had declined to do so, on the plea that according to their interpretation of the correspondence on the appointment of the Commission these claims were not included in the subjects to be discussed. The British Commissioners and the British Minister declared that it was always their impression that these claims were to be discussed; but the American Commissioners insisted on the exact interpretation of the letters which had passed on the subject of the Commission, and he (Sir John) admitted that, "it is altogether doubtful whether the agreement to enter into the negotiations could be construed in any way so as to

Sir John's explanation. The boundary system and San Juan boundary question.

Sir John's explanation. The omission of the Fenian claims from the Treaty.

bring these claims into the discussion." The claims were, therefore, not considered by the Commission. "Whose fault was that?" he continued. "It was the fault of Her Majesty's Government in not demanding in clear language, in terms which could not be misunderstood, that the investigation of these claims should be one of the matters dealt with by the Commission." He proceeded to argue that England was responsible for that error; that she had promised to present the claims and had not done so, and, further, that she had assumed the responsibility of withdrawing them; and that, therefore, Canada had a fair right to look to England for a settlement of these claims. It had been argued that it was a humiliation to Canada to take this money, but "It is our due," he said. "We are entitled to it, and we must have it from some one. England refused to ask it for us from the United States, and she accepted all the responsibility which that refusal involved." He then referred to the disinclination of the Canadian Government to make a direct claim for money compensation from England, which might have tended to disturb the very cordial relations existing between the Imperial and Colonial Governments; and to the suggestion of a guarantee which, "without causing England to expend a sixpence, or putting the least additional burden upon her people, would, if acted upon, do us more good, and prove of infinitely greater advantage, than any amount of mere money compensation we could reasonably expect." He argued that the solid advantage of obtaining money cheaper by this action was not its chief advantage, for by thus taking an interest in and advancing our public works England had "put a finish at once to all dreamers or speculators who may dream, or hope, or believe in the alienation and separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country." He argued that it was no more a humiliation for Canada to accept a guarantee now than it was to accept one to build the canals, or for fortifications, or for the Intercolonial; and that the Canadian Government had not made a bargain with the Imperial Government—as had been stated—to

advocate the acceptance of the Treaty in return for a guarantee; but had simply told the Imperial Government that they did not think that Canada was receiving sufficient compensation under the Treaty for what she was called on to sacrifice, and the Imperial Government had at once accepted the proposal to give a guarantee which would secure substantial advantages to Canada. In conclusion he urged the acceptance of the Treaty, saying:—"With respect to the Treaty I consider that every portion of it is unobjectionable to the country, unless the articles connected with the Fisheries may be considered objectionable. With respect to those articles, I ask this House fully and calmly to consider the circumstances, and I believe, if they fully consider the situation, that they will say it is for the good of Canada that those articles should be ratified." His speech lasted for four hours and a quarter, and was well received by the House.

7.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie replied to the explanation of Sir John, criticising his action as a member of the Commission; and took exception to the assertion Hon. Mr. Mackenzie criticises the Treaty. that the position of England was weakened amongst European nations by her outstanding differences with the United States. He thought that as one of the Colonies of Great Britain, we should endeavor by all just and reasonable means to give effect to the measures of the Mother Country; but he did not believe the national life, national glory, and national perpetuity were always to be obtained by making a sacrifice of political and territorial rights, or by what was called the "peace-at-any-price policy." He claimed that the only question at issue with the Americans with regard to the fisheries was whether the three-mile limit should be drawn across the mouths of bays which were more than six miles wide, or whether it should follow the sinuosities of those bays—the Americans had never claimed the right to fish within three miles of our shores. To settle this very simple question Hon. Mr. Campbell had been sent to England, "and out of the proposition to settle this

comparatively small subject we had this enormous matter thrown upon our hands, whereby we had deliberately sold our fisheries for naught, given away our rivers, and allowed the encroachment of the American Government upon our territorial rights. This was the true position in which to place the Treaty." He disagreed with the statement of the Premier that the rejection of a second Treaty by the Senate would have led to war between Great Britain and the United States; and protested against the attempt to carry the Treaty through the House on threats like that. He reviewed the actions of the British Commissioners, and said that they seemed to have yielded as soon as the American Commissioners objected. "The hon. gentleman (Sir John A. Macdonald) had stated that they were very urgent. They had 'set their hearts' on obtaining the St. Lawrence navigation," and therefore he had given it away. They would set their hearts on something else within a year. They were constantly setting their hearts and envious eyes on some portions of our territory; and if hon. gentlemen were to be Commissioners for this purpose, like the Dominion Premier, he feared very much that the Americans would 'set their hearts on obtaining advantages in the so-called compensation for our Fisheries." He denied the statement that the action of the House in repealing the duties on coal and salt, had prevented our having reciprocity in those articles, and quoted dates to show that the proposal of the American Commissioners to admit these articles free was made three days after the resolution was adopted by the House.\* He ridiculed the idea that the imposition of some \$200,000 duties could frighten 40,000,000 people into Reciprocity, and said it was a similar exhibition of utter folly for the Premier to try to persuade the country that but for the action of the House we would have had Reciprocity. With regard to the statement that the

Maritime Provinces were in favor of the Treaty, he could only judge by the action of one of the Legislatures, which had unanimously condemned it; and he quoted returns to show that the Fisheries had been much more productive in 1870, owing to their protection from American fishermen. With regard to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, he said that the words of the Treaty would certainly bear the interpretation put on them by the Premier, but he (Mr. Mackenzie) thought that if we were to adopt the course of excluding the Americans from our canals "we would soon be told—in a message such as the one that frightened the Commissioners last year—that we had practically annulled the Treaty by preventing them using the only means by which they could avail themselves of its privileges. They would again 'set their hearts' on obtaining the navigation of the canals, and having set their hearts on anything seemed to be ground enough for the British Commissioners to yield them anything they desired." With regard to the navigation of Lake Michigan he still claimed that we were entitled to its navigation as part of the St. Lawrence, and that even according to the interpretation of Baltic law according to the Premier, we were as much entitled to it as we were to the navigation of Lake Huron or Georgian Bay. With reference to the Alaska rivers he claimed that their navigation was already secured by Treaty with Russia, and it was generally acknowledged by writers on International law that change of sovereignty did not affect treaties of that nature. He would also like to know why the Commissioners had not included the Columbia River, which was in precisely the same position as the St. Lawrence. We had one of the great rivers falling into the Pacific closed against us, but we had yielded our great river falling into the Atlantic. With reference to the settlement of the Fenian Claims by accepting a money guarantee from the British Government, he said that the Canadian Government itself had condemned the principle of a money payment, for, in the Minute of Council of 28th of July, they say: "The principle of a

\* Sir John A. Macdonald in defence of his statement said that although from the protocol it would appear that the offer was made on the 25th of March, it was really made some time before, the meeting of the 25th being the last of several, and the protocols not giving the details of each meeting, but only results.



money payment for the cession of territorial rights has ever been most repugnant to the feelings of the Canadian people," and yet the House was asked to accept some one hundred, or one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for giving up the rights of the country. For his own part "nothing would ever remove the feeling of degradation he entertained at the Government of our country proposing to accept in lieu of these Fenian Claims—that ought to have been pressed from a higher consideration than that of money—to accept, in lieu of that satisfaction we were entitled to, this wretched consideration of money, after all that they had written themselves upon it. He believed that this country was able and willing to raise all the money it required without begging favors from the Imperial Government in exchange for undoubted rights." The Bill was then read the first time.

8.—On the motion for the second reading of the Bill, on the 8th of May, Hon. Mr. Blake said that he would endeavour to show to the House, in as few words as possible, what the course of the negotiations had been on this question; what the course of the Government had been; and what ought to be the attitude of the country. He then entered into a long statement of the position in which the Fisheries question stood before the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854; of the suspension of the question during the existence of that Treaty; of the action of the Canadian Government at the time of the abrogation of that Treaty, of the failure of the licensing system, and the beneficial results of the policy of exclusion of American fishermen which had followed the abandonment of the licensing system. He dwelt at length on the value of the Fisheries, and quoted from Orders-in-Council and Reports of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to show what value the Government themselves had put on them, although the House was now informed that they were not so very valuable after all. He entered *in extenso* into the question of headlands, and showed the interpretation which the Canadian Government,

at the instance of the Imperial authorities, had given to it. He reviewed the circumstances attending the appointment of the Commission and the actions of the Commissioners who had "said in effect, that they were prepared to do what the Americans pleased about the Fisheries." He then went on to show how the Commissioners had allowed the Americans to have their own way in everything, and said, "Not content with agreeing that the United States fishermen should enjoy in common with our citizens the right of fishing in our waters for a certain term of years, they had left unsettled the question of what our rights were under the Convention of 1818. Why did they leave that question unsettled? Was it not important that it should be settled? Did not the despatches they themselves had written show that every year the question was left unsettled its solution would become more difficult if we were for a time to give up a common right? It was certainly a proper period and the best period to demand that the cession should be preceded by a settlement of the disputed question. With our right determined we should then know, when the period would be over, what our rights were. There would then be no disputed question of right, and there would be only the question whether we should make a new bargain at the close of the term, or resort to the policy of exclusion from the limits settled by the Treaty of 1818. Therefore, he contended, it was a blunder in statesmanship not capable of being surpassed, except by some others accompanying the negotiations for this Treaty, when they agreed to give up common right for a time, and did not insist in having our rights settled once and forever." On the question of the Fenian claims he said that it was painful to contrast the conduct of the British Government in this matter with the course they had pursued with reference to the murder of Englishmen by Greek brigands, and towards Abyssinia. He approved of the conduct of the Canadian Government in maintaining their rights in these claims and expressing their dissatisfaction with the Fisheries clauses in their despatch to the

Hon. Mr. Blake  
moves an  
amendment.

Imperial Government of 28th July; but could not reconcile the attitude then assumed with the position taken in January, when they offered, for a paltry money consideration, to abandon the Fenian claims and accept the Fisheries clauses. He was opposed to the acceptance of a money consideration, and thought that if Canada had to make the sacrifice at all, it would have been better to have made it only for the good of the whole Empire. He spoke for nearly four hours, very fully reviewing the whole Treaty, and concluded by moving, seconded by Hon. Mr. Dorion in amendment to the motion, that the Bill be read a second time: "That, before proceeding further upon the said Bill, this House feels bound to declare that while Her Majesty's loyal subjects, the people of Canada, will at all times cheerfully make any reasonable sacrifice in the interests of the Empire, we have just ground for the great dissatisfaction prevailing throughout the country at the mode in which our rights have been dealt with in the negotiations resulting in the Treaty of Washington, and at the subsequent proposal of our Government that England should endorse a Canadian Loan as a price for our adoption of the Treaty and for our abandonment of the claims in respect of the Fenian Raids, which affect, not merely our purse, but also our honor and our peace."

9.—The Hon. W. Macdougall said that he regarded the amendment as, practically, a rejection of the Treaty. He thought that it mattered very little what the despatches of the Government were, or what Sir John A. Macdonald ought, or ought not to have done; what the House had to consider was the Treaty as it stood before them, on its own merits. He then proceeded to show that under the old Reciprocity Treaty, the Maritime Provinces had enjoyed great advantages by having the use of the American markets for the sale of their fish, and the trade which had sprung up had caused great prosperity along the coasts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which he believed would be renewed under the present Treaty. He was disposed to think that

the American fisheries to which we were admitted by the Treaty, were not so utterly worthless as they had been represented to be. The Governments of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island had accepted the Treaty, and, he believed that the people of the Maritime Provinces were well satisfied with it. The Opposition came from Western Ontario; and he charged the party leaders with opposing it for the purpose of making political capital, contrasting their conduct with that of the Conservative party in England, and deprecating the introduction into the question of any party considerations. With regard to the Fenian claims, he thought that a strict observance of International obligations could scarcely be expected from a country where so much license was allowed as was the case in the United States; and that as the Imperial Government was satisfied in the matter, it was doubtful whether we as a Colony had any right to demur. He held that England had made considerable sacrifices for Canada, for it was extremely doubtful whether she would have consented to apologize and to submit the Alabama claims to arbitration, had she not been an American as well as an European power; and spoke in favor of the Treaty in general, as a guarantee of peace and security. Mr. Rymal made a personal attack on Hon. Mr. Macdougall, and expressed himself as being opposed to the Treaty. Mr. Young followed in support of the amendment and used the same arguments as those advanced by Messrs. Mackenzie and Blake in condemning the Treaty. In conclusion, he said, "Pass this Treaty and we yield up our Fisheries, ostensibly for twelve years, but, virtually, I believe, forever; pass this Treaty and we yield up one of our great natural resources; pass this Treaty, and we invite future depredations on the part of the Fenians; pass this Treaty, and we practically invite the United States to make fresh demands on Great Britain and Canada; pass this Treaty, and we yield up all hope of our farmers getting a new Reciprocity Treaty; pass this Treaty, and I do not hesitate to say, that however the Government may seek to conceal it, the people

Debate on Hon. Mr. Blake's Amendment.

will deplore it, as it will weaken the tie which binds us to the Mother Country, and push us a step further within the grasp of the United States." Hon. Mr. Huntington did not wish to speak to the merits of the question, for he could not see the utility of discussing the Treaty when it appeared likely that the Geneva Conference would be a failure, and the whole Treaty fall through. He regarded the matter as a solemn farce, and could see no object in the Government's pressing the matter before it was known whether or not the Treaty would be carried out, unless it was to secure what he may term "the bribe" offered by the British Government. He hoped that the matter would be postponed until it was decided whether the Treaty really did exist. The debate was then adjourned.

10.—The debate was resumed on the 10th by Mr. Mills, who condemned the Treaty; and was

Amendments voted down and Bill carried by a majority from every Province.

continued on the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th, a vote not being reached until the morning of the 17th. No less than forty-six members participated in the debate, of whom thirty-six spoke in favor of the Treaty, although some did not quite approve of the conduct of the Government in the matter, but supported the Treaty in the interests of peace and to preserve British connection; and thirteen against it. It would be impossible in our limited space to give a synopsis of each speaker's remarks; we shall, therefore content ourselves with giving the names of those who expressed their willingness to accept the Treaty; they were, Messrs. Galt, Howe, Gray, Hincks, J. H. Cameron, Power, Wallace, Coffin, O'Connor, Harrison, Tupper, Killam, Holton, Cartier, Campbell (Guysboro), Smith (Westmoreland), Chauveau, Baker, Macdonald (Lunenburg), Street, Tilley, Morris, Bolton, Macdonald (Middlesex), Thompson, Merritt, Smith (Selkirk), Workman (Montreal West), McCallum, Stephenson, Schultz, Grant and Holmes. The thirteen who spoke against the Treaty were, Messrs. Bodwell, Connell, Magill, Oliver, Ross (Victoria), M. C. Cameron, Jones (Halifax), Dorion, Fortin, Scatcherd, Anglin, Mackenzie and Robitaille.

Mr. Bodwell moved in amendment to the amendment of Mr. Blake, that all words after "that" be left out, and the following inserted, "having regard to the existing differences between the United States and Great Britain concerning the proceedings necessary to give effect to the Treaty of Washington, it is inexpedient to proceed further at this time upon the said Bill." On a division being taken on this amendment—at 12.15 on the morning of the 17th,—it was defeated 50 for, 125 against. Hon. Mr. Blake's amendment was then put and lost, 52 for, 124 against. The motion of Sir John A. Macdonald for the second reading of the Bill was then put and carried, 121 for, 55 against. In the Senate, the second reading was moved, on the 28th of May, by the Hon. Mr. Campbell, who went over pretty nearly the same ground already covered in the Commons. Hon. Letellier de St. Just, leader of the Opposition replied, attacking the Treaty, but said he did not propose to offer any amendment. Speeches in favor of the Treaty were made by Hon. Messrs. Wark, Macdonald, Northup, Macpherson, Holmes, Carrall, Allan and Girard, and against it by Hon. Mr. Dickey, after which the bill was passed without division.\*

\* YEAS.—Messrs. Abbott, Archambault, Ault, Baker, Barthe, Beatty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bolton, Brown, Brousseau, Burpee, Cameron (Inverness), Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Carmichael, Caron, Cartier, Carter, Cayley, Chauveau, Collier, Colby, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Cumberland, Currier, Daoust, DeCosmos, DeLorme (Provencher), Dobbie, Drew, Dugas, Ferguson, Ferris, Galt, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Hagar, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Holmes, Holton, Houghton, Hudon, Irvine, Jackson, Jones (Leeds), Keeler, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, Le Visconte, Little, Macdonald (Kingston), McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson, (Soulange), Masson Terrebonne, McCallum, Macdougall (Lauark), McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McKeagney, Merritt, Moffat, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Nathan, Nelson, O'Connor, Pearson, Perry, Pichard, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Power, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ryan (King's, N.B.), Ryan (Montreal West), Savary, Schultz, Scriver, Shanly, Simard, Smith (Selkirk), Smith (Westmoreland), Sprout, Stephenson, Street, Sylvain, Thompson (Cariboo), Tilly, Tourangeau, Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace (Albert), Wallace (Vancouver), Walsh, Webb, Whitehead, Willson, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County).—121.

NAVES.—Messrs. Anglin, Bechard, Blake, Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Cameron (Huron), Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Delorme (St. Hyacinthe), Dorion, Fortier, Fortin, Fournier, Geoffrion, Godin, Joly, Jones (Halifax), Kempt, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, Ont.), Munroe, Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Poyer, Redford, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N.G.), Ross (Wellington), Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirling, Thompson (Halifax), Thompson (Ontario), Wells, White (Halton), White (East Hastings), Wood, Wright (York, Ont.), Young.—55.

## CHAPTER XXX.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—PRINCIPAL  
EVENTS OF 1872.

1. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. DEEPENING THE ST. LAWRENCE CHANNEL.—2. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. BAY VERTE CANAL. PILOTS. RAILWAYS.—3. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. PROPOSAL TO FORM A ZOLLVEREIN WITH THE UNITED STATES.—4. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. THE ZOLLVEREIN IDEA REJECTED.—5. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. PETROLEUM. PROTECTION. TARIFF.—6. THE "NINE HOUR" MOVEMENT.—7. EXTENSIVE FIRES AND LOSS OF LIFE.—8. TERRIBLE RAILWAY ACCIDENT ON THE GRAND TRUNK. THIRTY LIVES LOST.—9. DEPARTURE OF LORD LISGAR.

1.—The first event of importance, taken in chronological order, which occurred in 1872, was the second annual meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade, which was opened in the Railway Committee room, Ottawa, on the 17th of January, the Board remaining in session four days. Representatives from fifteen Trade Associations were present, and the President, Hon. John Young presided.† The report of the Executive Committee was read and adopted,

This was an unusually large vote, 170 members voting out of a House of 191, and a careful analysis of the vote shows that not only did the government have a majority from each Province, but a majority of the whole representation of each Province, even if all absentees were counted as being in Opposition, as will be seen by the following table:—

	Whole Representation.	Members Present.	For 2nd Reading.	Against.	Government majority.
Ontario.....	82	78	44	34	10
Quebec.....	62	61	45	16	29
Nova Scotia.....	19	15	13	2	11
New Brunswick.....	15	13	10	3	7
Manitoba.....	4	3	3	..	3
British Columbia.....	4	6	6	..	6
	191	170	121	55	66

† The following is a list of the delegates present:—

MONTRÉAL BOARD OF TRADE.—Hon. John Young, Messrs. Hugh McLennan, Thomas Rimmer, John Oulvey, J. R. Thibault.  
MONTRÉAL CURE EXCHANGE.—Messrs. M. P. Ryan, Gilbert Scott, James McDougall, James Atkins, L. E. Morin.

after a short discussion in consequence of its having embodied in it the resolutions passed by the National Board of Trade of the United States in favor of a Commercial Union between Canada and the United States; but the objection to the report was withdrawn on the understanding that its adoption in no way committed the Board to the resolutions passed by the National Board of Trade. The election of officers for the ensuing year then took place, and resulted in the choice of Col. William McGivern, of Hamilton, as President, who at once took his seat. The first business considered was the importance of deepening the channel of the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal from twenty to twenty-four feet. A resolution to the effect that the Dominion Government be petitioned to proceed with this work at once, was moved by the Hon. John Young, seconded by Mr. M. P. Ryan. Hon. John Young argued in favor of the motion, holding that as large vessels reduced the cost of carrying, it was of the utmost importance that the greatest possible facilities should be afforded to the larger class of ocean-going vessels to reach the head of navigation, so as to lessen the rate of freight from the West. He held that this was not a subject affecting sectional interests alone; but was one of the utmost importance to the West, as well as to Montreal. Mr. H. Fry moved in amendment, seconded by Hon. W. H. Howland, that before deepening the channel of the St. Lawrence the Government should proceed with

TORONTO BOARD OF TRADE.—Hon. W. H. Howland, Messrs. John Morrison, Robert Spratt, Robert Wilkes.

OTTAWA BOARD OF TRADE.—Hon. James Skead, Hon. Malcolm Cameron, Messrs. E. McMillan, G. H. Perry.

QUEBEC BOARD OF TRADE.—Hon. J. P. Garneau, Messrs. Henry Fry, A. Joseph.

ST. JOHN, N.B., BOARD OF TRADE.—Messrs. S. D. Berlin, M. Lindsay, R. S. DeVeber.

ST. HYACINTHE BOARD OF TRADE.—Messrs. G. Cheval, H. J. Doherty, C. Langlier.

HAMILTON BOARD OF TRADE.—Messrs. William McGivern, James Watson.

BRANTFORD BOARD OF TRADE.—Messrs. A. Watts, W. J. Imlach.

PETROLIA BOARD OF TRADE.—Messrs. E. D. Kirby, W. McMullin.

LONDON BOARD OF TRADE.—Messrs. Thomas Thompson, Thomas Charney.

SARITA BOARD OF TRADE.—Messrs. A. F. Howell, James King.

ST. JOHN, Q., BOARD OF TRADE.—Messrs. F. O. Marchand, E. K. Smith.

STRATFORD BOARD OF TRADE.—Mr. P. R. Jarvis.

BELLEVEILLE BOARD OF TRADE.—Hon. Robert Rea I.

the enlargement of the Welland, St. Lawrence and Ottawa canals, as agreed on at the time of Confederation. Messrs. Fry, Howland, Cameron and others supported the amendment, arguing that the enlargement of the canals was a work of more general importance to the whole Dominion and should be proceeded with first. After some discussion in which the Montreal delegates generally advocated the deepening of the St. Lawrence channel, and the Western men generally favored preference being given to the enlargement of the canals, the amendment was carried by a vote of 18 to 12.

2.—On the following day, the 18th, the subject of the Bay Verte canal was introduced by the delegates from St. John, N.B., and a resolution proposed to the effect that if the surveys then progressing were favorable, the Dominion Government should proceed with the work at once. Hon. W. H. Howland moved that the words "as soon as our means will allow" be added, and after some discussion the motion as amended was adopted. Mr. H. Fry moved that the Dominion Government be petitioned to amend the law relating to pilots, so as to make the service more effective; and also that vessels trading to the West Indies and Newfoundland be exempted from compulsory pilotage as well as vessels under 300 tons. After a short discussion, in which several delegates complained of the incapacity of several of the St. Lawrence pilots, the resolution was adopted. The question of railways was next discussed, and a resolution was introduced by Hon. W. H. Howland, to the effect that it was advisable that support should be given to a new road to run direct from Toronto to Ottawa, there to connect with the North Shore and Northern Colonization Railways, thus giving Toronto and the West another trunk line to tide water. After some discussion the resolution was withdrawn.

3.—The Hon. John Young then moved, "That it be an instruction to the Executive Council of this Board, to appoint a delegation to confer with the Executive Council of the National

Dominion Board of Trade, Bay Verte canal, Pilots, Railways.

Dominion Board of Trade. Proposal to form a Zollverein with the United States.

Board of Trade of the United States on trade relations between the United States and the Dominion." This gave the honorable gentleman an opportunity to express his views on the subject of a Customs Union, or Zollverein, with the United States, which he had been advocating for some time past, and which had been approved by the National Board of Trade of the United States at its last annual meeting at St. Louis, and which was favored by a very small party of annexationists in Canada who had gained a little encouragement from the disregard to Canadian interests by the Imperial Government, as evidenced by the Treaty of Washington, and the feeling of dissatisfaction which had been raised in Canada by that Treaty. In advocating his views, the Hon. Mr. Young instanced the success which had attended the formation of the German Zollverein, and also the advantages which had accrued to the United States by having Free Trade between all the States, and to Canada since Confederation had abolished the various Provincial tariffs, and established a common Custom House, with unrestricted Inter-Provincial Trade. He held that a Customs Union between the Dominion and the United States would be of great advantage to Canada; would very much reduce the cost of collecting the revenue, as it would abolish so many Customs Houses between the two countries; and that it would not, necessarily, lead to a political union.

4.—Hon. W. H. Howland was entirely opposed to the idea of a Zollverein. He thought that "if we put the management of our commercial arrangements out of our hands, we must necessarily put the Government of our country out of our hands," and argued that a commercial union with the United States would only be the beginning of annexation. He referred to the Munroe doctrine of "manifest destiny," and said he was surprised while in St. Louis to find how thoroughly impregnated with it the Americans were, and that they would scarcely listen to him with patience when he told them that Canada preferred to retain her own

Dominion Board of Trade. The Zollverein idea rejected.

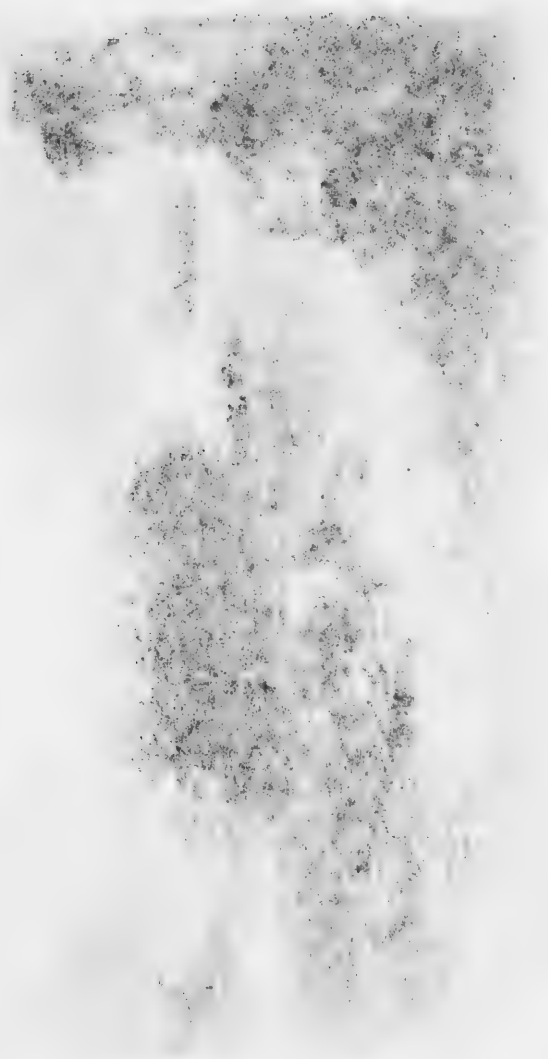


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autonomy, and not to be absorbed by the United States. He concluded by moving in amendment, "that in the opinion of this Board the alterations in our trade relations with the United States as proposed in the resolutions carried by the National Board of Trade could not be entertained as far as the idea of a Zollverein is concerned; but we express at the same time our most cordial willingness to negotiate with the United States for the purpose of relieving the trade between the two countries of all restrictions interfering with the legitimate prosecution of trade so far as may be found beneficial to the interests of both countries." Mr. Morin, of Montreal, spoke in favor of a Zollverein and Messrs. Watson, Imlach, McLennan, Wilkes and others against it. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Wilkes said, "A Commercial Zollverein of two independent nations is not commercial liberality; but it is combined illiberality against the other nations of the world." The discussion was the most animated of the meeting, and the expression of opinion was so generally against the proposed Zollverein that Hon. Mr. Howland's amendment was carried without a division; after which the motion to appoint delegates to attend the next annual meeting of the National Board of Trade of the United States was adopted.

5.—On the nineteenth a resolution was introduced by Mr. Kirby, of Sarnia, to the effect that the Dominion Government be petitioned to repeal the Act imposing an excise duty of five cents per gallon on refined petroleum, and to substitute an inspection fee of fifty cents per barrel. A long discussion ensued on the unsatisfactory working of the law as it stood, and the sum of one dollar being inserted instead of fifty cents; after which the motion as amended was carried, on division, by a vote of 18 to 17. The balance of the session was mainly devoted to a discussion of the tariff, in the course of which Sir Francis Hincks and Hon. Mr. Tilley addressed the Board. In view of the approaching session of Parliament and changes which might possibly be made then, no

action was taken by the Board. The question of Protection was raised by the introduction by Mr. Langlier, of St. Hyacinthe, and by Mr. Smith, of St. John's, P.Q., of series of resolutions in favor of moderate protection to home manufactures; but the subject was laid over without debate. On the twentieth a memorial to the Dominion Government was adopted asking for the enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canals, and the improvement of the Ottawa River navigation; and, after the customary votes of thanks, the meeting adjourned.

6.—During the early part of the year the "Nine hour movement"—which was being agitated in the States as the The "Nine hour" movement. "Eight hour movement"—spread very generally over the principal cities of Canada, and was adopted by the Trades Unions, whilst "Nine hour Clubs" were formed, and a strong effort made to cause the hours of labor to be reduced from ten to nine hours. The "Movement" was only an attempt to get more wages, made in the shape of an appeal for shorter hours instead of a direct demand for more pay, for the "Movement" men required that their wages should not be reduced, only the number of hours a day that they were required to work lessened. Public meetings were held in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton and many other places, and the question, on the whole, fairly and dispassionately discussed, without any disorder or disturbance. The only trouble which may be said to have arisen out of the movement was the printer's strike in Toronto, of which we have already treated. For awhile it was feared that a strong struggle between employers and employes would result from the movement, and, in some cases—as with the master printers in Toronto—the employers combined to resist the demands of the men; but no serious difficulty arose, in some instances the employers yielded, in others a compromise was arrived at by allowing a half-holiday on Saturday afternoon, and, as times grew hard and work scarce, the movement, which was mostly the outgrowth of "good times" and plenty of work, gradually died out.

Dominion Board of  
Trade. Petroleum.  
Protection. Tariff.



We cannot do better than introduce here the remarks made on this subject by Lord Lisgar at the farewell banquet given him before his departure for England. "He had heard apprehensions expressed in more than one quarter representing Trades Unions and combinations to demand higher wages. It was feared that these would retard the progress of public works. He thought these apprehensions need not be indulged in. Combinations for demanding high rates of wages were seldom successful except amongst trades where the workmen are few and the centres of operation are limited in number. In all other cases wages tended to find their natural level, and if the workmen demand more than a proper rate the effect would be to throw many of their number out of employment. The intelligence of the laborers would soon find this out, and combinations and unions assisted them to find it out. They should not, therefore, be put down either by legislation or force so long as they abstained from molestation of parties unwilling to join them."\*

7.—Quite a number of serious fires, some attended with loss of life, occurred during the early part of the year, the most extensive of which broke out in the stable of the Royal Exchange Hotel, Ingersoll, on the morning of the 7th of May, and destroyed the best part of the business portion of the town—including the Niagara District Bank and the *Chronicle* office—before the flames were subdued. Many families were rendered homeless and two persons were killed by the falling walls. The loss was upwards of \$300,000, only partially covered by Insurance. The heavy loss was mainly attributable to the lack of water works and the want of fire protection, and it was thought that nearly the whole town would have been destroyed, but for the timely arrival of the London Fire Brigade which speedily conquered the fire. Montreal had two extensive fires, and many small ones. The first large fire was on the morning of the 27th of March, when the brass

Extensive fires and  
loss of life.

\* *Toronto Globe*, 21st June, 1872.

foundry of Charles Garth and Sons, Craig Street, was destroyed causing a loss of about \$50,000, on which there was only \$20,000 Insurance. The fire occurred at half past one in the morning, at which time the water was shut off at the reservoir, and it was nearly half an hour before full pressure was on, by which time nearly the whole building was destroyed. The second fire was at the Victoria Straw Works on the 4th of May, when damage to the extent of about \$20,000 was done to the Straw Works and to the *Star* newspaper. On the 28th of January fifteen houses were burned in the village of Norwich, damage to the extent of \$30,000 being done, and extensive fires also occurred at Whitby, Collingwood, Perth, Coaticook, Elora and Ottawa. At Bradford, Ont., on the 15th of January, the house of a Mr. Tessier was burned and five persons who were in at the time perished in the flames. At Stanfold, Que., on the 16th of March, three persons were burned to death and several others lost their lives in small fires at various places. The most destructive fire, however, as far as the value of property destroyed was concerned, occurred in Toronto, on the night of the 14th of February, when the greater portion of the Iron block on Front Street was burned, involving a loss of nearly \$400,000. This block consisted of eleven fine stores, and had only been erected in the fall of 1871 at a cost of over \$130,000. Eight of the stores, with most of their contents, were destroyed, and several other buildings were damaged.

8.—The morning of the 22nd of June was marked by one of the most appalling railway accidents which has ever occurred in Canada, by which twenty-four human beings were hurled into eternity with scarcely a moments warning, and forty-five were wounded, six of whom died shortly after, and many were maimed and crippled for life. The No 3 Express train of the Grand Trunk, going East, left Toronto for Montreal shortly after seven o'clock on the evening of the 21st of June, and all went well until about one o'clock on the following

Terrible railway  
accident on the  
Grand Trunk. Thirty  
lives lost.

morning when, as the train was nearing Shannonville, about eleven miles from Belleville, the flange of one of the front wheels of the engine broke and the locomotive "jumped the track," dragging the smoking car and the second class car with it. In the second class car were three families, and about fifty-five lumbermen—mostly French Canadians—many of whom had been employed felling poles for the Dominion Telegraph Company. Almost immediately after the engine left the track it tumbled down the embankment, which was about eight feet deep, the smoke stack and part of the boiler projecting inwards towards the track. The smoking and second class cars, which were next to the engine, telescoped and run on over the boiler, in their course knocking the safety valve off and allowing the whole body of steam to escape into the second class car, which had fallen over on its side. The scene which ensued was appalling. Penned up in the crowded car and unable for some terrible moments to make any effort to escape, the unfortunate passengers were fairly boiled to death or suffocated by the hot steam. Fortunately the two first class cars and the Pullman which completed the train, did not leave the track, and beyond a shaking their occupants were not hurt, they were, therefore, at liberty to help the sufferers, and there being a quantity of crowbars, which the lumbermen had been using, in the baggage car, no time was lost in breaking into the telescoped cars and extricating those who were still alive. It was found that twenty-four were either dead or so injured that they died almost immediately, and of the forty-five who were scalded or had limbs broken, six more died in the course of the next few days. The sufferers were taken to Belleville and an inquest held which resulted in a verdict that the disaster was caused by the breaking of a flange and was purely accidental, the Company not being in any way to blame. This, however, was not satisfactory to those who were always ready to find fault with the Grand Trunk, and throw blame, justly or unjustly, on the management of Mr. Brydges, and a cry of a "white-

washing" verdict was raised which induced Attorney-General Crooks, of Ontario, to order another inquest to be held on one of the wounded men, who died after the first inquest was closed, and thus reopen the whole enquiry. Nothing more, however, came of this inquest than the first, and no blame could be attached to the Company for what was purely accidental, and no foresight on its part could have prevented.

9.—In proroguing Parliament on the 14th of June, Lord Lisgar bade farewell to Canada—and indeed his successor was already on his way to Quebec—

*Departure of Lord Lisgar.*

but before his departure he was entertained at a public dinner in Montreal. The dinner was given at the St. Lawrence Hall, and about one hundred and fifty sat down, amongst them Sir George E. Cartier, Sir Francis Hincks, Hon. Dr. Tupper and other Ministers; Sir A. T. Gault, Lieutenant-Governors Doyle, of Nova Scotia, and Wilmot, of New Brunswick, Consul-General Dart, Hon. L. H. Holton, and many other leaders of both the great political parties. In returning thanks to the toast of the evening, Lord Lisgar briefly reviewed the progress of Canada during the three years he had administered the Government, and referred with pride and pleasure to the great and important changes which had taken place since his arrival, the acquisition of the North-West; the pacification of Nova Scotia; the erection of the Province of Manitoba and the restoration of order in the Red River country; the admission of British Columbia; the signing of the Treaty of Washington, and the promised building of the Pacific Railway. A vast change had taken place in the Dominion, and he congratulated her on her progress so far and augured well for her future. He sailed from Quebec on the twenty-second, taking with him the good wishes of the people, but not very deeply regretted, for without having been unpopular, he had never become a very popular Governor. His administration was marked by many important events, as enumerated above, and he had done his duty conscientiously and well, to the satisfaction of His Sovereign and in a manner

acceptable to the bulk of the people; but he awoke no enthusiasm, such as was evoked by his successor, and is mostly remembered as "a good old man."

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN— PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1872.

1. APPOINTMENT OF LORD DUFFERIN RATHER A DISAPPOINTMENT.—2. PREVIOUS SERVICES OF LORD DUFFERIN.—3. ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION OF LORD DUFFERIN.—4. VISITS TO QUEBEC AND ONTARIO. HIS EXCELLENCY'S POPULARITY.—5. DISTURBANCE IN OTTAWA ON THE 12TH OF JULY. FIREARMS USED. 6 TURNING THE FIRST SOD OF THE NORTH SHORE RAILWAY.—7. MARINE DISASTERS. LOSSES OF LIFE AND PROPERTY. SEIZURES. 8. DECISION OF THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY ON THE SAN JUAN BOUNDARY QUESTION.—9. THE CANADIAN TEAM WIN THE KOIAPORE CUP.—10. THE EPIZOOTIC.—11. EXTENSIVE FIRES IN TOWNS AND CITIES.—12. CABINET CHANGES. THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

1.—Singular as it may now appear, in the light of after events, the appointment of the Earl of Dufferin as the successor of Lord Lisgar in the Governor-Generalship of the Dominion was not welcomed with any degree of enthusiasm in Canada, although it was generally regarded as a good appointment; and the general and wide-spread popularity which that nobleman achieved during his six years residence amongst us, and the feelings of love and affection which he inspired in the hearts of Canadians of all creeds and classes, was due entirely to his own intrinsic worth, and his admirable administrative qualities and not to any preliminary flourish of trumpets heralding his coming. Indeed we rather think that his appointment partook somewhat of a disappointment to many Canadians, for it had been suggested at the time

of the marriage of the Marquis of Lorne and H. R. H. the Princess Louise, (21st March, 1871), that he should become Lord Lisgar's successor, and H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh had also been mentioned in this connection, so that the appointment of a gentleman who, however distinguished in England, was almost unknown in Canada, and whose very name was strange to the great mass of the people, while it was received with satisfaction, gave rise to no such feelings of enthusiasm as it was afterwards his fortune to evoke in every part of the broad Dominion in which he appeared.

2.—The Earl of Dufferin is descended from a noble Irish family, and was born at Florence, on 21st of June, 1826. He was <sup>Previous services of Lord Dufferin.</sup> educated at Eton, and Christ Church, Oxford, and succeeded to the title in 1841, while still in his minority. In 1849 he was appointed a Lord-in-Waiting to the Queen, a post which he held until 1852, under Lord John Russell's administration, and again filled the same office from 1854 to 1858, on the return of his party to power. In 1850 he was created an English Baron and took his seat in the House of Lords as Lord Clandeboyne, where he attracted some attention, especially by his speeches on the question of the tenure of land in Ireland and the relations of landlord and tenant. In 1855 he accompanied Lord John Russell as an *attaché* to his special mission to Vienna, and displayed such administrative ability, that, in 1860, he was appointed by Lord Palmerston British Commissioner to Syria to enquire into the massacres of Christians which had been taking place, a task he accomplished with so much satisfaction to the Government that he was made K.C.B. for his services. In 1864 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County Down, and the same year took the position of Under-Secretary of State for India, which he held until 1866 when he became Under-Secretary for War. In the same year he was offered the Governorship of Bombay, but declined on account of his mother's health. On the return of the Liberal party to power in December 1868, he was appointed Chancellor of

Appointment of Lord Dufferin rather a disappointment.

the Duchy of Lancaster and Paymaster, which he retained until his appointment as Governor-General in April 1872. Lord Dufferin had been over twenty years in public life at the time of his appointment, and had gained such favor with the leaders of his party, that on the assassination of Earl Mayo, Vice-Roy of India, he was generally spoken of as the successor of that unfortunate nobleman; Lord Northbrook was, however, given the Governor-Generalship of India and Lord Dufferin sent to Canada. Previous to his departure he was entertained at a public dinner at Belfast, where he delivered what may be called the first of his Canadian speeches, in which he displayed an amount of knowledge of our affairs, and a study of our resources and requirements which was highly gratifying to Canadians accustomed as we had been to the appointment of Governors who came to us knowing little about our needs or aspirations and left knowing less. Lord Dufferin labored under the disadvantage of being appointed by the Gladstone Administration, which was highly unpopular in Canada on account of its avowed policy of letting the Colonies "shift for themselves," and for their surrender of Canadian interests by the Treaty of Washington; and his having been a member of the Government caused at first a slight suspicion that he may have been appointed for the purpose of carrying out some Imperial project for the total separation of the Dominion from the Mother Country, but such a fear soon passed away and His Excellency developed such remarkable power as a Constitutional ruler, that he rose rapidly into public favor and before the end of the year had already become one of the most popular Governors who have ever represented Her Majesty in British North America. Canada has very little cause to be thankful to the Gladstone Administration, but we have to thank it for the appointment of the Earl of Dufferin, an act which went a long way towards removing the soreness which the withdrawal of the troops, the Washington Treaty, and the possible abandonment of the Colonies had caused.

3.—Lord Dufferin sailed from Derry in the Allan steamer, *Prussian*, on the 13th of June, and arrived at Quebec, on the 25th, where he was met by Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Francis Hincks and other members of the Cabinet; Sir Hastings Doyle, who had been sworn in as Administrator of the Government during the brief period elapsing between the departure of Lord Lisgar and the arrival of the Earl of Dufferin; Sir Narcisse Belleau, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec; Hon. Dr. Blanchet, Speaker of the Quebec Legislature; the Mayor and Aldermen of Quebec, and a large assemblage of citizens of Quebec and other cities. His Excellency was at once sworn in as Governor-General of Canada by His Honor Chief-Justice Meredith, and was afterwards presented with addresses from the Corporation, the Board of Trade, the St. Patrick's Society and the Literary and Historical Society. On the following day His Excellency and Lady Dufferin visited the Camp at Point Levis, and then left for Ottawa, which place he reached on the evening of the twenty-seventh, and was received by the Mayor and Corporation, who presented an address, and representatives of the various National and other Societies, by whom addresses were also presented. After a brief rest at the seat of Government to recover the effects of his voyage, His Excellency set about carrying out that policy of visiting all portions of the Dominion and making himself familiar with the people which subsequently endeared him to the public heart. Military camps were then being formed throughout the various Provinces for the usual annual drill, and such of these as were convenient His Excellency determined to visit. On the 1st of July, he left Ottawa and visited the camps at Prescott and Kingston, and then proceeded to Montreal, where he arrived on the third, and on the following day visited the camp at Laprairie. On his return to the city he was presented with an address by the Mayor and Corporation, and the same evening left for Quebec, where he spent a few days as the guest of Sir Narcisse Belleau, and then proceeded to River

Arrival and reception  
of Lord Dufferin.

du Loup, where he passed the next two months.

4—On the 20th of August His Excellency, accompanied by Lady Dufferin, returned to

*Visits to Quebec  
and Ontario. His  
Excellency's  
popularity.*

Quebec and remained there until the 23rd of September. It was

here that he inaugurated that system of generous hospitality and familiar intercourse with all classes of the people which so markedly distinguished his administration from that of many of his predecessors. Mixing freely and fully with the people he was appointed to rule over, he soon learned to feel and think with them; and while never for one moment forgetting to uphold the dignity or the Noble Lady he represented, he speedily identified himself with the aims and aspirations of those around him. Educational institutions early attracted his attention, and he freely visited those establishments in Quebec, being careful to make no distinction of creed or race; and, indeed, during his whole term of office he so skilfully guided his conduct in this respect that not even the most sensitive or the most bigoted could take offence. From Quebec their Excellencies proceeded on a tour through Ontario, arriving in Toronto on the 24th of September, where they were received by Lieutenant-Governor Howland and members of the Local Government. Their Excellencies were escorted from the depot to Government House by a torch-light procession, and on the following evening a grand ball was given by the Lieutenant-Governor in their honor. On the 26th their Excellencies visited Hamilton, and attended the Provincial Fair, where they were welcomed by more than 40,000 people. On the following day they returned to Toronto where a more formal reception was accorded them, and the usual addresses presented, while the city fairly outdid itself in the way of triumphal arches, decorations, &c. The next week was spent at Niagara Falls, from whence His Excellency returned to Toronto for a few days, and on the 10th of October proceeded to London to attend the Western Fair then being held in that city. From London he went to Petrolia, and from thence returned to Toronto, where he remained

until the 28th, when he went back to Ottawa.

While in Ontario he pursued the same politic course he had adopted in Quebec, visiting most of the public institutions, especially educational establishments, and cultivating the same friendly relations with the people. The balance of the year was spent at Rideau Hall, with the exception of a flying visit to Montreal on the 21st of November, to attend the unveiling of a statue of Her Majesty which had been erected in Victoria Square. His Excellency, at the request of the Committee, delivered the address formally presenting the statue to the City of Montreal, and also made a short speech in French which was most enthusiastically received. We have thus hastily sketched the course of His Excellency during the first six months of his sojourn amongst us to show how thoroughly and heartily he entered upon his duties from the moment of his arrival; and it is safe to say that before the expiration of those six brief months he had made himself more thoroughly at home and had become much more popular, than many Governors-General have in six years.

5.—The 12th of July this year was marked by a disturbance in Ottawa which has, unfortunately, proved but the fore-runner of many other disturbances of a similar nature on that day

*Disturbance in  
Ottawa on the 12th  
of July. Fire-arms  
used.*

in Montreal and other portions of Canada. On this day the usual Orange procession was expected to be particularly imposing, as the corner stone of the new Orange Hall, at the corner of O'Connor and Queen Streets was to be laid by the Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Ontario, and several Lodges from neighboring municipalities visited the city. The procession was to have taken place in the morning, but owing to an accident having delayed the trains, it was postponed until the afternoon, and it was quite late when it moved. When the procession was passing through Lower Town a little difficulty arose between some of the processionists and some lookers on, and stone throwing commenced, which was quickly followed by several pistol shots and more volleys of stones. Fortunately the officers



of the Societies were able to restore order before any more serious damage than a few cuts and bruises from stones was done; but for a few minutes the excitement was intense and the danger of a serious encounter between the Orangemen and the Catholics imminent. The trouble was said to have arisen from a drunken man throwing a stone at the procession, and another account credited some boys with causing the disturbance by throwing mud balls, but whatever was the cause the effect was to show how dangerous it is to allow party processions of any kind in a mixed community where what is one man's pleasure is another's pain, and it would have saved much bloodshed and ill-feeling if this premonition had been regarded and party processions altogether abolished.

6.—An event which although more particularly important to the Province of Quebec was

Turning the first sod of the North Shore Railway.

yet of considerable interest to the whole Dominion, took place at Quebec on the 18th of July.

when the first sod of the North Shore Railway was turned. This road (which is not yet quite completed at the time of writing, 1878) was intended to form, in conjunction with the Northern Colonization Railway, (now open from Montreal to Ottawa and known as the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway) a grand Trunk line connecting Quebec and Montreal with the Canada Pacific Railway at or near its proposed terminus at Lake Nipissing; and it was expected that this road running along the north shore of the St Lawrence and of the Ottawa would open up an immense tract of new country and prove even more beneficial to the Province of Quebec than the Grand Trunk Railway had to Ontario. It is not our purpose to enter upon a history of this great undertaking in this place; suffice it to say that the project was one in which the whole Province felt peculiar interest, and that the opening ceremonies at Quebec were attended with much display. A very large assemblage gathered at the spot which was to be the city terminus of the road, amongst whom were representatives of the Dominion and Local Houses, and after

the benediction had been pronounced by Archbishop Taschereau and the enterprise formally blessed, that Prelate, who was dressed in full canonicals, took a pick-axe and broke the earth with it. Madame Cauchon (wife of the Hon. J. E. Cauchon, Speaker of the Senate and President of the North Shore Railway Company) then turned the sod with a silver spade, provided for the occasion, and throwing it into a wheel-barrow it was trundled away by her husband, and the ground declared duly broken. After this, the navvies set to work and ploughed about half an acre, and the work was fairly inaugurated. A grand banquet was then given at which addresses were delivered by the Hon. J. E. Cauchon, President of the road; Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, Premier of Quebec, and others.

7.—The year 1872 was an unfortunate one for ocean-going vessels trading to or from the Dominion, and the annual report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries shows that 221

Marine disasters. Losses of life and property. Seizures.

accidents were reported during the year, involving the loss of 220 lives and the destruction of over \$2,000,000 worth of property. The loss was particularly great amongst vessels carrying cargoes from the St Lawrence, and no less than six grain-laden steamers which left Montreal in the fall were lost, in some cases the crews being lost also. These vessels, as is the case with many others, were built for coasting, or for trade in the Baltic or Mediterranean, and were totally unfit to weather the severe storms of the North Atlantic in the fall. Another very fruitful source of loss was the overloading of timber-laden vessels by piling up deck-loads to the height of 6 or 7 feet, and so great had this evil become that an Act regulating the carrying of deck-loads was introduced and passed at the session of 1873. The navigation of the lakes was attended with comparatively little damage, and the loss of life was only seventeen. The whole number of casualties reported to the Department of Marine and Fisheries was sixty-nine, of which twenty-one were steamers, thirty-six schooners, six brigantines and barquentines, and six barges. The estimated loss was about

\$450,000. Only two seizures were made of American vessels infringing the Fisheries laws—the *En C.* seized on 29th of May, and the *James Bliss* seized on the 18th of June. Both vessels were caught fishing within two miles of the shore, and their masters pleaded that they thought that the Treaty of Washington was in force and that they had the right to fish where they pleased. The vessels were bonded, but the sureties were not proceeded against, the Act giving effect to the Washington Treaty being passed while the cases were pending.

8.—One of the questions which it was part of the object of the Joint High Commission to settle, and which that Commission delegated to some one else to adjudicate on was decided, on the 24th of October, in favor of the United States. It will be remembered that by the Treaty of Washington the Emperor of Germany was appointed Arbitrator to decide the question of the North-West water boundary at issue between Great Britain and the United States, more commonly known as the San Juan boundary question. The case of each Government was submitted early in the year, and, on the 6th of July, the Emperor appointed three Law Officers of the Crown to take the case into consideration, and report upon it; and on the 24th of October the Emperor gave his decision, declaring that the American claim that the De Haro Channel was the one through which the boundary line should pass was most in accordance with the true interpretation of the Treaty of 1846. Thus another and important section of Canadian territory was surrendered to the United States through the bungling of the Imperial Treaty-makers, who neither considered the worth of the sections of country they cut off by the stroke of a pen, nor the value and true interpretation of the words used in performing the operation. It is a curious fact with reference to all the treaties made between Great Britain and the United States, that, after the lapse of a few years, when a doubt can with decency be raised, they are always found to

Decision of the  
Emperor of Germany  
on the San Juan  
boundary question.

contain some other meaning than the one they were supposed to convey at the time of signature, and that the new interpretation is invariably more favorable to the United States than the old one. Both the Canadian and English journals were dissatisfied with the decision, as it placed the key to British Columbian waters in the hands of the United States, and would greatly cripple England's power on the Pacific coast in the event of war; but the Treaty specially stipulated that the decision was to be final and without appeal, and, therefore, we had to put up with it, although neither pleased nor contented.

9.—An event which caused not a little pleasure throughout the Dominion was the winning of the Rajah of Kolapore's Cup at Wimbledon by the Canadian team, on the 13th of July. This cup was offered by the Rajah to be competed for annually by one team from the Mother Country, one from India, and one from so many of the colonies as choose to send representatives; and was contended for in 1871 by the Canadian team of twenty against a team of twenty picked from the highest scorers of the three International teams of the United Kingdom, the Canadians being beaten. In 1872 it was not considered exactly fair to engage the whole Canadian team, as that left them no reserve to fall back upon, while the English reserve was practically unlimited, and it was therefore decided that only eight men on each side should compete. The Canadian eight selected were those who had made the best average scores at Atlecar and Wimbledon; but the opposing team comprised the "crack" shots of the English and Scotch teams, and it was not supposed that the Canadians would have any chance of winning. To the great surprise of the spectators, however, the Canadians fired with unexpected coolness, steadiness and precision and carried off the prize by a score of 532 to 524. The result called forth many complimentary notices from the English press, and Canadian papers were loud in their praise of the team, some of them going so far as to suggest that the

The Canadian team  
win the Kolapore  
Cup.

Dominion should pay the expense of sending a team to Wimbleton annually, a suggestion, however, which was not adopted.\*

10.—Early in October a peculiar disease made its appearance amongst the horses in various parts of the Dominion and caused

The Epizootic.

very considerable inconvenience and some loss. The disease first assumed formidable proportions in Toronto, where as many as six hundred horses were reported ill at the same time. In Ottawa over three hundred were incapacitated for work, and the street cars were obliged to cease running for want of propulsive power. In Montreal traffic was almost entirely suspended for several days; more than three hundred horses were laid up in the stables of the City Passenger Railway Company; the majority of the horses in the Grand Trunk stables were ill, and the moving of freight had to be suspended, whilst amongst the carters and in the livery and private stables about every other horse was unfit for work. It was estimated, on the 17th of October, that there were fifteen hundred horses sick with the epizootic, and ox carts were in some instances resorted to for moving goods. The disease spread to the Lower Provinces and caused great inconvenience in Halifax. Although very

troublesome and annoying to the horses it was not fatal, where taken in time, and very few deaths occurred in proportion to the numbers attacked. As very cold weather approached the disease died out.

11.—Canada was almost entirely free during the latter part of 1872 from the destructive bush fires which so frequently devastate her noble forests; but the

Extensive fires in towns and cities.

Fire King was unusually active in the towns and cities, and very large losses of property were caused, accompanied in some cases by loss of life. On the morning of the 17th of July a fire broke out in the Central Hotel, Pictou, N.S., which spread rapidly to the neighboring buildings and for awhile threatened the whole town with destruction; the arrival of the New Glasgow Fire Company, however, put a check on the flames, but not before seventeen houses had been burnt, and damage done to the extent of \$30,000. On the morning of Sunday, the 28th of July, a fire occurred in the drug store of Mr. George Mortimer, Sussex street, Ottawa, which speedily communicated to the tobacco store of Mr. Nye and other neighboring buildings, a number of which were destroyed, and damage done to the extent of \$150,000. Over the store of Mr. Nye resided a family named Evans, and Mrs. Evans and a servant girl were burned to death. The next fire of importance occurred in Mitchell, Ont., on the morning of the 24th of August, destroying the Post and Telegraph Offices, Oddfellows Hall, and a dozen other buildings, the whole valued at \$100,000, on which there was only \$15,000 insurance. Two days after the largest part of the business portion of Orillia, Ont., was laid in ashes, the damage being estimated at \$100,000, on which there was very little insurance. Next in order was the destruction of the magnificent St. Patrick's Hall, situated on Victoria Square, Montreal, on the morning of the 2nd of October, involving a loss of a quarter of a million of dollars. This handsome building was unfortunate; the roof fell in shortly after it was completed and involved a heavy cost to replace it, and although the stores under it were let, it

\*The following is the score of the two teams, taken from the London Daily Telegraph, of 15th July 1872.

CANADA.				
	200 yds.	500 yds.	600 yds.	Total.
Gunner Shand, Nova Scotia.....	23	25	22	70
Private Ferguson, 2nd Batt. G. T. B.....	24	24	21	69
Quartermaster Thomas, 54th Batt.....	22	25	21	68
Ensign Johnson, New Brunswick.....	24	24	20	68
Private Bell, 10th Royals, Toronto.....	20	25	22	67
Captain Wall, G. T. Brigade.....	23	22	20	65
Corporal Larkin, 63rd Batt.....	24	21	20	65
Assistant Surgeon Atkin, 37th Batt.....	23	17	20	60
				532
ENGLAND.				
Private Curtis, 1st Sussex.....	24	24	26	74
Corporal Caldwell, 1st Renfrew.....	21	22	25	68
Sergeant McVey, 19th Lanark.....	22	22	23	67
Private Wyatt, 13th Salop.....	20	22	22	64
Private Clark, 2nd Edinburgh.....	22	27	15	64
Corporal Wallace, 2nd Edinburgh.....	23	24	17	64
Mr. Board, 7th Somerset.....	21	23	19	63
Ensign Smyth, 19th Lanark.....	24	20	16	60
				524

had never paid well as an investment, and, therefore, the St. Patrick's Hall Association decided not to rebuild—although pressed to do so by the St. Patrick's Society—and the land was sold and handsome stores erected on it. On the 9th of December several business places in Oshawa, Ont., were burned, loss \$50,000; and on the night of the twenty-sixth, a fire broke out in Windsor, Ont., which did \$40,000 worth of damage, and would, probably, have destroyed the whole town, had it not been for the timely arrival of the Detroit Fire Brigade.

12.—Only one change took place in the Cabinet during the year, caused by the appointment of the Hon. Mr. Morris to the Chief Justiceship, and subsequently to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Manitoba. Hon. Mr. Morris' place as Minister of Inland Revenue was taken by Hon. Dr. Tupper, President of the Council, whose place was filled by the Hon. John O'Connor, M.P., for Essex, who was sworn of the Privy Council on the 2nd of July. There were, however, some indications of impending change, as Sir George E. Cartier went to England on 2nd of October, for medical advice, with his health so injured that it was feared he would not return alive—a fear which was verified the next year; and Sir Francis Hincks was said to be anxious to resign, a rumor which came true the following February. The general election which took place during the fall considerably weakened the Government, but of that we shall treat in another chapter. Commercially the year was a prosperous one, the crops were good, trade was active, and the people generally happy and contented. Still towards the end of the year some indications of the coming "Hard times" were to be found in the stringency of the money market, and a perceptible increase in the number of failures; in short, the Dominion had passed through the cycle of exceptional prosperity upon which it entered at Confederation, and was about entering a corresponding period of unusual depression.

Cabinet Changes.  
The state of the  
Country.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN— THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1872.

1. DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT. WRITS ISSUED FOR A GENERAL ELECTION.—2. CHANGE OF FEELING IN ONTARIO. DEFEAT OF THE GOVERNMENT.—3. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD'S CONTEST IN KINGSTON.—4. DEFEAT OF SIR FRANCIS HINCKS IN SOUTH BRANT.—5. THE RESULT IN QUEBEC. REDUCTION OF GOVERNMENT MAJORITY.—6. DEFEAT OF SIR GEORGE E. CARTIER.—7. THE RESULT IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES.—8. REMARKS ON THE RESULT.

1.—The last session of the first Parliament of Canada closed on the 14th of June, and the House was dissolved by Proclamation on the 15th of July and writs for a new election issued, returnable on the 2nd of September except in the cases of Gaspé, Chicoutimi, Saguenay, Manitoba and British Columbia, writs for which places were returnable on the 12th of October. Preparations for the contest had been going on for some time prior to the dissolution, and the campaign was opened on the part of the Government at Peterboro' on the 9th of July when Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Francis Hincks were entertained at lunch and delivered addresses on the topics of the day. On the Liberal side the campaign was opened by Hon. Mr. Blake in South Bruce, and by a dinner to Messrs. Holton and Dorion in Montreal. Sir John and Sir Francis made a tour together through Ontario addressing large audiences at Hamilton, Brantford, London, Chatham and other places; and Messrs. George Brown, Blake, Mackenzie and other Liberal leaders also "stumped" the Province very extensively. The change in the election law had restricted the voting to one day, but the voting was still open and as the law did not require all the elections to be held on the same day, as is the case now, the Government followed its usual

Dissolution of  
Parliament. Writs  
issued for a General  
Election.

course and issued writs first for those places where their success was most assured. The first election held in Ontario was on the 24th of July, at Ottawa, when Messrs. J. M. Currier and J. B. Lewis were returned by acclamation. The first election in Quebec was held on the 25th when the Hon. J. H. Pope was re-elected by acclamation for Compton. Nominations now followed fast and by the end of the month four supporters of the Government had been returned by acclamation in Ontario, eight in Quebec, and one in New Brunswick.

2.—This, however, was but a momentary success for the Administration, for the tide soon began to turn against them in Ontario, and it then became evident that they would have a hard struggle to maintain their majority in that Province. The contest was exceedingly bitter and prosecuted with great energy on both sides, but although money was used very freely the Government had lost favor in Ontario, and the result was that it lost its majority in that Province. It must be remembered that at the General Election of 1867, Ontario was strongly Reform, and that it had given its support to the Macdonald Administration not as a Conservative but as a Coalition Ministry to carry out Confederation. At that time there was no issue before the country except the consummation of Confederation, and that Ontario had supported; but in 1872, although there was no great question at issue, the Government was put on its trial for its conduct during the five years it had been in power, and the verdict of the people was against it. There were various causes at work to effect this result, foremost amongst which may be noted that during that five years the complexion of the Government had changed, and it was no longer a Coalition composed of the leaders of both parties, but almost purely Conservative, all recent vacancies having been filled with members of that party, and the old members of the Cabinet who entered it as Liberals having become so identified with the Conservative interest that they were no longer recognized by their old party.

Change of feeling in Ontario. Defeat of the Government.

Then the Local Government had undergone a change, and a Reform Administration had taken the place of the Sandfield Macdonald Coalition; and as two members of that Government (Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie) were the leaders of the Opposition in the Commons, they naturally took with them much of the influence of the Local House in the Dominion contest. Another point against the Government was the Treaty of Washington. The people of Ontario had set their hearts upon getting a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and had counted upon the Fisheries to get it for them again as they had before; and when they found that the Fisheries had been given up without Reciprocity—except in fish and fish-oil, which was of no advantage to them—they revenged themselves on most of the Ontario members who had supported the Treaty by refusing to re-elect them. The troubles in the North-West had also considerable effect on the elections, the Orange vote being very largely alienated by the failure of the Government to take any steps to avenge the murder of Scott, and this feeling was considerably increased by the action of the Local House in offering a reward of \$5,000 for the arrest of the parties guilty of that foul act. These were the principal influences at work, but there were others, such as a feeling of alarm at the gigantic public works to which the Government was pledged; the increase of the cost of Government; and, to a small extent, a little dissatisfaction at the repeal of the slightly protective duties which had been placed on American produce.

3.—The first contested election in Ontario was at Kingston, where Sir John A. Macdonald was opposed by Mr. John Carruthers, a wealthy and influential merchant. The opposition to Sir John in 1867 had been almost nominal, his opponent, Mr. Stewart, was not a strong man, and his candidature was looked on as annoying more than anything else, and, consequently, he only obtained 142 votes out of the very light poll of 877 (the number of voters on the rolls was 2,284); but the candidature of Mr.

Sir John A. Macdonald's contest in Kingston.



Carruthers was a very different matter; he was the strongest man the Reform party could find in Kingston; he was highly respected, a large employer of labor, and a resident—one of the great cries against Sir John being that he was a non-resident,—and the whole strength of the Reform party was used to compass the defeat of the leader of the Government, it being evident that such a result would seriously affect other elections in Ontario. The Nomination took place on the 25th of July, and was attended with much disorder. When the candidates attempted to address the crowd they were interrupted by shouts and yells, and the annoyance became so great that both candidates lost temper and engaged in a personal encounter on the platform, which was speedily put a stop to by mutual friends. The contest throughout was conducted with much vigor, and on the day of polling, the 1st of August, the excitement was intense. In spite of the most strenuous efforts of the Opposition, however, the result showed that Sir John still retained his hold on the affections of the Kingstonians, he being returned by a majority of 131 out of a total vote of 1,339.

4.—Another contest which excited much attention was that of Sir Francis Hincks, Minister of Finance. Sir Francis had been elected for North Renfrew by 120 majority over Mr. Findlay, when he accepted a seat in the Cabinet in October, 1869; but so strong an opposition had been raised against him in the Riding that it was thought most prudent to find another constituency for him, and accordingly, he was nominated for South Brant. Mr. A. Watts, who had been previously mentioned as a candidate, retiring in his favor.\* The principal cry raised against Sir Francis was that he did not belong to Ontario at all, having for many years resided in Montreal, when not out of Canada altogether, and his financial policy was

Defeat of Sir Francis  
Hincks in South  
Brant.

also very severely criticised, especially his Banking policy. The election took place on the 19th of August, when he was defeated by Mr. T. Patterson, by a vote of 1,378 to 1,106. Sir Francis was subsequently returned for Vancouver, B.C. Amongst the other prominent Conservatives defeated in Ontario were the Hon. J. H. Cameron, in Peel; Hon. Aquila Walsh (one of the Intercolonial Railway Commissioners) in North Norfolk; Mr. Walter Shanly in South Grenville; Mr. Dalton McCarthy, in North Simcoe, and the Hon. William Macdougall—who, although sometimes voting with the Opposition, was ranked as a Ministerialist—in North Lanark. Altogether the Government was thrown into a minority in the Province, and the *Globe* exultingly exclaimed of the result: "The election of 1872 has reversed the verdict of 1867."

5.—In Quebec there was also some reaction against the Government, but not so great as was the case in Ontario, the Government maintaining a majority, although somewhat reduced. Here, as in Ontario, the troubles in the North-West played a conspicuous part, but in a reverse manner, for, as in Ontario, the Government was blamed for not punishing the murderers of Scott; so in Quebec they were blamed for not proclaiming a general amnesty and freely pardoning Riel and others for the murder. Another subject which operated against the Government was the New Brunswick School question, which really told more against the Government in Quebec than it did in New Brunswick. The cry, of course, was that Parliament ought to have advised the Governor-General to exercise his power and veto the New Brunswick School Act (See Chap. xxv. par. viii), and that the French members from Quebec who had voted with the Government on that question had sacrificed the interests of their co-religionists in New Brunswick to the exigencies of party. The strongest cry, however, was that raised by the *Parti Nationale*, that the interests of the Province had been surrendered at Confederation by admitting the principle of Representation by

The result in Quebec.  
Reduction of  
Government  
majority.

\* The *Mail* in announcing the Government Candidates, on the 10th of July—at the same time that it announced the dissolution of Parliament—gave the name of Sir Francis as the nominee for North Renfrew, but on the following day the name of Mr. Peter White, jun. appeared, and on the 19th it was stated that Sir Francis would run in South Brant, Mr. Watts having retired.

population, and using it to the disadvantage of Quebec. The fact that the re-distribution of seats which had followed the census of 1871, and which was made during the session of 1872, had given six more representatives to Ontario, one to New Brunswick, and two to Nova Scotia, while the number from Quebec remained at sixty-five, was used as an argument that Quebec had been injured by the terms of Confederation, and the claim was set up that Quebec should have the same number of representatives as Ontario, irrespective of population—as was the case before Confederation. Added to this there was a little soreness about the Treaty of Washington, and a slight disposition towards annexation amongst a small clique, which helped against the Government, whose majority was considerably, but not materially, reduced.

6.—The greatest interest centered in the elections for Montreal West, and East, and Quebec Centre. In the former the Hon.

Defeat of Sir George E. Cartier.

John Young opposed Mr. G. A. Drummond, the Government candidate; in Montreal East Sir Geo. E. Cartier was opposed by Mr. L. A. Jetté, and in Quebec Centre, Hon. Mr. Cauchon, who ran as an Independent, was opposed by Mr. Ross. In the Western Division of Montreal the contest assumed very much the character of a struggle between Protection and Free Trade, with a small dash of annexation thrown in. The Hon. John Young was an advocate of Free Trade, in its widest sense, and had for some time past been favoring the idea of a Customs Union with the United States, which was generally regarded as being only the entering wedge of Annexation. Mr. Young was one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Montreal, and had undoubtedly done much to build up the city by advocating the deepening of the St. Lawrence Channel, and other schemes for the improvement of its shipping facilities. Mr. Drummond, on the other hand, was a partner in the large sugar refinery of Redpath & Sons, giving employment to several hundred hands, and was an advocate of moderate Protection. This was the first instance since Confederation where Free Trade and Protection were fairly

pitted against each other as an issue, and Free Trade certainly had the best of it, for on Election Day, the 28th of August, the Hon. John Young was returned by a majority of 820, having had 2,140 votes polled in his favor, to his opponent's 1,320. In Montreal East the contest was all on one side, as Sir George E. Cartier was ill in bed and could take no part in the contest, which was carried on by his opponent on the grounds already stated. Mr. Jetté was Solicitor of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and as such, was supposed to have the influence of the Church on his side; and certainly he had powerful influences at work in his favor, for he was returned by a majority of 1,282, out of a total vote of 4,218. The defeat of Sir George was quite unexpected, and was generally attributed to the wish of the Church to punish him for his conduct in the New Brunswick School Act and Red River Amnesty questions; and there is no reason to doubt but that these two questions were the cause of his defeat. Sir George was afterwards elected for Provencher. In Quebec Centre the feeling between the Irish and French ran very high and the meetings of the rival candidates were very disorderly, culminating on election day, the 5th of August, in a row in which one man was shot. Mr. Cauchon obtained a majority of 168, mostly obtained by bullying and intimidation.

7.—In the Maritime Provinces the Government gained considerable strength, and the last vestige of dissatisfaction at Confederation were totally swept away in Nova Scotia. It will be remembered that at the General Election of 1867 the only candidate in favor of the Union who was elected was Dr. Tupper; but, since the change of policy of the Hon. Joseph Howe, and his acceptance of office under Sir John A. Macdonald, public feeling had gradually been improving, the Anti-Confederate Local House had been defeated, Union candidates had carried all the elections for the Commons, and the majority of the members of that House who had been elected to oppose Confederation had so far modified their views that they generally

The result in the Maritime Provinces.

supported the Government. The result of the election was, therefore, as clean a sweep for the Government as it had been for the Anti-Confederates in 1867. Mr. Church, Lunenburg, being the only pronounced Oppositionist who was elected. In New Brunswick, also, the Government was strengthened, gaining four seats, and only two gentlemen—Messrs. Anglin and Connell—who were likely to strongly oppose the Government were returned. In Manitoba and British Columbia supporters of the Government were returned.

8.—Taking the returns as a whole, therefore, the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald was sustained, but it experienced a severe shaking, and the defeat of two members of the Cabinet and the loss of a majority in Ontario very materially weakened it; whilst the questionable means resorted to to maintain even the majority retained opened it to the attack of the Opposition, which led to the retirement of the Government in November, 1873. The actual loss was about one half of the majority which the Government had during the session of 1872. On the vote on the second reading of the Treaty of Washington the Government had a majority of 66, which may be taken as its maximum strength; and on the vote on Mr. Huntington's motion, on 2nd April, 1873, charging the Government with having sold the Charter of the Pacific Railway to Sir Hugh Allan—which is a strict party vote—the Government was only sustained by 31 out of a vote of 183, so that it is a safe estimate to say that the Government had half of its majority shorn from it by the General Election of 1872.

### CHAPTER XXXIII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.  
FIRST SESSION SECOND PARLIAMENT, 1873.

1. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—2. WEST PETERBORO' ELECTION.—3 THE FIRST DIVISION. THE GOVERNMENT SUSTAINED BY 16.—4. THE MUSKOKA

ELECTION.—5. WEST PETERBORO' ELECTION. HON. MR. HUNTINGTON'S MOTION.—6. REMARKS ON THE OPPOSITION TACTICS.—7. HON. MR. MACKENZIE CRITICIZES THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—8. PETITIONS FOR A PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW.—9. PROTECTION OF NAVIGABLE STREAMS.—10. ACT FOR PROTECTION OF NAVIGABLE RIVERS PASSED.—11. ACT PASSED ABOLISHING DUAL REPRESENTATION.—12. CONFEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.—13. THE BUDGET.—14. DEBATE ON THE BUDGET.

1.—The first session of the second Parliament of Canada was opened by the Governor-General in person on the fifth of March, 1873. The weather was <sup>Opening of Parliament.</sup> most propitious, being clear, <sup>The Speech from the Throne.</sup> bright and mild as spring, and the scene was enlivened by the first appearance of the Governor-General's Foot Guards, a detachment of which corps, under command of Captain Tilton acted as a guard of honor. His Excellency having caused the Commons to be summoned to the Senate Chamber dismissed them until the next day to select a Speaker, and then returned to Rideau Hall. In the Senate the Commission of the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau as Speaker was read and the prescribed oath of office taken by him. In the Commons the usual oaths were administered by Mr. Alfred Patrick, Clerk of the House; and, after the return of the members from the Senate Chamber, Sir John A. Macdonald proposed the Hon. James Cockburn, member for West Northumberland, as Speaker. In doing so he paid a tribute to the efficient manner in which that gentleman had performed his arduous duties during the last Parliament, and said that in again proposing him he was following the system which obtained in England that after a Speaker had performed his duties satisfactorily he should not be capriciously changed at the beginning of each Parliament. No opposition being offered, Mr. Cockburn was unanimously elected and took his seat amid much applause from Ministerial benches. On the sixth His Excellency again attended at the

Senate Chamber, and the Commons being summoned and the Speaker having announced his election, Parliament was formally opened by the Speech from the Throne. After the usual allusion to the state of peace in which the Empire was, the speech announced the granting of a Charter for building the Pacific Railway; the completion of the surveys, &c., for the enlargement of the Welland canal and for the construction of the Baie Verte canal; and the success which had attended the immigration policy of the Government. Attention was called to the approaching completion of the statistical portion of the census, and the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics suggested. A new Election Law and also an Act relating to Controverted Elections were promised; as well as Acts relating to Pilots, Salvage, Merchant Shipping, Criminal Law, Weights and Measures and the amendment and consolidation of the Inspection Laws. An Act was also promised readjusting the offices of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State for the Provinces. In conclusion, the Houses were congratulated that "the finances of the Dominion are in a prosperous condition, and that there is no reason to doubt that the revenue will be sufficient to meet all contemplated charges upon it."

2.—On returning to their chamber, the Commons adopted a motion that the Speaker be empowered to issue a writ for an election in Québec to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau to the Speakership of the Senate; and another, that the address be considered on Monday, the 10th. Hon. Mr. Blake moved that the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery be instructed to be present with the returns in the elections in West Peterboro', Muskoka and South Renfrew, as he (Mr. Blake) desired to raise a question of privilege based on those returns. The returns were produced at once, and on the following day, Hon. Mr. Blake raised his question of privilege as follows: "That it appears by the poll-books, and other papers transmitted by George Burnham, the Returning Officer appointed to conduct the last

election for West Peterboro', that two candidates, John Bertram Esq., and William Cluxton Esq., were nominated,—that a poll was demanded granted, and taken—that at the close of the polling the said John Bertram had the largest number of votes, having received 745 votes, while the said William Cluxton received only 705 votes, and that notwithstanding the said Returning Officer has not declared and returned the said John Bertram as duly elected, but has declared and returned the said William Cluxton as duly elected. That the said William Cluxton has not taken his seat in this House. That the said John Bertram ought to have been returned as member for West Peterboro' in this Parliament, and that the said John Bertram has a right to take his seat in this House, as member for West Peterboro' saving however to all Candidates and Electors their right of contesting the said election, if they think proper in such manner as may appertain to law and justice, and according to the usage of Parliament." In this case the Returning Officer stated, that on the day of nomination, 10th of August, he had demanded from the candidates their qualifications\* that Mr. Cluxton had handed in his; but Mr. Bertram had not, and that, therefore, he had declared Mr. Cluxton elected, "on the ground that he was the only Candidate who complied with the provisions of the 36th and 37th sections of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada."

3.—Hon. Mr. Blake argued in favor of his motion that it was manifestly to the interest of the House that every constituency should be represented in the House; that the representatives were, for the most part, elected by the majority of the voters; that "no less than forty-seven members were elected under four different sets of electoral statutory provisions, which differed materially from the electoral laws under which the remaining members of the House were returned; that many candidates were

The first division.  
Government  
sustained by  
sixteen.

\* Candidates for the House of Commons from Ontario were then required to qualify to the value of £500 stg. The law has since been changed and no property qualification is now required.

ignorant of the requirements of the law, and that where it was shown that a candidate had received a majority of the votes, and had duly qualified,\* he should not lose his election because there had been some little informality in the nomination. He claimed that it was proper for the House to take up the matter and deal with it summarily instead of referring it to the Committee on Privileges and Elections and quoted precedents from both English and Canadian practice in support of his argument. Sir John A. Macdonald contended that the House was not the proper place to try the question. A Committee on Privileges and Elections was appointed for the express purpose of removing all such questions from the arena of party politics and placing them before a tribunal which should consider them with all the impartiality of a Court. He would not enter into the merits of the question as he held that the proper place for that was before the Committee, which Committee, he promised should be struck as soon as the Address was adopted; and he moved in amendment that the papers in the case be referred to the Committee on Elections and Privileges, with instructions to report, without delay, "on the proper and legal course to be adopted with regard to the said Return, in order that the rights of all parties concerned may be duly protected." The discussion was continued by Messrs. Carter, Palmer, Hincks, Howe and Mathieu in favor of referring the question to the Committee; and by Messrs. Huntington, Blain, Scatcherd, Mackenzie, Bodwell, Prevost, Cauchon and Blake in favor of its being decided by the House. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie moved an amendment to the amendment of Sir John A. Macdonald to the effect that Mr. Bertram should be declared duly elected for West Peterboro' and entitled to take his seat, which amendment was lost on division by a vote of 79 for, 95 against. The amendment offered by Sir John A. Macdonald was then adopted by a vote of 95 for, 79 against.

#### 4.—The Returning Officer for the County of

\* Mr Bertram sent in his certificate of qualification to the Returning Officer on the 22nd of August, two days after the election.

Muskoka, Mr. Richard James Bell, made a special return to the effect that he was <sup>The Muskoka election.</sup> unable to make a return in con-

formity with the terms of the statutes, for the reasons that the poll-book for the township of Morrison had been lost, and no poll clerk having been appointed, he was unable to obtain the affidavits required by law in the case of a poll-book being lost; also, that in the district of Parry Sound, the poll clerk, Mr. John Wilson, had been found incompetent, and a Mr. John Foley had acted in his place without being sworn. On the 10th of March Hon. Mr. Blake called attention to this return, and made a motion which, after recounting the circumstances of the case, concluded, "That the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery do forthwith amend the return for the Electoral District of Muskoka, by inserting therein the name of Alexander Peter Cockburn, Esquire, as having been duly elected for the said District." Mr. Blake said that the returns showed that 652 votes had been polled for Cockburn, and 530 for D'Arcy Boulton, giving Cockburn a majority of 122. In Morrison the vote was, Cockburn 34, Boulton 3; and in Parry Sound, Cockburn 84, Boulton 19; so that even throwing out the vote of these two places Cockburn would have a majority of 26, and he claimed that he ought to be admitted to his seat at once. Sir John A. Macdonald said that although he was opposed to the House dealing with questions of this kind, still, the circumstances of the case were so different from those of the West Peterboro election, that he should not oppose the motion, but he hoped that the House would pass an Act which would prevent this case being used as a precedent. Mr. Blake's motion was then carried.

5.—On the 18th of March the Committee on Privileges and Elections reported on the West Peterboro' case to the effect that <sup>West Peterboro' Election. Hon. Mr. Huntington's motion.</sup> whereas the Returning Officer had returned William Cluxton

as duly elected, and it did not appear that he was either disqualified, or ineligible to be elected, or an improper person to sit in the House, they were of opinion that the House



made a special

the Muskoka  
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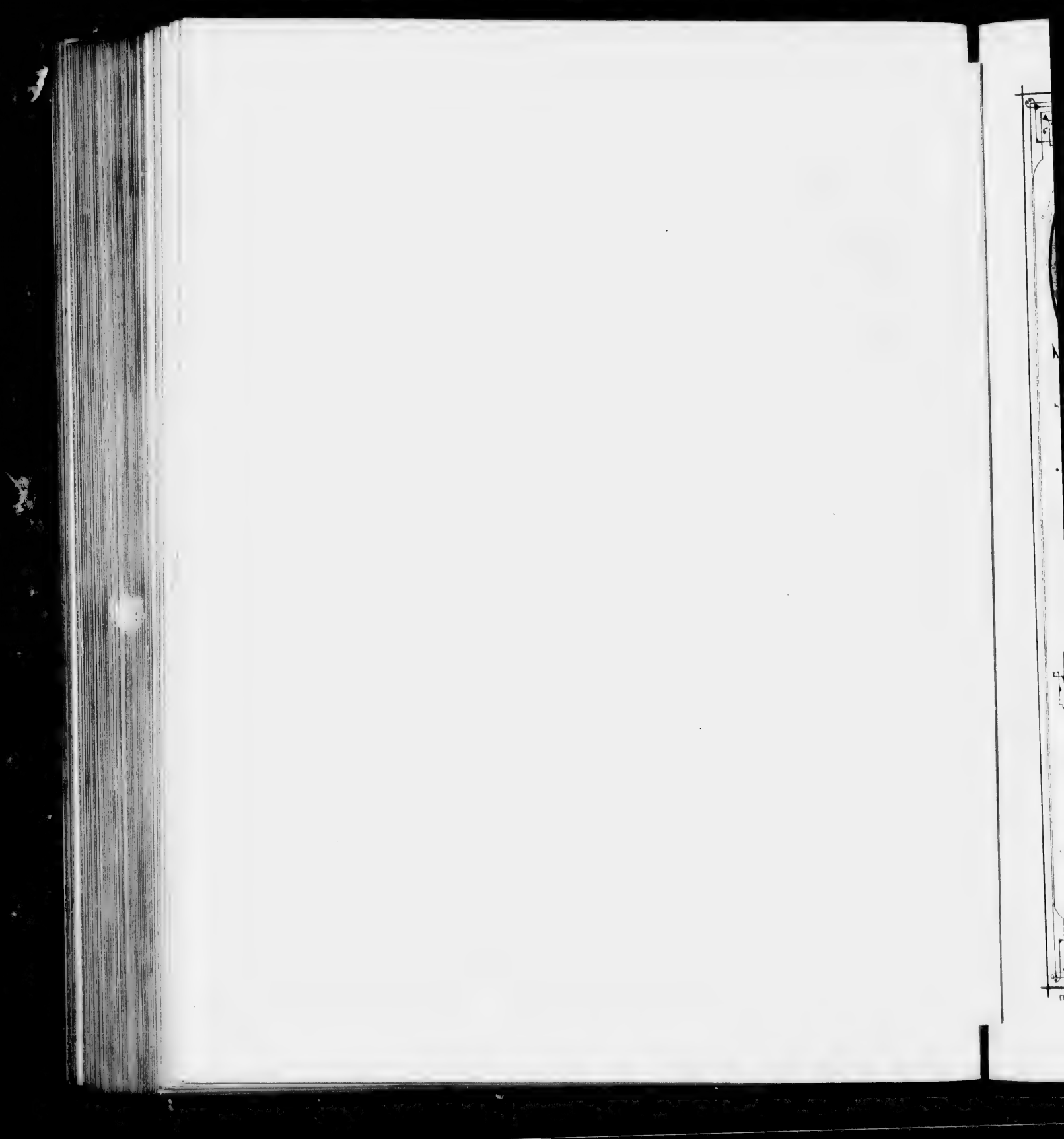
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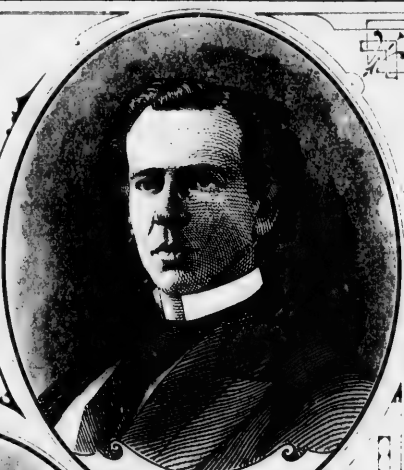
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HON. DAVID MILLS.



HON. WILFRID LAURIER.



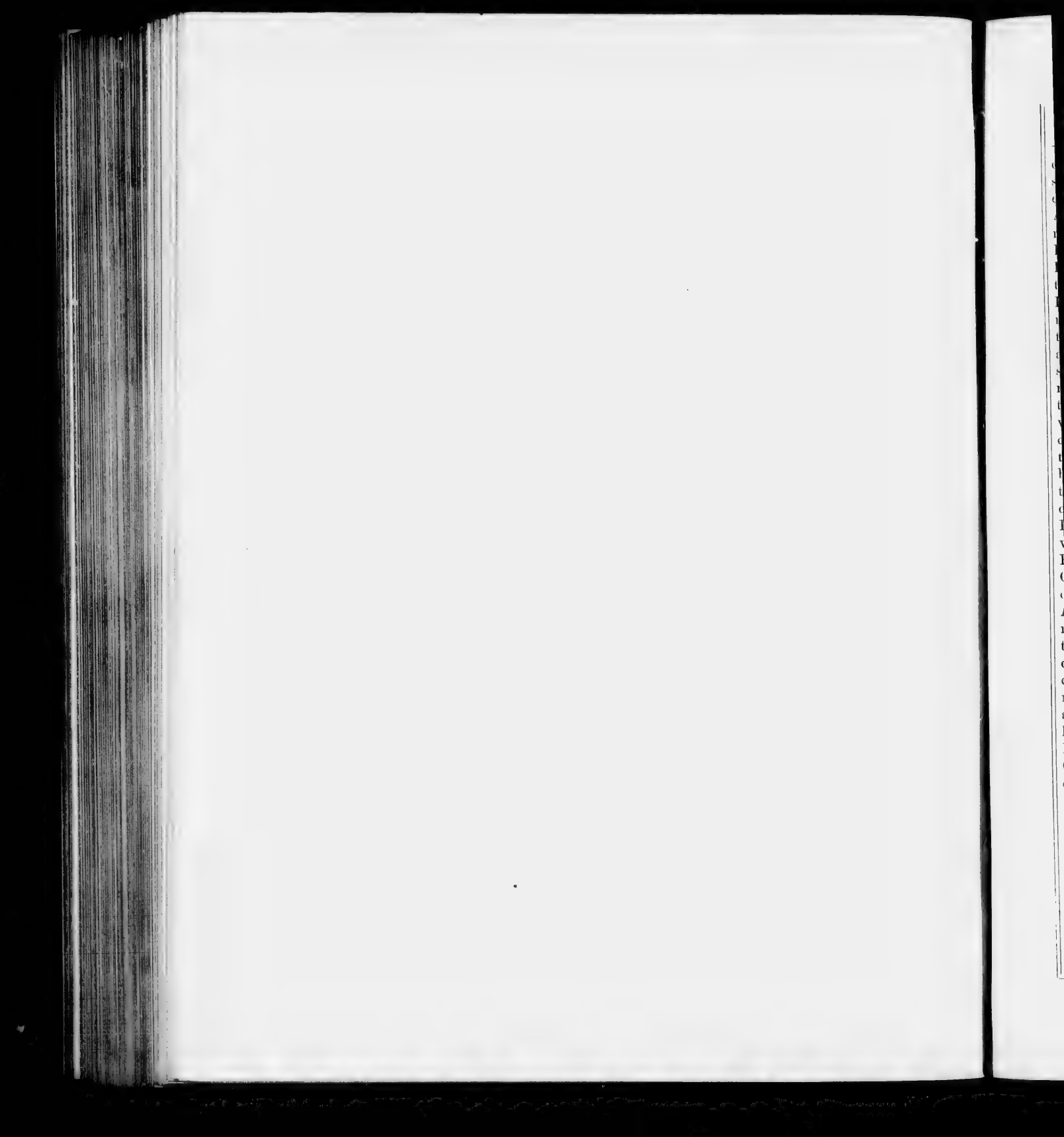
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HON. OLIVER MOWAT.



ought not to declare him not entitled to his seat; but that the case should be left to be dealt with under the Controverted Elections Act, if any petition was made against his return. Mr. Huntington moved, "That the Report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections concerning the Return of a Member to this House from the electoral district of West Peterboro' be not concurred in, but that it be resolved, That this House deems it necessary to protect the interests of the Electors generally, and particularly those of West Peterboro' by securing to the Candidate who has received the majority of votes, his seat in this House, and therefore deems it proper to act in accordance with the proceedings of this House on the 10th of March, instant, in causing the return from the Electoral District of Muskoka to be amended by inserting the name of A. P. Cockburn Esq., the said A. P. Cockburn having had a majority of votes cast in his favor, as shown by the Return made to this House, and in conformity with this precedent, and the precedents in the Parliament of the Province of Canada in the Oxford case, the Kent case, the Beauharnois case, the Bagot case, and the Lennox and Addington case, to assert its jurisdiction, to maintain its privileges, and forthwith to redress the grievances and flagrant violation of law and duty, apparent on the papers which has been committed in declaring the Candidate, who received a minority of votes, to be duly elected; and this House declares that John Bertram Esq., having, according to the return made to this House, received 745 votes, while William Cluxton, Esq., the other Candidate, received only 705 votes, should have been returned as member for West Peterboro', and has a right to take his seat, saving the rights of all persons to contest the Election and Return." He followed the line of argument taken by Hon. Mr. Blake and others that the Returning Officer should have declared the Candidate who received most votes elected. Messrs. James Macdonald (Picton), Jones (Leeds), Mackay, Palmer, Macdonald (Antigonish), Daly and others opposed Mr. Huntington's motion, which

was supported by Messrs. Mackenzie, Mills, Joly, Anglin and others. Mr. Huntington's motion was then defeated by a vote of 68 for, 93 against.

6.—This question of the West Peterboro' election was very cleverly used by the Opposition as an attack on the Govern-  
ment, and it was pressed in the first instance as a question of privilege so as to get a division on it before the Address was debated so as to feel the strength of the Government to see if it would be safe to try a non-confidence motion; but although the Government only showed a majority of sixteen the Opposition did not feel sufficient confidence to move an amendment to the Address. It is a curious circumstance that no attempt was made to show either that Mr. Bertram was qualified, or that he had tendered his qualification to the Returning Officer at the time of nomination as the law required; and that the statement of Mr. Daly that "Mr. Bertram had no property qualification on the day or night of nomination; but that he obtained the qualification after he was aware of the result of the election," was allowed to pass unchallenged. On the first trial of strength the Government showed considerable weakness; but by the second division had gained nine votes and continued to gain even after Mr. Huntington charged them with selling the Pacific charter, it was only after the publication of the evidence on which that charge was based that the Government was not only shaken but knocked to pieces.

*Remarks on the  
Opposition tactics.*

7.—In the Senate the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved by Hon. Mr. Vidal, seconded by Hon. Mr. Cochrane, and, after a debate in which Senators Letellier de St. Just, Campbell, Christie, Miller, and Carroll participated, was adopted without division. In the House the debate did not take place until the 11th, when the address was moved by Mr. Tobin, seconded by Mr. Palmer. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie thought that the Speech had been carefully drawn so as not to commit anybody to anything. While he was

*Hon. Mr. Mackenzie  
criticises the Speech  
from the Throne.*



willing to admit the prosperity of the country, it must not be forgotten that we had just passed through a financial crisis, and he thought that that crisis had been aggravated by the course of the Finance Minister, which had tended to make money scarce and dear. Referring to the Pacific Railway, he claimed that the Opposition were as anxious to have it built as the Government, but they objected to the manner in which it was proposed to do the work; they objected to the extraordinary powers taken by the Government, which instead of inviting free competition, had shut out all competition. With regard to granting the charter to Sir Hugh Allan and his American confrères, he did not object to the employment of American capital, but he did object to the capitalists who were engaged in building the Northern Pacific Railway being interested in the Canada Pacific, which would be made merely a feeder for the rival line. With regard to the canals, he quite agreed with the Government as to their importance; but he was sorry to see that the plans and specifications had been prepared by a gentleman who had been in the Public Works Department and had been removed on account of the blunders he had made; this was a most important matter, and he thought that the Government ought to have secured the highest possible professional advice. He regretted, as he had had to regret for several years past, that there was nothing said about a canal in Canadian territory at Sault Ste. Marie. On the subject of emigration he thought that the charter granted would permit the Pacific Railway Company to take all the good land and leave that of inferior quality; while the placing a minimum limit on the price at which the land could be sold would tend to retard immigration, and had, he believed, been done merely to give the lands a fictitious value in England so that the Company might raise money. He criticised the past emigration policy of the Government, and said that although vast sums had been spent on the Dawson route, still not a single beast could be taken over it to Fort Garry. He thought that

Canada ought to have been represented at Berlin on the San Juan boundary question, and asked what the Government intended to do with the settlers on that island. He was glad that the Government had made up its mind at last to pass an Election Law; but was surprised to find that nothing was said in the speech about an Insolvency Act, which was greatly needed. It was also surprising to find no reference to the claims of New Brunswick for compensation for her losses under the Washington Treaty. On the whole, the Speech was so very non-committal that the Opposition did not intend offering any amendment to it. Sir John A. Macdonald replied to Mr. Mackenzie, and the debate was continued until nearly midnight by Messrs. Joly, Hincks, Young (Montreal), Young (Waterloo), Patterson, (Brant), Dodge, Edgar, Charlton, Witton, Mercier, Cunningham, Blain and DeCosmos, after which the Address was adopted without amendment or division.

8.—The question of a Prohibitory Liquor Law had been attracting a great deal of attention of late years, and numerous petitions had been presented to the Local Governments as well as to the House of Commons; and at this session the first practical step towards such an end was taken. We do not propose to deal with the rise and progress of the Temperance movement in Canada in this place, as we shall devote a chapter entirely to that subject further on, but for the present will content ourselves with recording the action taken during the session of 1873. On the 24th of March, Mr. Bodwell moved to refer all the petitions praying for a Prohibitory Liquor Law to a Select Committee with power to send for persons and papers, which was adopted.\* In support of his motion Mr. Bodwell urged that the House had the right to deal with the question, as it was one affecting

Petitions for a  
Prohibitory Liquor  
Law.

\* The Committee was composed of Messrs. Bodwell, Mackenzie, Crawford, Béchard, Bowell, Burpee, (Sunbury), Cugrain, Charlton, Chisholm-Wilkes, Forbes, Killam, Gibbs, (South Ontario), Ross, (Middlesex), and Dodge. The names of Messrs. Tilley, Blanchet and Tobin were struck off the Committee at their request—Mr. Tilley on the ground that it was not usual for a Minister to be on a Committee of that nature,—and Messrs. Blanchet and Tobin, because they did not wish to serve.

trade and commerce, and the old Parliament of Canada had passed four prohibitory laws. He contended that the Maine Liquor Law had been at least partially successful, and claimed that the introduction of a Prohibitory Law here would greatly reduce crime and increase the happiness of the people. The loss of revenue would be \$4,793,217, but he thought that the Finance Minister could easily find some way to make that up. Dr. Grant thought the subject the most important that could be brought before the House, but did not consider that the people were prepared for prohibitive measures. Mr. Chisholm said that the cry "educate the public mind" had been raised for the past 20 years, but if the evil continued to increase as it had done in that period there soon would be no one left to educate, as the race would have become extirpated. He thought that the matter should be dealt with by the House at once. On the twenty-fourth of April the Committee presented its first report, in which it was stated that 358 petitions had been received signed by 36,132 persons, and also 59 petitions from Municipal and other corporate bodies, representing a population of 428,723. The report concluded, "The Committee respectfully request that permission be granted them by the House to procure samples of liquors, as far as practicable, from every Province of the Dominion, and to have the same analyzed and reported upon by competent persons, and which the Committee believe will disclose a system of adulteration, immense in its extent, fatally destructive to health, mental and physical, (intensifying the deleterious effects of alcoholic beverages) and injurious in a degree but little suspected, to the revenues of the Dominion." On the ninth of May the second report of the Committee was presented, in which the House was urged to take some action on the petitions, but beyond ordering several thousand copies of the report to be printed, no action was taken by the House. In the Senate a similar Committee was appointed on the twenty-fourth of April, on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Vidal, seconded by Hon. Billa Flint. The Committee made a report on the

fourteenth of May, which stated that intemperance was spreading, and recommended prohibitory measures. After some discussion the last paragraph was altered so as not to pledge the Senate to Prohibition, and the report was ordered to be printed.

9.—The question of the injury done to navigable streams by the practice of throwing sawdust and mill refuse has for many years been a very vexed.

*Protection of navigable streams.*

one, and the views held by the two parties mostly interested—the lumbermen and those interested in navigation—have been so diametrically opposed that there seemed no chance of reconciling them; for, while those engaged in navigation showed that rivers were being filled up by the immense quantities of sawdust and refuse thrown into them, and that harbors were being rendered perfectly useless by the banks of sawdust—in some cases ten to twelve feet thick—found in them, the lumbermen claimed that sawdust *could not* settle in rivers with a current and *must be* carried away, no one could tell where, and, indeed seemed to think that throwing 8,000,000 cubic feet of sawdust into the Ottawa annually was rather an improvement than otherwise. During the session of 1871 a resolution was adopted at the suggestion of the Committee on Banking and Commerce, that a Commission be appointed to enquire into the whole question; and accordingly Messrs H. H. Killaly, of Toronto, R. W. Shepherd, of Montreal, and John Mathers, of Chelsea, were appointed by an Order-in-Council on the 6th of November 1871, such Commissioners. These gentlemen made a very extended survey of the navigable streams on which lumbering operations were carried on, and found in many instances immense deposits of sawdust, slabs, bark and other mill refuse, which in some instances almost completely blocked the streams. They also took a great deal of evidence, a great portion of which went to show that sawdust alone was not injurious to the streams, and that it was only when it became mixed and blocked with slabs, &c., that it settled in masses which the spring freshets could not take away.

The Committee reported in February 1873, recommending that an Act be passed imposing a heavy fine for throwing mill refuse, except sawdust, into streams.

10.—On the 14th of March, Mr. Cartwright introduced a bill for the protection of navigable streams and rivers, which

Act for protection of navigable rivers passed.

enacts that no sawdust, edgings, slabs, bark or rubbish shall be thrown into any navigable river under a penalty of \$20 for the first, and \$50 for each subsequent offense. The Governor-in-Council having the right to exempt any river from the operation of the Act. In moving the second reading, Mr. Cartwright pointed out that in some streams the depth of water had been reduced from eight or nine feet to four or five. In New Brunswick the mill owners were compelled to burn their sawdust; and he protested against any private interest being allowed to obstruct our great streams. In Committee, Mr. Bellerose moved the three months hoist, which was defeated on a division. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie thought it was a shame that the Ottawa River should be left in its present condition; and that if this custom was allowed to go on, it would soon be a question whether the navigable channels would not be impeded. Mr. Carrier thought that most of the injury was done by throwing in edgings and slabs. It would be very difficult and expensive to consume the sawdust. He maintained that the sawdust did not affect the Fisheries, for the Ottawa was full of fish. Mr. Wright (Ottawa Co.), did not believe that any injury resulted to the streams from throwing sawdust in; but thought the injury to navigation had resulted from slabs, edgings, &c. He thought it would be almost impossible for lumbermen to dispose of their sawdust any other way than by throwing it into the rivers. Mr. Rochester was perfectly satisfied that the spring freshet had always carried away the sawdust that was thrown into the Ottawa River from the mills; and the passage of the bill would do great injury to the lumbering business. As to injuring the Fisheries, he maintained that there were no important fish

in the Ottawa. Mr. Lewis said that it would be impossible for the mill owners of the Chaudiere to burn their refuse, as they had not space to do so, and it would not be fair to them, after they had gone to such heavy expense to prevent their throwing their sawdust into the river. After some further discussion the Bill was passed.

11.—It will be remembered that at the first session of the first Parliament Mr. Mills introduced a Bill for the abolition of Dual Representation which Act passed abolishing Dual Representation. was withdrawn, (Chap. III., Sec. 8), and that he had several times renewed his motion but had been met with the six months hoist. On the 12th of March he again introduced a Bill to render Members of the Legislative Councils and Legislative Assemblies of the Province now included, or which may hereafter be included within the Dominion of Canada, ineligible for sitting or voting in the House of Commons. On the 27th the Bill came up for a second reading, when Mr. Mills said that when he first introduced the Bill he found so few members favorable to it that he had withdrawn it; but towards the close of last Parliament he had found so many favorable to it that now he desired to get an expression of opinion from the House. He thought that as long as the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces were appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of his Ministers, members of the Local Houses should not be also members of the House of Commons. Mr. Masson said that he thought it was time this question was settled; and that although Dual Representation might be unpopular with some members of the House it was very popular with the electors of Quebec, as shown by the fact that at the last election out of twenty-one candidates for both Houses, eighteen had been elected. The Ontario Legislature had declared against Dual Representation, and the consequence was that the Government had had to take a gentleman off the bench (Mr. Mowat) as their leader after the retirement of Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie. He moved in amendment, "That in the opinion

of this House the fact of an individual having obtained the confidence of the people, and thereby a seat in any of the Local Legislatures, should not act as a legal disqualification to sit and vote in the House of Commons, and that there does not exist sufficient cause and reason to justify this House in depriving the people of their just rights and privileges in the free choice of their representatives." Mr. Joly said that the amendment would condemn the action of four out of the six Local Legislatures which had declared against Dual Representation. The Quebec House had passed an Act, by a majority of nine, abolishing Dual Representation, but it had been defeated in the Legislative Council. Messrs. Taschereau, Bodwell, Langlois, Jette, Mercier and Landerkin, supported the Bill; and Messrs. Ross (Champlain) Wright (Pontiac), and Mathieu spoke in favor of the amendment. Mr. Bellerose moved in amendment to the amendment "That this House while affirming its right to legislate on the question of Dual Representation, thinks it more advisable to leave the question of its abolition to the Local Legislatures, if its existence appears disadvantageous to them." After some discussion Mr. Bellerose's amendment was then put and lost by a vote of 56 for, 97 against. Mr. Masson's amendment was then put and lost, when Mr. Baker moved the six months hoist which was lost 57 for, 96 against. The Bill was then read a second time, and subsequently passed and received the assent of the Governor-General. The question was not regarded as a strictly party one, and the division list showed that Ministers were divided on it, Messrs. Macdonald, Langevin, Pope and Robitaille voting for the six months hoist, while Messrs. Campbell, Mitchell, Tilley and Tupper voted against it.

12.—The feeling of disquietude as to the future relations of Canada to the Mother Country which had occasionally been making themselves felt, and the slight disposition towards Annexation which was sometimes shown—more particularly by some members of the House who supported the Opposition—gave rise to the introduction,

on the 31st of March, by Mr. Wallace (Albert) of a series of resolutions on which to base an Address to Her Majesty, praying for a Confederation of the Empire.\* Mr. Wallace said in support of his resolutions that as the leading journals of Great Britain had intimated that Canada might sever her connection with Great Britain if she wanted to, it was an opportune moment for Canada to express the opinion that she did not want Independence or Annexation, but would be glad to have all the British Empire federated. Hon. Dr. Tupper hoped that the motion would be withdrawn. The chain of Union which bound the Atlantic to the Pacific, had only just been completed; and he deprecated any action which might lead to the impression abroad that Confederation had not been successful and that the people were not satisfied with it. Sir John A. Macdonald was glad that the resolutions had been introduced, as he thought that the relations with Great Britain would gradually become less of allegiance, and more of alliance. The idea of Independence now was absurd, as we were not able to stand alone, and would be absorbed by the United States in less than five years. He did not believe in the lamb laying down with the lion; they might lie down together, but he was afraid that the lamb would be inside. After some further discussion the motion was withdrawn.

13.—On the 1st of April, Hon. Mr. Tilley, Minister of Finance, made his Budget speech, reviewing the Financial condition of the country. He <sup>The Budget.</sup> commenced by regretting the retirement of Sir Francis Hincks, on account of failing health.

\* 1. That Canadians must look forward to attaining their full status as a people, but while doing so, they are alike opposed to Independence, or absorption into the neighbouring Republic, and desire only to enjoy their rights as fully as their fellow-subjects in the British Isles.

2. That in return for being endowed with the full rights of subjects, the Canadian people will be prepared to assume their shares of the responsibility arising out of them.

3. That as Steam and Telegraph have connected London and Ottawa as closely together as were London and Edinburgh at the time of the Union between England and Scotland, there ought to be no insuperable difficulties to obtaining an object so much to be desired.

4. That an humble address be presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty, praying that the Imperial Parliament may be recommended to take into consideration a Confederation of the Empire or some other plan that will give Canadians the full rights and privileges of British subjects.

Before entering on the budget proper, he reviewed the Financial condition of the country during the past five years, comparing its position in 1872 with what it was in 1867. In 1867 the paid up capital of the Banks was \$28,692,980; in 1872 it had risen to \$49,189,969; in the same time the deposits had increased from \$26,103,004 to \$59,560,003, and if the amount deposited in Savings Banks was added we would find that the increase had been nearly \$33,000,000 in six years. In trade and commerce the increase had been most remarkable; in 1868 the exports amounted to \$57,567,888, which had risen to \$82,639,663, and for the first half of the current year (from 1st July, to 31st December, 1872), they amounted to \$53,488,968. The goods entered for consumption had shown an equally gratifying increase; in 1868 the amount was \$71,985,306, in 1872, \$107,709,116, and for the half of the current year, \$84,364,291. The exports and goods entered for consumption for the last six months in 1872, amounted together to \$126,330,636, while the whole year 1867-8 only showed \$129,553,194, so that the volume of trade had very nearly doubled in five years. The public debt in 1867, was \$75,728,000 and in 1872 it had increased to \$82,187,000, making a net increase of the debt of \$6,456,000, which was just in proportion to the increase of the population and no more. For this increase we had to show more than half the Intercolonial completed; we had paid \$1,500,000 for the North-West Territories, and another \$1,500,000 for opening up and settling them; we had spent over \$1,500,000 on public works; \$380,000 on surveys for the Pacific Railway; \$400,000 for taking the census, and about \$500,000 for repelling Fenian Raids, all over and above the ordinary expenses; and still at the end of five years he found that the surplus of revenue over expenditure had been \$9,522,022 which had been contributed towards the construction of public works out of revenue. The taxation for the five years had averaged \$3.54 per head per annum, which he claimed was very light; and the surplus in that time would authorize the increase of the debt of \$30,000,000 without

increasing taxation. The whole statement with regard to the first five years of Confederation was most satisfactory, as Mr. Tilley expressed it: "I may say that rising from the consideration of the past five years, no matter how we view it, whether in a commercial point of view, whether with respect to trade and commerce, its banking operations, its imports and exports, the increase of the tonnage of our vessels, or with respect to the financial condition of the Dominion, in every aspect in which we view it, I rise from the enquiry, feeling the greatest possible encouragement not only with regard to the past, but with regard to the present, and with regard to the future." Passing on to the financial statement for the year ending 30th June, 1872, he said that the estimated receipts had been exceeded, and the estimated expenditures reduced. Notwithstanding that the duty on tea and coffee had been removed, and that \$200,000 of duty paid on those articles had been refunded by order of the House, still the receipts had amounted to \$20,714,813 against an expenditure of \$17,589,468 leaving a surplus of \$3,125,345, in addition to which there was \$470,606 carried to Sinking Fund, which would make the total surplus of \$3,595,951. For the current year he estimated that there would be a surplus of about \$765,000. For 1873-74 the total estimates were \$30,894,089, out of which \$9,974,240 was for Capital account.\* Deduct from this \$93,000 for debts falling due during present year and it would leave \$20,826,849 to be provided for out of revenue. The estimate revenue from all sources was \$21,740,000, which would show a surplus of \$913,151, against which there would be some supplemental estimates. He entered at length into a statement of the various items of expenditure and probable income, and said that it was not the intention of the Government to propose any increase in the tariff. With reference to the amounts to be spent on the Pacific Railway and the canals he estimated that they would involve

\* The amounts to be charged to Capital account were, Intercolonial Railway, \$4,335,000; Canals, \$3,277,000; Public buildings, including library and grounds, \$892,000, making a total of \$8,504,000.



an annual charge of \$3,367,400. To meet this he argued it would only be necessary to replace the percentage of duty to what it had averaged during the first five years of Confederation. This had been 12½ per cent. but owing to additions to the free list, removal of the duties on tea and coffee, &c., it had been reduced to less than 10% in 1872. If the tariff should in the future be readjusted so as to raise the average to 12½% again, it would—basing his estimate on the imports of the present year, yield an income of \$3,437,500, which would be sufficient to meet the amount required for Railway and Canals, without raising the average rate of duty any higher than it had been during the first five years of Confederation.

14.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie was glad to hear the Finance Minister announce that no change would be made in the tariff; but thought that the manufacturers who had been led to expect at least incidental protection would be rather disappointed. With regard to the estimate of the Finance Minister that the taxation was only about \$4 per head, this was only the amount collected by the Dominion, but it must be remembered that there was four or five dollars a head of local taxation as well. He held that the most important thing was to make Canada as cheap a country as possible to live in, and this could not be done by increasing taxation. He looked with great apprehension at the great increase which must take place to meet the lavish expenditures which were to be made. He did not think that the Pacific Railway would assist Canada as a means of transporting the produce of the West to the East, as he was doubtful whether agricultural produce could be carried 1,000 miles by rail and made profitable; but thought that its main advantage would be in attracting settlers, unless the policy of the Government with regard to the public lands hampered immigration as he feared it would. He took exception to several matters of detail which he said he would more fully discuss in Committee; and expressed surprise that no provision was made for the "Better Terms" for New Brunswick, which were

freely spoken about. Sir Francis Hincks quite agreed with the Finance Minister, as to the small *per capita* tax, which was very little more than the mere interest on the debt of the United States amounted to, while it was only one-third of what the *per capita* tax of England was. Mr. Oliver thought that the expenditure of the Dominion had increased beyond all proper proportion to the revenue. Mr. Chisholm was rejoiced to find the financial statement so much better than had been expected. Mr. Young (Waterloo), said that if the financial condition of the country was so prosperous under a recklessly extravagant administration, he would like to know what it would have been under different management. He denied that the prosperous state of things was due to the Government; it was due to the abnormal extension of the revenue by excessive imports, and there must follow a reaction on this; but the Government went on as if this state of things would last for ever. The public expenditure had increased 66 per cent. in five years, which was not warranted by our income, and would lead us to a deficit. Mr. Cartwright thought that too sanguine a view had been taken of the probable income of the country. Mr. Thompson, (Welland) thought the Government had not made the most of the advantages they had. He was opposed to building the Pacific Railway at present, and would rather see local roads in British Columbia and Manitoba. Mr. Patterson, (South Brant) hoped the Government would redeem the promises of a Protective Tariff, made during the elections. Mr. Grant strongly endorsed the policy of the Government, and considered the building of the Pacific Railway an imperative necessity. Mr. Wilkes claimed that the people of Canada were very heavily and not very lightly taxed, and that the proportion of revenue from imports was larger than in any other country. After some further discussion the formal motion to go into Committee of Supply passed.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.  
—FIRST SESSION, SECOND PARLIAMENT,  
1873.—(CONTINUED.)

1. INCREASE OF MINISTERIAL AND OTHER SALARIES.—2. THE BALLOT.—3. THE INTER-COLONIAL VOTE OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.—4. CHANGE OF GAUGE ON THE INTER-COLONIAL.—5. MOUNTED POLICE FOR THE N. W. TERRITORIES.—6. NEW BRUNSWICK SCHOOL ACT. \$5,000 FOR APPEAL TO PRIVY COUNCIL.—7. RE-ADJUSTMENT OF THE DEBT.—8. ADMISSION OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—9. SUBSIDY FOR REPEAL OF EXPORT DUTY ON TIMBER IN NEW BRUNSWICK.—10. MISCELLANEOUS ACTS.

1.—On the 8th of May, Sir John A. Macdonald moved the House into Committee on certain resolutions increasing the salaries of Lieutenant Governors, Judges and other officers, and also the indemnity to members of the Senate and House. Hon. Mr. Holton objected to the principle on which the indemnity to members was based, holding that it presented a pecuniary inducement to shorten the session after the expiration of thirty days. Although he did not think \$1,000 too high a remuneration, he was of opinion that it should be based on a per diem allowance. Mr. Jones denied that the system had acted viciously on members. Mr. Macdonald (Glengarry) did not object to an increase of salary to Judges, and would suggest an increase of salaries to Ministers, but was opposed to any increase of indemnity to members, thinking that they got "all their services were worth." On the 14th, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced a resolution to increase the salaries of Ministers from \$5,000 per annum to \$7,000 per annum, the Premier to receive \$1,000 extra; such increase to take effect from the 1st day of January last. In Committee, on the 17th, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie advocated a system of graduated salaries, such as obtained in England, and also took exception to the increase counting from

the 1st of January past, holding that it should take effect from the commencement of the next fiscal year. Sir John A. Macdonald said that it was impossible to introduce the English system here; in England the Ministers were all wealthy, and a few thousands made no difference, but here salaries were of some importance, and to adopt a graduated scale would be to admit an element of discord which would cause trouble. On the resolutions coming up for discussion on the 20th a very long debate took place on the incapacity of some of the Judges in Quebec, and it was noticed that the number of appeals to the Privy Council from that Province were greater than that of all the other Provinces put together. Hon. Mr. Dorion, Hon. Mr. Cauchon, Mr. Fournier and others spoke of the unsatisfactory state of things in Quebec owing to the age and unfitness of some of the Judges; and Mr. Mercier offered an amendment that, "The salaries of the Judges in Quebec over seventy years of age should remain the same as at present; the salaries of Judges under seventy should be augmented; that Judges above seventy should not be forced to resign, but that if they did resign within sixty days after the passage of this law, they should draw a pension of two-thirds of the salary as augmented by this law." After some discussion the amendment was lost on a division. On the question of Ministers salaries Hon. Mr. Mackenzie moved in amendment "That in the opinion of this House it is not expedient to increase the salaries of Ministers of the Crown in the manner proposed; that uniformity in amount is unnecessary, as the heads of the less important Departments are now sufficiently paid with \$5,000 per annum, and that the Resolutions be not now concurred in, but be referred back to a Committee of the Whole with instructions to graduate the salaries, so that the aggregate amount shall not exceed \$75,000." Sir John A. Macdonald argued against having graduated salaries. Hon. Mr. Holton referred to the practice in England, and also to the fact that salaries in Canada had been graduated up to 1851. After some further

Increase of Ministerial and other salaries.

discussion, Mr. Mackenzie's amendment was withdrawn and the bill regulating the increase of salaries passed.\*

2.—The question of voting by ballot early attracted the attention of the House, and two

Bills were introduced—one by Mr. Tremblay on the 14th of March, and one by Mr. Young (Waterloo), on the 19th—providing for voting by ballot at elections for members of the House of Commons. On the 3rd of April, on the motion for the second reading of Mr. Tremblay's Bill, Mr. Witton spoke in favor of the ballot; he claimed that elections as at present conducted were characterized by lavish expenditure, debauchery and drunkenness; that in the Colonies in which it had been introduced it had proved a success, and that its introduction in England should be followed by its adoption here. Mr. Beaubien said that the system had been tried in Montreal at municipal elections and worked badly. Mr. Costigan favored open voting so that a man could tell who were his friends and who his enemies. He thought that there was quite as much bribery in New Brunswick under the ballot as there ever had been with open voting. Mr. Abaon claimed that the ballot had been a dead failure in Nova Scotia. Hon. Mr. Dorion thought that the best argument in favor of the ballot was that the

only place in which it had been tried and repealed was Nova Scotia. Mr. Young (Montreal) thought that the ballot had promoted law and order in Montreal, and, therefore, would support the bill. Mr. Mackay was strongly opposed to secret voting. If the people were properly educated to a correct and honest exercise of the franchise, the ballot system would not be wanted. Mr. Smith (Westmoreland) spoke, after seventeen years experience, of the peace and order which had resulted from the ballot system in New Brunswick. He hoped that the Election Bill promised by the Government would provide for voting by ballot. The debate was adjourned until the ninth, when it was resumed by Mr. Palmer, who thought that the ballot would tend to get rid of improper influences at elections; but considered that it would be wiser to wait until after the impending general elections in England and see how it worked there before introducing it into Canada. Mr. Oliver could see no necessity for awaiting the result of the trial in England, when it had been tried here in municipal elections and found satisfactory. He favored the introduction of the ballot at once as the gigantic Public Works about to be undertaken would throw an immense amount of patronage into the hands of the Government, and the ballot was necessary for the protection of voters employed on those works. Mr. Smith (Peel) spoke of the various ways in which voters could be coerced, and favored the Bill. Mr. White (Hastings) did not think that the mass of voters were afraid to vote fairly and openly, nor that undue influence was used by employers. He claimed that the effect of the ballot in the States had been to keep the worst men in office; and that its working in Nova Scotia had been most unsatisfactory. Mr. Burpee (St. John) said that personally he preferred open voting, but he thought that the ballot protected workingmen and young men in mercantile establishments, and also caused quieter elections; he, therefore, supported the Bill. Mr. Edgar thought that the system should be adopted without awaiting the result of experiments in other countries. Mr. Wallace

\* The Bill as passed provides that all Ministers should receive \$7,000 per annum, and the Premier \$13,000 additional. The Lieut.-Governors of Ontario and Quebec to receive \$10,000 per annum each, and Lieutenant-Governors of the other Provinces \$9,000 each. Chief Justices of the Queen's Bench and Superior Courts, Quebec, to receive \$6,000 each, four Puisne Judges of the former and ten of the latter \$5,000 each, twelve Puisne Judges \$4,000 each and three \$3,500 each. In Ontario the Chancellor and two Chief Justices and present presiding Judge in Court of Error and Appeal \$6,000 each, Vice-Chancellor and Puisne Judges \$5,000 each. In Nova Scotia the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Judge in Equity \$5,000 each, and five Puisne Judges \$4,000 each, the whole with such travelling expenses as may be granted by the Governor-in-Council. In Manitoba the Chief Justice of Queen's Bench \$5,000, and two Judges \$4,000 each. In British Columbia the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court \$5,000, and two Judges \$4,000 each; Judges appointed before the Union to retain existing salaries. County Judges, except in York, Ont., and St. John, N.B., \$2,000, to be increased after three years service to \$2,400, and \$200 travelling expenses. In York and St. John the salaries to be \$2,400 at once. Junior County Judges \$2,000 and same travelling expenses. After fifteen years service a County Judge may on account of infirmity be pensioned with an allowance equal to two-thirds of his salary. The indemnity to members of Parliament was placed at \$10 per diem if the session lasted only thirty days, or less, or \$1,000 if over thirty days. The Speakers of the Senate and Commons to receive \$4,000 each. A lump sum of \$75,000 was voted to readjust salaries of Civil Service employees—\$5,000 of which was for officers and clerks of the House of Commons and \$2,500 for those of the Senate.

(Norfolk) was opposed to the principle of the ballot, on the ground that every voter had a right to know how his neighbor voted. He pointed to the gross bribery which was practised under it in the States, where men actually contracted to furnish so many votes for so much money. He believed the ballot would tend to dishonor, not to honor, to degrade, not to elevate the voter. Mr. Cunningham did not think the same reasons for the ballot existed in Canada that did in England. Messrs. Chisholm, Trow, Bodwell, Dodge and Patterson spoke in favor of the ballot. Mr. McDonald (Pictou) thought that the tone of the debate would be inclined to impress foreigners with the idea that Canadians were deteriorating and were no longer fit to exercise the franchise in the same free and open manner as their forefathers, but he did not believe such a change had taken place. He held that it was only to a few weak worthless things to whom the ballot would apply, for the farmers and skilled artisans were perfectly independent and could and would vote as they pleased, ballot or no ballot. The case was very different in England where the influence of the landowners and capitalists was so great, but there were no such influences in Canada. As to promoting quiet elections, that, he urged, could only be attained by separating the masses of the voters as much as possible, and the quiet elections in Nova Scotia, had resulted from the large number of polling places more than from the ballot. As to bribery he believed there was quite as much, if not more, under the ballot system as under open voting. He did not believe that in Nova Scotia there was one man out of ten who preferred ballot to open voting. He thought the arguments in favor of the ballot rather sentimental than practical; and in no country where it had been tried had it raised the moral standard of the people, but had, on the contrary, debased it, as was shown most especially in the cases of the United States and France. The motion for the second reading was then carried by a vote of 78 to 55. It will be noticed that none of the Ministers spoke on the question, nor did any of the leaders of the

Opposition. The Bill was introduced by a private member, and its being carried through its second reading gave a very fair indication of the feeling of the House on the question without its being made a party one. Later on in the session (15th May) Sir John A. Macdonald introduced a Temporary Election Act, and announced that the Government did not propose to proceed with the Election Act promised in the Speech from the Throne, but would have it printed, with the ballot clause, and distributed during the recess. The two ballot bills were then dropped and the Temporary Act passed, its provisions being similar to the Acts in force at Confederation, except that voting was confined to one day.

3.—On the 2nd of May, on Hon. Mr. Tilley moving the House into Supply, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie moved in amendment, a long resolution to the effect The Intercolonial, Vote of want of Confidence. that the Government had been extravagant and wasteful in the matter of the Intercolonial; that large sums had been squandered in useless or insufficient surveys; that sums of money had been paid to contractors in excess of their contracts, and that such payment was a gross violation of public duty. The resolution referred to Section No. 5, which was originally let to Haycock & Co., and subsequently to A. McDonnell & Co., and, according to the statements embodied by Mr. Mackenzie in his resolution, showed that an overpayment of \$64,685 had been made. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie in moving his resolution, reviewed the early history of the Intercolonial, the objections which had been raised to the route, and to the manner of building the road, and claimed that some of the evils which it had been pointed out would arise from the haste of the Government to commence the road before proper surveys had been made, had occurred and a large sum of money thereby lost to the Government. He went on to show that the twenty mile section, No 5, had been originally let for \$361,000, that changes had been made in the alinement which would reduce the cost about \$90,000 to \$100,000, and still further changes after the contract had

been re-let to McDonnell & Co., effecting a further saving of \$79,485; thus showing an error of no less than \$170,000 in the short distance of twenty miles. He then proceeded to show how the Government had gone on advancing money to McDonnell & Co., until they had actually been paid \$64,000 more than they themselves had admitted to be due under the contract. He claimed that it was a most serious thing for the Government to undertake to alter contracts once they had been let; and more particularly was this the case in the face of the immense Public Works which it was proposed to undertake. If the Government was to violate contracts in this way there was no legitimate stopping place, and they apparently had no principle to guide them, except what they may think expedient either in the interests of the contractors, or their own interest. He did not impute any wrong motives to the Government, but he knew there had been a gross violation of duty. Hon. Dr. Tupper said in reply, that the Government was quite prepared to accept the motion as one of want of confidence, and also to show that far from being guilty of dereliction of duty, the Government had pursued the only course that they could have taken in the public interest. With regard to the route he claimed that it was the very route advocated by the honorable gentleman himself (Mr Mackenzie) until he found himself in Opposition, and then he thought it necessary to adopt a new opinion with regard to it. He then entered into a history of the Intercolonial from 1858 to show that the Northern route had been selected by the Imperial Government and approved by the party of the honorable gentleman, who had caused it to be surveyed. Coming to the point of the resolution he said that Parliament had decided that the road should be built by an independent Board of Commissioners, and he paid a compliment to the manner in which those gentlemen had filled their duties. He admitted that, acting under the pressure which had been brought to bear on them that the road should be commenced immediately after Con-

federation, and the cry raised by the Anti-Confederates in Nova Scotia that any delay was a violation of the contract, the Government had been hasty and let the contracts for the first few sections—of which No. 5 was one—without having as exact information as could have been desired; but he contended that the public interest had not suffered, and that the road had been built as economically as possible. He went on to argue that the first contracts had been let at lump sums to the lowest tenderers, and that in every instance but two the contractors had failed and the work had had to be re-let at greatly advanced figures, on account of the great advance which had occurred in wages since the contracts were let; and he held that where the Government found contractors willing to carry out their contracts if they could get a little assistance, it was better for the public interest to give them some help than to have them abandon the contract altogether and the Government be forced to re-let it. He went on to explain that the rise in wages had been fifty per cent, and claimed that the Commissioners had acted in the matter as any Railway Company or private individual would have done. Hon. Mr. Anglin said that the Minister of Customs (Dr. Tupper) had not attempted to deny that the overpayments had been made. He then attacked the course pursued by the Government and condemned the action of the Commissioners, contending that we were entering upon a career of extravagance and corruption, where money was being wasted to help friends of the Government. Hon. Mr. Tilley defended the action of the Commissioners in granting additional aid to contractors on account of the increase of wages. Hon. Mr. Holton contended that it had been proved that \$64,000 had been paid over and above the contract price; and what they charged the Government with was using this amount of the public funds without authority from Parliament. Messrs. Burpee, (St. John), Young, (Waterloo), and Wood supported the amendment and Messrs. Palmer, Wallace and Flescher opposed it, after which a division was taken and Mr. Mackenzie's motion defeated by a vote 70



for 95 against. A resolution was subsequently introduced by Hon. Mr. Tilley and adopted that the contractors for sections 1 to 7 be paid certain sums claimed by them for extra work, to the total amount of \$193,804.

4.—On the 24th of April, Hon. Mr. Langevin moved the House into Committee on certain resolutions on which to found a bill changing the gauge of the Intercolonial and other Government Railways in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia from 5 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. 8½ in., or to lay a third rail. Hon. Mr. Langevin explained that when the matter had been before the House before it was thought that it was impossible for the Grand Trunk to change its gauge for want of means; but that Company had been able to raise the amount necessary to make the alteration, and it was now thought advisable that the gauge of the Intercolonial and other Government Railways should also be changed, so as to make it uniform and save transshipment at River du Loup. As to the cost, Mr. Sanford Fleming had estimated that it would cost about \$800,000 to change the gauge from River du Loup to Moncton, and \$600,000 to lay a third rail from Moncton to Truro. A long debate ensued, not so much on the change of gauge as in the shape of criticising the Government for not having adopted the suggestion of the Opposition two years before to change the gauge, which would have saved the country a large amount of money; after which the resolutions were adopted, and the Act subsequently passed.

5.—Two Acts relating to the North-West Territories were passed; one with regard to legislation for the Territories, and the other with reference to the administration of Justice and the formation of a Mounted Police force, not to exceed 300 men. The Act provides for the appointment of one or more Stipendiary Magistrates, with salaries not to exceed \$3,000 per annum, who have power to try summarily, without a jury, persons charged with larceny, &c., if the value of the articles is not over \$100; and two Stipendiary Magistrates

may hear summarily all cases where the punishment is not more than seven years imprisonment—which is to be undergone in Manitoba; all more serious offences to be tried in Manitoba. The Police Force to consist of a Commissioner, one or more Superintendents, Paymaster, Surgeon, and Veterinary Surgeon, and not more than 300 constables, to be all or partly mounted. Enlistment to be for three years, and the Governor-in-Council may grant each man 160 acres of land on his discharge. In introducing the Bill, Sir John A. Macdonald said that the outfit of 300 men would not exceed \$50,000, but that it was intended that the force should be selected by degrees, and it was not probable that it would reach 300 men for some time to come; and, also, that it was the intention of the Government to reduce the military force in Manitoba as the Police force was formed.

6.—It will be remembered that at the last session a resolution was adopted that the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, and if possible, of the Committee of the Privy Council also, should be obtained as to the power of the New Brunswick Legislature to pass the School Act of 1871 (See Chap. XXV. Sec. 15). On the 15th of April, Sir John A. Macdonald laid on the table all the papers in the case, including the opinions of the Attorney-General Sir J. D. Coleridge, and the Solicitor-General, Sir Joseph Jessel, that the Provincial Legislature was competent to pass the Act. Some further evidence was submitted by the Roman Catholic Bishop and a further opinion, under date 10th of April, obtained to the effect that they were still of opinion that the Legislature had the power to pass the Act. This further opinion was transmitted to the House by message, on the 5th of May. On the 14th, on the motion to go into Supply, Mr. Costigan moved a resolution to the effect that the House regrets that the School Law of New Brunswick is unsatisfactory to a large number of the people, and trusts that it may be modified at the next session of the New Brunswick Legislature so as to remove the causes of discontent which exist; that it is

Change of gauge on  
the Intercolonial.

New Brunswick  
School Act, \$5,000  
for appeal to Privy  
Council.

Mounted Police for  
the North West  
Territories.

expedient that the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in England should be obtained, and if possible, also the opinion of Her Majesty's Privy Council; therefore, in order to allow the parties to agree upon a case, that His Excellency be recommended to disallow the Acts passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick at its last session amending the Act. He said that he had no intention of moving a vote of want of confidence, but he thought that was the proper time to offer his resolution. He reviewed the history of the New Brunswick School Act, and claimed that the amendments passed at the last session of the Legislature were even more oppressive than the act itself, and that one of them legalized assessments which the Supreme Court had declared illegal. He had been asked to let his motion stand over and endeavour to make an arrangement with the Government and the Province; this he was willing to do, but thought it only fair that the principle should be adopted that the Governor-General should withhold his signature from the bill. Sir John A. Macdonald complimented the mover on the very moderate manner in which he had so constantly and faithfully urged the cause of his co-religionists. He thought that it would have been better for New Brunswick if a School Act similar to that of Ontario and Quebec had been adopted; and they would not have peace and quietness and a sound Educational system until they adopted the principle of Separate Schools. At the same time he was opposed to advising the Governor-General to disallow the Acts of the Local Legislature. He entered into an able argument on the constitutional question to show that if the House arrogated to itself the right to order the Governor-General to allow or disallow Acts of the Local Legislatures on subjects left entirely under their control by the British North America Act, then the principle of a Federal Union was destroyed and a Legislative Union substituted in its place and we may as well at once dispense with our costly Provincial Legislatures, for they became of no practical use if the Dominion Parliament had the right to revise all the Acts passed and

allow or disallow such as it pleased. Besides, the House by passing this resolution was seeking to assume the prerogative of the Crown, and to exercise a power which was reserved to the representative of the sovereign alone. Hon. Mr. Anglin, Messrs. Masson, Wright, Cauchon, Mackenzie and others supported the resolution, the main points of argument being that as the House at its last session had desired the Government to obtain the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown and also of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and that only the opinion of the Law Officers and not of the Judicial Committee also had been obtained, it was injudicious in the Local Legislature to amend the Act pending that decision, and that it would be better for the Governor-General to disallow the amendments, as it would only have the effect of suspending the action of the law while the opinion of the Committee was obtained, for, if the Act was disallowed the Legislature could pass it again next session. After a very lengthy debate Mr. Costigan's motion was adopted by a vote of 98 to 63. On the nineteenth, in answer to a question put by Hon. Mr. Anglin, Sir John A. Macdonald said the resolution adopted with regard to the New Brunswick School Bill had been duly laid before His Excellency the Governor-General, who had commanded him (Sir John) to state that he was asked by one branch of the Parliament of Canada to exercise the Royal prerogative by disallowing certain Acts of the New Brunswick Legislature. It was stated that these Acts were passed for the purpose of legalizing certain assessments made under the Act of 1871, and that the object was to give the parties complaining of the School Act the opportunity of bringing such Act before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. His Excellency had been already instructed by Her Majesty's Government of the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in England that the Act in question was within the competence and jurisdiction of the New Brunswick Legislature and that being the case he deemed it to be his duty to apply to Her Majesty's Government for their instructions on the subject. Sir John

added that as the matter was one of great importance to a large number of Her Majesty's subjects, it was the intention of the Government to ask the House for an appropriation to defray the expenses of a test case so as to get a decision from the Privy Council.

7.—On the 13th of May, Hon. Mr. Tilley gave notice of a series of resolutions re-adjusting the

Re-adjustment of the debt.

debt of the Dominion, on the basis of the Dominion assuming the whole debt of the Province of Canada at the time of Confederation (\$73,006,088.84) instead of \$62,500,000 as provided in the British North America Act; the other Provinces to be allowed a proportionate increase. On his moving the House into Committee, on the 19th, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie asked what reason there was for assuming the debt of the Province in that way. Hon. Mr. Tilley replied that applications had been received from Quebec, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and indirectly from New Brunswick, for increased subsidies on the ground that the present allowance was not of the same value as in 1867, and they could not pay their local charges with it. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said this was a most extraordinary proposition, and he did not believe any other Government would have made such a proposal without consulting the Governments of Ontario and Quebec. Sir John A. Macdonald thought it was for the best interests of the Dominion, as it was not to the advantage of the Dominion to have the two leading Provinces in a state of semi-hostility on the question of the division of the surplus debt of the old Province of Canada, this arrangement would settle that difficulty, and make it easier to settle the question of assets. The resolutions were adopted, and an Act based on them passed.

8.—On the 16th of May a message was received from His Excellency forwarding the papers in connection with the proposed admission of Prince Edward Island; and, on the 20th, Hon. Mr. Tilley introduced a series of resolutions on which to base an address to Her Majesty, in conformity with the British North America Act, praying for the union of the Island with

Admission of Prince Edward Island.

the Dominion. The terms of the Union may be briefly summarized as follows: The Island, having a population of over 94,000, to be allowed six representatives in the Commons; debt to be taken at \$4,701,050 and interest at 5 per cent, either charged or allowed as it exceeds or falls below that amount; the Dominion to allow \$45,000 per annum, less 5% on any amount not exceeding \$800,000 advanced by the Dominion for the purpose of purchasing lands from the proprietors of the old grants; subsidy to be \$30,000 per annum, and eighty cents per head of population; steam service between the Island and the Mainland to be maintained by the Dominion; Dominion to assume the Island Railway and also the Law Court building on payment of \$69,000. In moving the resolutions, Hon. Mr. Tilley stated that the Government had been trying ever since Confederation to effect an union with this beautiful and fertile island, which had at last been accomplished and Confederation completed. He explained that the total expense of the Island to the Dominion would be about \$480,000 per annum, and the receipts, based on those of the last year, about \$441,000. The address was adopted, and a bill providing for the admission of the Island introduced and passed.

9.—On the 17th of May, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced a series of resolutions with reference to the repeal of the export duties on timber charged in New Brunswick.

Subsidy for repeal of export duty on timber in New Brunswick.

In support of his resolutions, Sir John A. Macdonald said that New Brunswick had an undoubted right to impose this tax, but it was very inconvenient that she should, and as the Washington Treaty rendered it necessary that the tax should be repealed in order to secure to Canada very substantial advantages, he thought it would be a good bargain for the Dominion to buy the right and abolish the tax. This would settle all the questions under the Washington Treaty except that of what money compensation we should receive for the difference in value of our Fisheries and those of the United States. Hon. Mr. Tilley said that this

tax had been levied by New Brunswick on all timber floated down the St. John River for about thirty years, and had proved a tax on Canada as well as the United States. He gave statistics of the revenue derived from this source for many years. Mr. Findlay objected to the Dominion pledging itself to pay \$150,000 a year forever when in a few years all the timber from which this tax is derived would be cut down. Hon. Mr. Holton contended that the sum named was twice as much as New Brunswick derived from the tax at present, and that it was only giving her "Better Terms" in an underhand manner. After some further discussion, in which Messrs. Tilley, Hincks, Mackenzie, Wood, Tupper, Merritt, Currier and Mills participated, the resolutions were adopted; and a Bill based on them was subsequently introduced and passed.

10.—Amongst the other Acts passed was one creating the Department of the Interior, and abolishing the Department of

Miscellaneous Acts.

Secretary of State for the Provinces; one for regulating lands in Manitoba; for the Inspection of Steamboats; on the carriage of dangerous goods; with reference to Harbor Masters in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; Port Wardens of Montreal and Quebec; Trinity House, Quebec; trial of Controverted Elections; Superannuation; Ocean Mail Service; Naturalization of aliens; Free Grants in Manitoba; Continuing the Insolvent Act until next Session; Bank Returns; Patents; Militia; Weights and Measures; Gas Inspection; Pilotage; Wrecks and Salvage; Carrying Deck Loads; Trinity House, Montreal, &c., &c. An Act was passed giving the Governor-in-Council power to issue bonds for \$1,500,000 at 5 per cent. for forty years, to deepen the channel between Montreal and Quebec to twenty-two feet, and widen it to three hundred feet. Amongst the Local and Private Acts were one Incorporating the Dominion Board of Trade; one regulating the rate of interest in Nova Scotia; Incorporating the Stadacona Bank, Quebec, capital \$1,000,000; Imperial Bank, Toronto, capital \$1,000,000; Victoria Bank of Canada, Montreal, capital

\$1,000,000; Pictou Bank, capital \$500,000; Bank of St. Hyacinthe, capital \$500,000; Central Bank of Canada, Montreal, capital \$1,000,000. A number of amendments to Railway Acts were also passed, as well as Acts granting charters to Insurance and other Companies. Altogether 126 Bills were passed, and all received Royal assent. The House was adjourned on the 23rd of May to the 13th of August, and was then prorogued.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN. THE PACIFIC SCANDAL.

1. THE PACIFIC SCANDAL.—2. CHARTER GRANTED TO THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.—3. CONDITIONS OF THE CHARTER.—4. REMARKS ON THE CHARTER.—5. HON. MR. HUNTINGTON'S CHARGE OF CORRUPTION.—6. SMALL EFFECT OF THE MOTION.—7. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD MOVES FOR A COMMITTEE.—8. THE OATH'S BILL.—9. THE COMMITTEE PROPOSES AN ADJOURNMENT TO 2ND OF JULY.—10. THE COMMITTEE TO SIT DURING RECESS.—11. ADJOURNMENT.

1.—We come now to the most important event which has ever occurred in Canadian history, and a repetition of which we sincerely trust it may <sup>The Pacific Scandal.</sup> never be the painful duty of a future historian to recall—the down-fall of a powerful and popular Ministry before a charge of gross corruption. In approaching this subject we find it extremely difficult to avoid writing in what may be considered a party spirit—for the question assumed so much the form of a purely party one, that the grossness and immorality of the offense charged to have been committed was to a great extent lost sight of; and the question became not so much whether the Ministry was morally guilty or not, but whether the Opposition would be able to *prove* them guilty; but we shall endeavour

to calmly and dispassionately relate the circumstances in the chronological sequence in which they occurred, reserving any opinion until the conclusion of the affair, and, meantime, being careful that we "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." The mere fact of its having been possible that so grave a charge as that contained in what is popularly known as "The Pacific Scandal" could be made against a Canadian Ministry is a sad blot on our political escutcheon, and far be it from us to endeavour to make the dark spot any blacker, or its hideousness any greater than the bare facts themselves show it to be.

2.—In a previous Chapter we have traced the formation of the two rival Companies for building the Pacific Railway—

Charter granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

the Canada Pacific Railway Company and the Inter-Oceanic

Railway Company—and also the passage of an Act giving the Governor-in-Council authority to contract with either of these Companies, or with both amalgamated, or to grant a charter to a new Company on the basis of a money subsidy of \$30,000,000 and a land grant of 50,000,000 acres. It will be recollected that the two Companies were highly antagonistic, the Canada Pacific, with Sir Hugh Allan at its head being regarded as representing the interests of Quebec, while the Inter-Oceanic, under the leadership of Senator Macpherson, was supposed to more particularly represent the interests of Ontario. The cry had also been raised that a number of American Capitalists interested in the Northern Pacific Railway, were connected with Sir Hugh Allan in the Canada Pacific and that if the charter was granted to that road it would lose its distinctive character as a purely Canadian road, and be converted into a mere feeder to the Northern Pacific. Thus the matter stood at the close of the session of 1872. Shortly after the prorogation of Parliament negotiations were opened between the two Companies with a view to amalgamation; but a difficulty presented itself in the matter of the Presidency of the proposed amalgamated Company, Sir Hugh Allan insisting that he was entitled to

and should receive the position, and Senator Macpherson and his supporters contending that the selection of the President should be left to the Directors. Other difficulties as to the partition of stock also occurred, but might, possibly have been surmounted, but on this question of the Presidency neither party seemed disposed to give way, and eventually the negotiations fell through; and, the Government not caring to give the charter to either Company as it existed, a new Company was formed, with Sir Hugh Allan as its President, called the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, to which a charter was eventually granted by Letters Patent, under date 5th of February, 1873.

3.—The capital of the new Company was \$10,000,000, of which \$3,846,000, or nearly five-thirteenths was held in the Province of Ontario; \$3,076,000,

Conditions of the Charter.

or nearly four-thirteenths, in the Province of Quebec, and \$769,300, or a trifle over one-thirteenth, in each of the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and British Columbia.\* The stock was to be issued in one hundred dollar shares, and was not to be transferable for six years without the consent of the Dominion Government and the Directors. Ten per cent. was to be paid up at once and deposited with the Receiver General. The gauge of the road was to be four feet eight and one half inches; work was to be commenced at both ends simultaneously by the 20th of July, 1873, and the road completed by 1881, if possible. The Government to have the right to order each section of twenty miles as completed to be worked for local traffic. The Manitoba section (from the main line to the United States frontier) to be completed by the 31st of December, 1874, and the Lake Superior section (from some point on the main line to Lake Superior) to be completed by the 31st of December, 1876. The land grant was to be

\* The parties to whom the Charter was granted, were, Sir Hugh Allan, Montreal; Hon. A. G. Archibald, Halifax; Hon. J. O. Beaubien, Quebec; J. B. Beaudry, Montreal; E. R. Burpee, St. John, N. B.; F. W. Cumberland, Toronto; Sanford Fleming, Ottawa; R. N. Hall, Sherbrooke, P. Q.; Hon. J. S. Helmecken, Victoria, B. C.; A. McEwen, Winnipeg, Man.; D. McInnes, Hamilton; Walter Shanley, Montreal; John Walker, London.



50,000,000 acres, to be granted in blocks twenty miles deep, by not less than six, nor more than twelve miles in width, alternating with blocks of the same size reserved by the Government. The branch lines to receive grants of twenty-five thousand acres a mile for the Lake Superior, and twenty thousand for the Manitoba branch. If any blocks were found unfit for settlement, the Company should not be obliged to take a greater dept than one mile, the difference to be made up out of other Government lands, the lands to be granted at intervals of six months as the work progressed. The land retained by the Government was to be held for the first twenty years at an upset price of two dollars and a half an acre, unless the Company sold any land for less than that price. The money subsidy was to be \$30,000,000 from which was to be deducted whatever expense the Government had been to for surveys. The papers relating to the granting of the Charter were submitted to the House, on the 13th of March, 1873, by message from the Governor-General.

4.—It would be difficult to find anything more satisfactory than the Charter appeared to be. The rivalries of Ontario and Quebec seemed to be amicably settled by an equitable distribution of stock; the Board of Provisional Directors—the gentlemen to whom the Charter was granted—were all men of standing and position in their respective Provinces; and the fear that control of the road might be obtained by American Capitalists interested in the Northern Pacific Railway was guarded against by making the stock non-transferable for six years, without the consent of the Government and the Directors. Some exception was taken to the land clauses which seemed to give the Company "the pick" of the best sections; and to the provision that the Government should not sell for twenty years for less than two dollars and a half an acre, by those who were in favor of making free grants of lands to immigrants; but it must be remembered that the Government never proposed to offer these lands in immediate proximity to the railway to settlers *gratis*,

always holding that the sale of these lands would eventually recoup the country for the large money subsidy it was giving; and as to the "pick," it is hard to see how the Company could gain very much by that as it could only take alternate sections of equal size with the Government. Altogether, the terms of the Charter were satisfactory, and the fact of Sir Hugh Allan being at the head of the Company, added great strength to the enterprise, and gave it every possible prospect of success. Sir Hugh Allan was not only the largest capitalist in Canada, and the one best known in Europe, but he had the reputation—which is sometimes even better than capital—of being a "lucky" financier. Everything in which he engaged proved successful. The Steamship Company which bore his name was one of the largest and most prosperous crossing the Atlantic; the Merchants' Bank, of which he was President, stood second to none amongst our financial institutions for soundness and good management; the Montreal Telegraph Company, of which he was President, was paying larger dividends than any similar Company on the continent; all the other Companies with which he was connected were prosperous, in fact he seemed the embodiment of Canadian success, the word "failure" had never been associated with his name, and it was felt that if it was possible for any Company to inspire Canadian and English capitalists with sufficient confidence to furnish the large sums of money necessary to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, it would be more likely to be the one over which he presided than any other.

5.—Still everything was not entirely satisfactory, and soon vague rumors began to be afloat that undue means had been used to obtain the Charter; but it is safe to say that very few persons in Canada were prepared for the serious charge made by the Hon. Mr. Huntington from his place in Parliament on the 2nd of April, 1873, that the Government had corruptly sold the Charter to Sir Hugh Allan and his friends in consideration of large sums of money which were spent during the general election in

Hon. Mr. Huntington's charge of corruption.

assisting supporters of the Government to buy their way into Parliament. We cannot do better than copy the motion as made from the Votes and Proceedings of that date: Hon. Mr. Huntington moved, "That Mr. Huntington, a member of this House, having stated in his place, that he is credibly informed and believes that he can establish by satisfactory evidence:—

"That in anticipation of the legislation of last session, as to the Pacific Railway, an agreement was made between Sir Hugh Allan, acting for himself, and certain other Canadian promoters, and G. W. McMullen, acting for certain United States capitalists, whereby the latter agreed to furnish all the funds necessary for the construction of the contemplated Railway, and to give the former a certain percentage of interest, in consideration of their interest and position, the scheme agreed on being ostensibly that of a Canadian Company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head;

"That the Government were aware that negotiations were pending between these parties;

"That subsequently, an understanding was come to between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott, M.P., that Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the elections of Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing general election, and that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the Railway;

"That accordingly, Sir Hugh Allan did advance a large sum of money for the purpose mentioned, and at the solicitation, and under the pressing instances of Ministers;

"That part of the monies, expended by Sir Hugh Allan in connection with the obtaining of the act of incorporation and charter, were paid to him by the said United States capitalists under the agreement with him; it is

"Ordered, that a Committee of seven members be appointed to enquire into all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construction of the Pacific Railway, with the legislation of last session on the subject, and with the granting of the Charter to Sir

Hugh Allan and others; with power to send for persons, papers and records; and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before, and all proceedings of said Committee." The motion was read by Mr. Huntington without any preface or remarks, and was received by the House in dead silence. After a pause of a moment there were cries of "Carried" by the Opposition, and "Lost" from the Ministerial benches, when a division being called for, the House divided and the motion was lost by a vote of 76 for, to 107 against.

6.—It is doubtful whether in any other Parliament than that of Canada so startling a statement, and one so nearly Small effect of the motion. concerning the honor and honesty

of the Ministry of the day, could have been received in such a manner. A ministerial paper on the following day announced that the motion had been "voted down in the contemptuous silence it deserved," and the general tone of the Ministerial press and of Public Opinion at this time was that the motion was only a "dodge" of the Opposition intended to annoy the Ministry and not a very well managed dodge at that. Unfortunately for the political morality of Canada the press, of all shades of politics, has for the last forty years or so, felt it a duty incumbent on it to endeavor to prove that all its political opponents, who happened to be in office at the moment, were the greatest rascals and the most unprincipled men generally that could be found in the Province; indeed, judging from the tone of the party press alone, it would appear that only the scum rose to the top of political life and that the only chance a prominent politician had of being regarded as an honest and upright man was for him to die, when it would generally be discovered that he had possessed virtues of which he had never during his lifetime been suspected; but even death would not always shield him from abuse, and occasionally some political ghouls would be found to pursue a man even after he had departed this life, and to blacken the reputation he had left behind him. Charges of bribery and corruption were so freely and indiscriminately

made that the cry had lost its potency; no election took place without the organs of each party charging the other with "the most open and barefaced corruption," and the public ear and the public eye had become so accustomed to hearing and seeing these charges made without any foundation in truth that they fell unheeded and disregarded. It was the old story of the boy and the wolf, the false alarm had been raised so often that when there really was danger no one paid much attention to the cry raised. Another point which tended to lessen the force of the blow was that it was made by Mr. Huntington, an Independent member of Annexation proclivities, who although almost always voting with the Opposition was not regarded as being a member of the Reform party. It was urged, and with some degree of justness, that if the Opposition was in a position to prove this gross charge it would have been preferred by the Leader of the party and not by one who could scarcely even be regarded as being amongst the rank and file; and that the party was not in a position to adduce any evidence to sustain the charge made. Indeed it appears very probable that at this time Mr. Huntington was not really in possession of the letters and telegrams which afterwards played so conspicuous a part in the controversy, but that he had what he considered a sufficient basis in more or less well authenticated rumors, and hoped with the aid of what is popularly known as a "Fishing Committee" to be able to discover sufficient evidence to prove his assertion.

7.—Be that as it may, the motion fell very flat; it was simply regarded as a direct vote of want of confidence in the Ministry, and as such immediately voted down. But Sir John A. Macdonald knew full well that no Ministry could long retain the confidence of the House and the country with such a charge hanging over it; and although he was prompt to vote down Mr. Huntington's motion as of want of confidence, he saw that a Committee must be appointed, and, accordingly, on the meeting of the House on the following day, the 3rd of

April, he said "Mr Speaker, I beg to give notice that I will on Tuesday next ask that the House shall appoint a Special Committee of five to be selected by the House, for the purpose of considering the subjects mentioned in the motion of the hon. member for Shefford yesterday. The Committee shall be drawn by the House, and, if need be, shall have special power given them to sit in recess, and if need be a Royal Commission shall be issued for the purpose of giving them additional powers." On the 8th Sir John A. Macdonald moved the appointment of the Committee, and in doing so said that the motion of the hon. member for Shefford had been voted down because it was regarded as one of want of confidence, and not because the Government desired to shirk inquiry; the Government courted the fullest inquiry, and would be ready to issue a commission so that the Committee could sit after prorogation and take evidence on oath; he did not think that the House had power to authorize the Committee to sit after prorogation, but that difficulty could be got over by issuing a Royal Commission, and he would take care that the Commission was ordered to report to the House. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie disclaimed any intention on the part of the Opposition to vote a want of confidence in supporting the motion of the hon. member for Shefford. He doubted whether it was consistent with Parliamentary practice for the Committee to sit after prorogation, and suggested that the Premier should introduce a short bill giving that power, and also the power to this and other special Committees to take evidence on oath. Sir John A. Macdonald thought it would be better to leave it to the Committee to suggest the best mode of dealing with the subject. He believed that the evidence should be taken on oath, but doubted whether the House had the power to authorize the Committee to do so, and again suggested a Royal Commission. Hon. Mr. Dorion thought it would be best to pass a short bill giving all Special Committees power to take evidence on oath; a course which was also approved of by Hon. Mr. Blake. Hon. Mr. Holton thought

Sir John A. Macdonald moves for a Committee.

that a Court of Inquiry could not be a Royal Commission and a Parliamentary Committee at the same time; he thought that the former would supercede the latter, and the House lose all control over the Committee. Sir John again renewed his offer that if a Commission was issued the return should be ordered to be made to the House; and the members were called in and the Committee appointed by the House. The members of the Committee were Hon. Messrs. Blanchet, Blake, Dorion, McDonald (Pictou), Cameron (Cardwell).\*

8.—On the 17th of April, the Hon. J. H. Cameron, Chairman of the Committee, presented the first report, recommending that the Oaths Bill, a Bill be introduced empowering the Committee to examine witnesses upon oath. On the 18th, Hon. Mr. Cameron introduced a Bill providing for the examination upon oath of witnesses before Committees of the Senate and House of Commons.† It will be as well to remark here that no Committee of the House, except the Committee on Private Bills, had at this time power to examine witnesses under oath, and it was an open question whether the House had authority to grant that power. The reason of this doubt was that at the time of the passage of the British North America Act, 1867, Committees of the Imperial House of Commons did not possess the power to examine witnesses under oath, although Committees of the House of Lords did. The Act giving this power was not passed until 1871. Now the eighteenth section of the British North America Act provides that, "The Privileges, Immunities, and Powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Commons, and by the members thereof respectively, shall be such as are from time to time defined by the Act of Parliament of Canada, but so that the same shall never exceed those at the passing of this Act, held, enjoyed, and exer-

cised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and by the members thereof," and it was argued that the House of Commons of the Dominion could not in 1873 exercise a power which the Imperial House of Commons did not exercise in 1867. This view was held by Sir John A. Macdonald and other eminent jurists, and the correctness of the view was afterwards proved by the disallowance of the Act on the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown. The question as to the power of the House to pass the Act was discussed at the first reading on the 18th, and again on the second reading on the 21st, the majority of the lawyers who spoke, holding that it was beyond the power of the House while Hon. Mr. Dorion and others held that the power was inherent in the House and could be exercised at will. It was further urged that an Act had been passed during the session of 1868, authorizing the Clerk of the Senate to swear any person being examined at the bar of that House, and the Chairman or any member of any Committee of either House, to swear any witness respecting a Private Bill referred to it; which Act had received the Royal assent, and the House was still acting under it on Private Bills. In reply to this it was urged that the Act of 1868 had probably escaped the attention of the Law Officers of the Crown; and Sir John A. Macdonald renewed his offer of a Royal Commission, which was not accepted. The Oaths Bill passed its third reading in the House on the 21st, in the Senate on the 29th, and, on the 3rd of May, His Excellency came down to the Senate Chamber and gave his assent to it, together with some other bills.

9.—The Bill being now, for all practical purposes, law, the Committee was expected to proceed at once; but, to the surprise of some members, the Chairman, Hon. Mr. Cameron, on the 5th of May, presented another report covering a series of resolutions adopted by the Committee to the effect that owing to the absence of Sir George E. Cartier and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott in England—both material

\*In striking Committees by the House each member is entitled to only one vote: there were 173 members present and the vote stood Hon. J. G. Blanchet, 37; Hon. Edward Blake, 36; Hon. A. A. Dorion, 35; Hon. James McDonald, 34; Hon. J. H. Cameron, 33. Messrs. Blake and Dorion were leading members of the Opposition, and the other members of the Committee were supporters of the Government.

† This Act, commonly known as the "Oaths Bill," was disallowed by Her Majesty. Disallowance proclaimed on the 1st of July, 1873.

The Committee proposes an adjournment to 2nd of July.

witnesses to the investigation—the Committee should adjourn until the 2nd of July, if Parliament should then be in session; that the proceedings of the Committee should be secret; that the Committee should be empowered to sit at such place or places as may be found expedient; and that the Committee report the resolutions and ask the consent of the House to them.\* On the sixth a long debate took place on the motion of Hon. Mr. Cameron to adopt the resolutions contained in the report, except that relating to the meetings of the Committee being private, which the Government had decided not to urge. The resolutions were that the Committee should adjourn until the 2nd of July, if the House should then be in session; and that the Committee should have leave to adjourn from place to place. The debate was very acrimonious, the Opposition asserting that the Government was trying to burk inquiry; that it had delayed the passage of the Oaths Bill which instead of being put through at once, as had been promised, had taken nearly a month before it received the Royal assent; and that everything that could possibly be done to delay inquiry was done. Sir John A. Macdonald claimed that the Government was as anxious as the Opposition to have the inquiry; but said that the Government was, to all intents and purposes, impeached and placed on its trial; and he asked in the name of British fair play if it was just to urge that that trial should be hurried forward while the witnesses on whom they relied to exonerate them were absent. After a long debate Hon. Mr. Dorion moved an amendment which after recounting the motion originally made by Hon. Mr. Huntington, continued: "That since the appointment of the Committee, when the unanimous feeling of the House was that the enquiry should be actively prosecuted during the present session, nothing had occurred to justify

\* These resolutions were all adopted in Committee on the casting vote of the Chairman, Messrs. Blake and Dorion voting against them. The Committee had been furnished by Hon. Mr. Huntington with a list of witnesses the first of whom was Sir Francis Hinks and Hon. Mr. Dorion moved in amendment to first resolution that Sir Francis be called before the Committee, but the amendment was lost by the casting vote of the Chairman.

the proposed adjournment of the Committee to the 2nd of July; but on the contrary the interests of the country imperatively demand that the inquiry should be prosecuted without further delay." The amendment was lost on division, 76 for, 107 against.

10.—Hon. Mr. Cameron then moved that the select Committee should have leave to sit although the House might not be sitting at the time the Committee met; but at the suggestion of Hon. Mr. Holton the motion was allowed to stand as a notice, and it was not until ten days afterwards—that is on the sixteenth that the question came up for discussion. On the previous day, the fifteenth, Hon. Mr. Huntington made some further statement to the House with reference to his charge, and attempted to read extracts from some letters which he claimed would support his charge, but was ruled out of order by Mr. Speaker who decided that inasmuch as the whole matter had been referred to a Committee anything in the way of evidence must be produced before that Committee, and not before the House. Hon. Mr. Huntington then moved that inasmuch as he was credibly informed that certain original documents of the utmost importance in proving the charges made by him were in the hands of a trustee under circumstances which rendered it exceedingly doubtful whether they might not be placed beyond the reach of the Committee before it met again on the second of July; the Committee be ordered to meet at eleven o'clock next morning when he (Mr. Huntington) would disclose the name of the trustee with a view to having him summoned to produce all documents in his possession relating to the inquiry.\* The motion was adopted. On the sixteenth the motion of the Hon. Mr. Cameron that the Committee should have leave to sit although the House be not sitting was adopted by a vote of 101 for to 66 against, an amendment offered by the Hon. Mr.

The Committee to sit during recess.

\* This motion referred to certain letters from Sir Hugh Allan to Mr. G. W. McMullen and others, which had been placed in the hands of Hon. Henry Starnes to be delivered up to Sir Hugh on certain conditions. These documents were impounded in his hands and afterwards produced before the Royal Commission.



Dorion that it was necessary that the House should sit on the day to which the Committee was adjourned, having been voted down by 66 for to 101 against.

11.—The question of the Committee continuing its meetings after the date to which it had adjourned—the 2nd of July—being settled, the only other

Adjournment to  
13th of August.

point to be determined was the adjournment of the House. It is well known that Committees of Parliament expire with prorogation, and, therefore, to enable the Committee to hold its meetings on and after the 2nd of July, it was necessary to adjourn the House to some date beyond that day, by which time the Committee should have completed its labors and be in a position to report to the House. On the 21st of May, Sir John A. Macdonald moved, "That when the House adjourns on Friday next, it do stand adjourned until Wednesday, the 13th day of August next," which was carried without discussion or division. On the 23rd, His Excellency came down to the Senate Chamber and gave his assent to all the bills passed during the session, including the Supply Bill. On returning to the Commons Chamber, in answer to Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, Sir John A. Macdonald said that the meeting on the 13th of August would be merely *pro forma* to receive the report of the Committee, which could then be printed and distributed during recess, and that he did not think it was necessary for more than the Speakers of the two Houses to be present for formal prorogation, as no business would be transacted. Hon. Mr. Holton thought that it would be necessary that at least a quorum of the House should be present. Sir John A. Macdonald said that there need be no occasion for members from a distance to attend, as, if it was necessary that a quorum should be present, it would be a very easy matter to get that number from amongst the members residing in Ottawa or its vicinity, so that those who lived at a distance might not be put to inconvenience. He reiterated the statement that the meeting would be simply *pro forma*, and said that he would take care that it was *pro forma* and

nothing else. The House then adjourned. It is well to note that there was nothing said by either side at this time about any business being transacted on the 13th of August, other than receiving the report and immediate prorogation; indeed the anxiety seemed to be to have it clearly understood that no other business should be transacted on that day. In view of the great dissatisfaction afterwards expressed by the Opposition because Parliament *was* prorogued on the 13th of August, and the abuse which was heaped on Lord Dufferin because he carried out on that day the programme which the House had laid out for him on the 21st of May, it is well to reflect on the unanimous opinion of the House, at the time it was decided to adjourn to the 13th of August, that no business was to be transacted on that day, other than that previously agreed on. And this fact of the adjournment to the 13th of August being quietly agreed to by the Opposition, strengthens the impression that up to the time of the adjournment of Parliament neither Mr. Huntington nor any of his party were in possession of any positive evidence in support of his charges, but were merely trusting to the Committee being able to procure that evidence; for had he then been possessed of all the documents which were afterwards published, there can be no doubt but that the Opposition would have insisted that the meeting on the 13th of August should be for business; and it is another noticeable fact that it was not until after the publication of the McMullen correspondence that a single Opposition paper began to claim that the meeting on the 13th of August should be for any other purpose than prorogation.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.— THE PACIFIC SCANDAL.—(Continued.)

#### 1. HOW THE MATTER STOOD AT THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE SESSION.—2. DISALLOWANCE

OF THE OATHS BILL.—3. PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.—4. PUBLICATION OF SIR HUGH ALLAN'S LETTERS.—5. EFFECT OF THE PUBLICATION.—6. SIR HUGH ALLAN'S AFFIDAVIT. ITS EFFECT.

1.—It must be remembered that up to this time—23rd of May, 1873—nothing had been adduced to show that “an understanding was come to between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott, M.P., that Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the Elections of Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing General Elections, and that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the Railway,” except the statement of the Hon. Mr. Huntington, on the 2nd of April, that he was “credibly informed” and believed that he could substantiate such charge. The Committee appointed had done nothing; each side blamed the other for delay, and both declared themselves ready for investigation, yet each wanted a little more than the other was inclined to give. Sir John wanted, and tried hard to persuade the Opposition to accept, a Royal Commission, which could examine witnesses under oath; the Opposition insisted on having a Committee under the control of Parliament and urged the passing of a Bill authorizing the taking of evidence on oath, which was done. Still Mr. Huntington did not appear in a hurry to bring matters to proof, and when the Committee was ready for him to formulate his charge he sent a letter—which, by-the-way, was not addressed to anyone in particular—through Hon. Mr. Dorion, stating that he was “unexpectedly obliged to leave town for a few days,” and forwarding a list of witnesses he desired to have summoned, the publication of which tended to prejudice public opinion a little against the Ministry, for it contained the names of five Ministers as important witnesses; but, the general public regarded Mr. Huntington's motion as mere party warfare, and the House still reposed its

confidence in the Ministry and supported it by majorities of from thirty to forty.

2.—The Oaths Bill was assented to on the 3rd of May, and on the same day Lord Dufferin forwarded a certified copy of the Bill to the Colonial Secretary.

Disallowance of the Oaths Bill.

This action on his part was very freely criticised by the Opposition press after the disallowance of the Bill, and he was charged with aiding his Ministers in delaying or defeating investigation into the serious charges made against them; but it must be remembered that the opinion had been freely expressed in Parliament by Sir John A. Macdonald—who was the Legal adviser of the Governor General—that the Bill was *ultra vires*, and although His Excellency had reason to think that his best course was to take the advice of his Ministers and sign the Bill, he had the undoubted right to consult other authorities if he had—as he did have—any doubt as to the strict legality of the Act.\* On the twenty-ninth of May a despatch was received from the Earl of Kimberley acknowledging the receipt of His Excellency's despatch of the third of May enclosing a certified copy of the Oaths Bill, and informing him that the Law Officers of the Crown had pronounced it *ultra vires*. On Friday, the twenty-seventh of June, His Excellency, who was at Quebec at the time, received a telegram from the Earl of Kimberley which read “Oaths Bill disallowed”; and on Tuesday the first of July an Extra of the *Canada Gazette* was issued containing a Proclamation announcing its disallowance.

\* Lord Dufferin in his very able and lucid despatch of the 15th of August, in which he reviewed the whole course of the Scandal up to and including the promulgation on the 13th, says on this point:—

“Into the motives which induced me to sanction the Oaths Bill, and into its subsequent history, I need not enter, as the former are stated in my despatch of the 3rd May, and the latter is recorded in your Lordship's communication of 3rd June,—but I may observe in passing, that amongst other respects in which my conduct has been criticised, the fact of my having communicated to you by the first opportunity a certified copy of the Oaths Bill, has been a very general point of attack. I apprehend it will not be necessary to justify myself to your Lordship in this particular. My law-adviser had called my attention to the possibility of the Bill being illegal. Had perjured testimony been tendered under it, no proceedings could have been taken against the delinquent, and if, under these circumstances, I had wilfully withheld from the Home Government all cognizance of the Act, it would have been a gross dereliction of duty. To those in this country who have questioned my procedure it would be sufficient to reply, that I recognize no authority on this side of the Atlantic competent to instruct the Governor-General as to the nature of his correspondence with Her Majesty's Secretary of State.”

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3.—On the 2nd of July the Select Committee met, pursuant to adjournment, in Montreal, all the members being present.

*Proceedings of the Committee.*

The Committee met in the Appeal Court Room, and the Chairman, Hon. J. H. Cameron, announced that he had received a communication from the Minister of Justice informing him of the disallowance of the Oaths Bill; therefore, the Committee would not have power to swear witnesses. Hon. A. A. Dorion at once moved that Sir Francis Hincks, the first witness on the list, be called. Hon. Mr. McDonald (Pictou), moved an amendment to the effect that inasmuch as the House had instructed the Committee to take evidence on Oath, and the Bill authorizing them to do so had been disallowed, that the Committee could not proceed without further instructions from the House. A debate ensued on this in which Hon. Messrs. Blake & Dorion held that when the Committee was appointed it was as an ordinary Parliamentary Committee; that nothing was said then about evidence being taken on oath, that being an after instruction; and that the Bill authorizing oaths to be administered having been disallowed, the Committee reverted to the position it occupied before that passed, and was, therefore, quite competent to continue the investigation without sworn evidence, and they urged that the examination of witnesses should be proceeded with. Hon. Mr. Cameron, said that not only the House but the whole country expected that the evidence should be taken on oath, and no other testimony would be satisfactory. He thought there was one way in which the difficulty could be overcome, and that was by getting the Government to ask the Home authorities to pass an Act in Imperial Parliament, which was in session, giving the Dominion House the power it lacked when the Oaths Bill was passed; and suggested an adjournment for twenty-four hours that he might consult the Premier. Hon. Mr. Dorion objected to the Government suggesting a change of the constitution of the country without consulting Parliament. It might not be very important in a small matter like this, but if the principle was admitted

it might be used in very important matters. Hon. Mr. Cameron said what was wanted was that the Imperial Parliament should legalize an illegal Act which the Dominion Parliament had passed, believing it had the power to do so. The Committee then adjourned till Thursday, the 3rd, and on reassembling Hon. Mr. Cameron read a letter from Sir John A. Macdonald stating that in the absence of the Governor-General, he could not say whether the Government would ask the Imperial authorities for the legislation suggested by the Chairman of the Committee; but, if the Committee desired it, he would submit the question to the Privy Council. The motion of Hon. Mr. McDonald, that the Committee could not proceed without further instruction from the House was then carried. Hon. Messrs. Blake and Dorion voting against it, and Hon. Messrs. Blanchet, McDonald and Cameron for it. On motion of Hon. Mr. Blanchet the Committee then adjourned to the 13th of August to meet at Ottawa. After the adjournment Hon. Mr. Cameron read a letter addressed to him as Chairman of the Committee by Sir John A. Macdonald, offering to issue a Royal Commission to the members of the Committee so that they could continue their labors; the Commission being instructed to report to the House. This offer was declined by Hon. Messrs. Blake and Dorion, and the Committee adjourned.

4.—On the morning of the 4th of July the people of Montreal and Toronto were astonished by the publication in the *Herald* and *Globe* of a number of telegrams and letters from Sir Hugh Allan to Mr. G. W. McMullen, Mr. C. M. Smith, and another gentleman whose name was not given, which were claimed to be the letters which were impounded in the hands of the Hon. Henry Starnes, and on which the Hon. Mr. Huntington had based his charge that the Government had sold the Charter to Sir Hugh Allan and a number of American capitalists in consideration of a large sum of money to be used in aiding the elections of Ministers and their friends. This correspondence consisted of three telegrams and seventeen letters, covering a space of time

*Publication of Sir Hugh Allan's letters.*

from the 8th of October, 1871, to the 16th September, 1872, and disclosed a partial view of the steps which Sir Hugh Allan had taken to form a company of American capitalists to build the Pacific Railway, and the efforts he had made to induce the Government to give him the contract. These letters were evidently written in the confidential strain of one party in an enterprise addressing another party equally interested, and gave particulars as to the persons whom it was thought necessary to gain over to support the scheme, and the means to be used to secure that support. In one letter, addressed to Mr. C. M. Smith, Chicago, and dated 28th February, 1872, Sir Hugh speaks of having to distribute \$850,000 worth of stock, and expend about \$100,000 in money to secure the Charter,\* but not a member of the Government was mentioned, nor was there even *prima facie* evidence that any of the money was to be used either directly or indirectly for the benefit of Ministers. In another letter, dated 16th September, 1872, and addressed to G. W. McMullen Chicago, he says, "I have disbursed \$343,000 in gold, which I want to get repaid. I have still to pay \$13,500, which will close everything off." In a long letter addressed to a gentleman in New York, whose name was not given at this time,† dated 1st July, he reviews his whole course of action

with regard to obtaining the Charter, and says that having made up his mind that the matter would ultimately rest in the hands of Sir George E. Cartier, he determined to secure his interest, and that in order to obtain this he influenced in one way or other twenty-seven out of the forty-five French Canadian members who supported Cartier in the House and gave the Government its majority; but he does not say that any other means were used than through advocating the building of the Northern Colonization Railway, (which he intended should ultimately form part of the Canada Pacific). With regard to the Northern Colonization Railway he says, "I employed several young French lawyers to write it up for their own newspapers. I subscribed a controlling influence in the stock and proceeded to subsidize the newspapers themselves, both editors and proprietors. I went to the country through which the road would pass and called on many of the inhabitants. I visited the priests and made friends of them and I employed agents to go amongst the principal people and talk it up." He then says that when Cartier became convinced that the majority of his followers would not support him "unless the contract for the Pacific Railway was given in the interests of Lower Canada," he consented to his (Sir Hugh's) having the contract. The whole tenor of the correspondence went to show that Sir Hugh was a most accomplished wire-puller; that he intended to retain his American associates in the enterprise, although it was to be, nominally, a British Company; that he had used, and intended to use, large sums of money to gain his ends, but there was nothing in them to create more than a suspicion that any understanding had been come to between Sir Hugh and the Ministry that he should spend large sums to aid in the elections, in return for the Charter, as charged by Hon. Mr. Huntington.

5.—The publication of these letters, of course, caused much excitement, and the Opposition press jubilantly proclaimed that Hon. Mr. Huntington had proved

\* Montreal, February 28, 1872.

"DEAR SIR,—It seems pretty certain, that in addition to money payments, the following stock will have to be distributed: D. L. Macpherson, \$100,000; A. B. Foster, \$100,000; Donald A. Smith, \$100,000; C. J. Brydges, \$100,000; J. J. C. Abbott, \$50,000; D. McInnes, \$50,000; John Shedden, \$50,000; A. Allan, \$50,000; C. S. Gzowski, \$50,000; George Brown, \$50,000; A. S. Hincks, \$50,000; H. Nathan, \$50,000; T. McGreevy, \$50,000; total, \$850,000. To meet this I propose that we give up of our stock as follows: C. M. Smith, \$250,000; G. W. McMullen, \$250,000; Hugh Allan, \$350,000; total, \$850,000. Please say if this is agreeable to you. I do not think we can do with less, and may have to give more. I do not think we will require more than \$100,000 in cash, but I am not sure as yet. Who am I to draw on for money when it is wanted, and what proof of payment will be required? You are aware I cannot get receipts. Our Legislature meets on the 11th of April, and I am already deep in preparation for the same. Every day brings up some new difficulty to be encountered, but I hope to meet them all successfully. Write to me immediately.

Yours truly,

(Signed)

HUGH ALLAN.

"C. M. SMITH, ESQ., CHICAGO.

"P.S.—I think you will have to go it blind in the matter of money (cash payments). I have already paid \$8,700, and have not a voucher, and cannot get one."

†The name of the party was G. W. Cass.

his case. The *Globe* of the 5th of July, at the conclusion of a long editorial on the subject, said: "The throwing over of Mr. Macpherson, the enormous expenditure at the election, and the evasion of enquiry by the Government, are all explicable on one hypothesis and one only. That hypothesis is that the Government sold the Charter for money to Sir Hugh Allan; that they are in the same boat; that they are tarred with the same brush; and that the man who occupies the post of First Minister is hopelessly involved in an infamous and corrupt conspiracy." This was, of course, the extreme view, and was not at all generally shared in by the people; for, as a matter of fact, Sir John A. Macdonald's name is only mentioned three times in the whole seventeen letters, once with regard to making an appointment to meet him; once that a coolness existed between him and Cartier "arising from the coquetting of the latter with Blake and Mackenzie to form an alliance and carry the elections next summer, with a view to leave Sir John A. out in the cold"; \* and once, where he says that Cartier told him that he (Cartier) and Sir John had long ago made up their minds not to give the Charter to either Macpherson's or his (Allan's) Company but to form a Government Company, and have the work conducted under Government control. This did not look like being "hopelessly involved in an infamous and corrupt conspiracy"; and when the first surprise caused at the partial revelation of Sir Hugh Allan's scheme had passed, and the letters were read through again calmly, it was found that the only paragraph which in any way supported the charge was contained in a letter to Mr. Cass, dated 7th of August, in which Sir Hugh says: "The policy I adopted has been quite successful. The strong French influence I succeeded in obtaining, has proved sufficient to control the elections, and as soon as the Government realised this fact, which they were unwilling to admit and slow to see, they opened negotiations with me. It is unnecessary to

detail the various phases through which it passed, but the result is that we yesterday signed an agreement by which, *on certain monetary conditions*, they agree to form the company, of which I am to be President, to suit my views, to give me and my friends a majority of the stock." These words "certain monetary conditions" had something of a corrupt ring in them and caused a good deal of distrust to remain until the publication of a sworn statement by Sir Hugh Allan,\* gave his

\* The following is the full text of Sir Hugh Allan's affidavit in answer to the letters published in the *Montreal Herald* of the fourth of July; which appeared in the *Montreal Gazette* of the fifth:

I, Sir Hugh Allan, of Ravenscraig, in the Province of Quebec, Knight, being duly sworn, depose and say:

That I have for some years past taken a strong interest in the development of railway communication throughout the Dominion of Canada, and particularly through the district of country lying to the westward of Montreal, with a view to increasing the facilities of communication between the sea-board and Western America. And that amongst other projects, my attention was early directed to the scheme for constructing a railway between Montreal, as the most Westerly Atlantic sea-board, and the Pacific Ocean.

That in the Autumn of 1871, I learned, in conversation with Sir Francis Hincks, that certain American capitalists had proposed to the Government, through Mr. Waddington, to organize a Company for the purpose of building the Canada Pacific Railway, but that no action had been taken upon their proposition. That thereupon, inasmuch as no movement appeared to be contemplated in Canada for the purpose in question, and I doubted if Canadian capitalists could be induced to subscribe to it to any large extent, I obtained from Sir Francis Hincks the names of the persons who had been communicating with Government, and immediately placed myself in correspondence with them, for the purpose of endeavouring to form a Pacific Company in advance of the measures which were expected to be taken by the Government at the then ensuing session of Parliament.

That, accordingly, after a certain amount of negotiation, I entered into an agreement with Mr. Smith, of Chicago, and Mr. McMullen, who was understood to represent a certain number of American capitalists—in which I reserved for Canadians as much stock as I thought I could procure to be subscribed in Canada, the remainder to be taken up by the Americans interested and their friends. This agreement contemplated a vigorous prosecution of the work of construction, in conformity with the design of the Canadian Government so soon as it should be ascertained, provided the means be placed at the disposal of the Company were such as in the opinion of the associates would justify them in undertaking the contract. And with regard to this agreement, I most distinctly and explicitly declare that neither in the agreement itself, nor in any conversation or negotiation connected with it, was there any stipulation, statement, or expressed plan, which had for its object any retardation of the work, or any other purpose than its completion throughout at as early a day as would be consistent with reasonable economy in building it. And more particularly, I declare that there was no intention expressed or implied, either in the agreement or in the negotiations which accompanied it, of placing it in the power of the Northern Pacific Railway or any other Company or body of men to obstruct the enterprise in any manner or way whatever.

That no further steps of importance were taken by myself or associates up to the time of the opening of the session of Parliament at Ottawa, in respect of the projected Company, except that I placed myself in communication with the Government, offering to organize a Company which would undertake the construction of the road, and discussing the question of the facilities and aid which the Government would probably recommend to be furnished by the country; and in the course of these discussions and negotiations I endeavored, as far as possible, to secure for myself the position of President of the projected Company, which was

\* Letter to G. W. McMullen dated 5th February, 1872.



version of his whole connection with the Pacific Railway contract from the inception of the enterprise down to the granting of the Charter to the "Canadian Pacific Railway Company" from which all American capitalists were carefully excluded.

the position my associates were willing to allow me, and to which I thought myself entitled, from the active part which I took in the great national enterprise to which the agreement and negotiations in question had reference. And as to this point, I had reason to believe from the first that the Government was prepared to admit my claim.

That when the time for the session of the Canadian Parliament approached, I applied to Mr. Abbott to prepare the requisite legislation; and shortly after Parliament had opened I proceeded to Ottawa for the purpose of ascertaining how matters were progressing, and what prospect there was of a successful prosecution of the undertaking by myself and the persons who were then associated with me. That, previous to this time, however, I had communicated with a large number of persons in Canada on the subject of the proposed Company, requesting their co-operation and assistance, and endeavoring to induce them to subscribe for stock to such extent as I thought fair, considering their position and means. And although I did not meet with any great measure of success in procuring subscriptions of stock, yet it was quite as great as I had anticipated when making my arrangements with the American capitalists. In my negotiations with them, therefore, I provided for the distribution of the stock which those gentlemen were willing to subscribe or which I believed they would eventually be willing to subscribe, upon the formation of the Company.

That when I visited Ottawa, as stated in the last paragraph, I ascertained, by personal observation and communication with the members of the House, that a strong prejudice had arisen against any connection with American capitalists in the formation of the proposed Company, the fear expressed with regard to that subject being that such capitalists would find it for their interest rather to obstruct the Canadian Pacific, and further the construction of the Northern Pacific, than to act in the interests of Canada by pressing forward the Canadian road. And though I did not share this fear, and always believed, and still believe that the persons who proposed to be associated with me would have gone on with the enterprise in good faith to the best of their ability, yet I found the feeling for the moment so strong that I judged it expedient and proper to yield to it, and therefore consented that the legislation to be presented to the House should exclude foreigners from the Company, and that the Directors should be exclusively Canadian.

That a Bill incorporating the Canada Pacific Company was then introduced into the House by Dr. Grant, who had been a prominent advocate of the Canadian Pacific scheme, and had introduced in the last previous session a similar measure, at the instance of the late Mr. Waddington and others who were then interesting themselves in the project.

That notwithstanding that the Bill which was so introduced contemplated by its terms the exclusion of foreigners, I did not feel by any means convinced that the Government would insist upon any such condition, believing as I did, and do, that such a proposition was impolitic and unnecessary. I did not, therefore, feel justified in entirely breaking off my connection with the American associates, although I acquainted them with the difficulty which might arise if the Government took the same position which the majority of the people with whom I conversed at Ottawa appeared to do. I was aware that, by the terms of the Bill introduced by the Government, they would have a controlling power as to the terms of the contract, and I was willing to abide by their decision as to the extent of interest, if any, which foreigners might be permitted to hold. And until that decision was communicated to me, I felt in honor bound by the agreement I had made to leave the door open for the entrance of my American associates into the Company, unless the contingency arrived of a distinct prohibition by the Government against admitting them. And in informing them of the progress of the affair in Canada, as I did on certain occasions as an individual, and without implicating the Company of which I was a member, I considered that I was only acting fairly by them. And I did not intend thereby to bind, and, as I conceive, did not in any way bind or compromise to my views

6.—The publication of Sir Hugh Allan's affidavit was joyfully received by the friends of the Government as "a clean Bill of Health" against the charges of Hon. Mr. Huntington, and that gentleman and his friends were bitterly assailed

Sir Hugh Allan's affidavit. Its effect.

the other members of the Canada Pacific Railway Company, with whom I did not think it necessary to communicate at all on the subject of my occasional correspondence with my American associates, the more especially as this correspondence was entirely private and confidential, and, moreover, was written with such inattention, as to accuracy of expression, as might be expected in correspondence intended only to be seen by those to whom it was addressed. During my stay at Ottawa, I had some communication of an informal character with members of the Government, and I found that they were still disposed to recognize the value of my services in endeavoring to organize a Company. But in view of the rivalry which appeared to exist in respect of the Pacific scheme, and the strong array of Canadian names which had been obtained by the Inter-Oceanic Company as associates in its project, nothing definite leading me to expect any preference for myself or for the Company which I was endeavoring to organize, or indeed anything definite relating to the project, was said by the members of the Government with whom I communicated. It appeared to me that while their intentions and opinions had been freely expressed to me when no Company other than that which I was proposing to organize was likely to be formed, the presence of competition amongst Canadians, for the contract, had decided them to allow matters to take their own course until they should have been enabled to decide, after the formation of the Canadian Companies, what line of conduct would be most conducive to the interests of the country. And there was, therefore, very little said or done during the session, which gave me any clue to the views of the Government with respect to the course of action which they would probably ultimately adopt.

After the session, the Canada Pacific Railway Company, of which I was a member, proceeded to organize, and they notified the Government that they were prepared to take the contract for building and running the Pacific Railway on the terms and conditions mentioned in the Government Bill. They caused stock books to be opened in various parts of the Dominion in conformity with the Act, and took such initiatory steps and such other proceedings as were necessary to enable them to act as an organized corporate body. It soon after became evident to me that the Government would be best pleased to see an amalgamation of the two Companies incorporated by Parliament, in order that united action might be secured and the greatest strength obtained in the formation of a Canadian Company; and I therefore opened negotiations with the Inter-Oceanic Company for the purpose of endeavouring to effect such an amalgamation, and at the same time the Canada Pacific Company placed itself in communication with the Government with relation to the same subject. It was thereupon intimated that the Government were also desirous that the amalgamation should take place. That thereupon Mr. Abbott, a member of the Canada Pacific Railway Company, proceeded to Toronto to meet Senator Macpherson, and, if possible, to arrange terms of amalgamation that would be satisfactory to both Companies. And after a discussion of the matter during two or three days in Toronto, between him and Mr. Macpherson, he reported to the Canada Company that there did not appear to be any material difficulty in the way of our amalgamation, except that the claim which I made to be President of the amalgamated Company, and to have the nomination of an equal number of the members of the new one to that nominated by Mr. Macpherson, could not be acceded to. Mr. Macpherson's proposal was that he, as representing the Inter-Oceanic Company, should have the nomination of a larger number of members in the amalgamated Company than I, and that the question of the Presidency should be left to the Board of Directors. With regard to the Presidency, Mr. Abbott informed the Company, that Sir John Macdonald expressed himself as being favorable to my election as President, and that any influence the Government might possess among the members of the amalgamated Company would be exercised for the purpose of aiding in my election to that office, and that probably the difficulty as to the nomination of members to the new Company, between myself and Mr. Macpherson, might be obviated in some way. In other

for making such serious charges on such slight and insufficient grounds. More moderate men were disposed to think that the letters disclosed sufficient suspicious circumstances to warrant Mr. Huntington's attack; but that the affidavit of Sir Hugh Allan had cleared the Ministry

respects, he reported that he could find no divergence of opinion as to the amalgamation of the two Companies between myself and Mr. Macpherson.

After receiving Mr. Abbott's report of the negotiation at Toronto, I felt satisfied that no difficulty would occur in bringing them to a successful termination. And as the late Sir George Cartier happened to be in Montreal shortly afterwards, and I was taking considerable interest in his re-election, I met him and had unofficial conversation with him on the subject of the Charter, on several occasions, urging that the influence of the Government should be used to procure the amalgamation upon such terms as I considered would be just to myself and the Company over which I presided.

That Sir George Cartier was, as I was aware, communicating with the Premier on the subject of the Pacific Railway, amongst others, and that at one of the interviews I had with him he showed me a communication from the Premier, of which the following is a copy:—

July 28th, 1872.

Have seen Macpherson. He has no personal ambition, but cannot, in justice to Ontario, concede any preference to Quebec in the matter of the Presidency, or in any other particular. He says the question about the Presidency should be left to the Board. Under these circumstances, I authorize you to assure Allan that the influence of the Government will be exercised to secure him the position of President. The other terms to be as agreed on between Macpherson and Abbott. The whole matter to be kept quiet until after the elections. Then the two gentlemen to meet the Privy Council at Ottawa, and settle the terms of a provisional agreement. This is the only practical solution of the difficulty, and should be accepted at once by Allan. Answer.

[Signed.] JOHN A. MACDONALD.  
Sir George Cartier, Ottawa.

And Sir George Cartier, on that occasion, gave me the assurance which he was by that telegram authorized by the Premier to convey to me. That on further discussion with Sir George Cartier, as to the course which the Government would probably take with regard to the amalgamation and the contract to be granted, I urged upon him certain modifications of the terms of the above telegram from Sir John A. Macdonald, and finally Sir George came to entertain the opinion that I was entitled to have certain of those modifications conceded to me, and expressed his willingness to recommend it to his colleagues. Being desirous of having as definite an expression of opinion from Sir George as he felt himself justified in giving, I requested that he would put what he stated verbally to me, in writing, and accordingly, on the 30th of July, 1872, he wrote to me the following letter:—

(Copy.)

MONTREAL, July 30th, 1872.

DEAR SIR HUGH,—I enclose you copies of telegrams received from Sir John A. Macdonald, and with reference to their contents I would say that in my opinion the Governor-in-Council will approve of the amalgamation of your Company with the Inter-Oceanic Company, under the name of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the Provisional Board of the amalgamated Company to be composed of seventeen members, of whom four shall be named from the Province of Quebec, by the Canada Pacific Railway Company; four from the Province of Ontario, by the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, and the remainder by the Government; the amalgamated Company to have the powers specified in the tenth section of the Act incorporating the Canada Pacific Railway Company, etc., the agreement of amalgamation to be executed between the Companies, within two months from this date.

The Canada Pacific Company might take the initiative in procuring the amalgamation; and if the Inter-Oceanic Company should not execute an agreement of amalgamation upon such terms, and within such limited time, I think the contemplated arrangements should be made with the Canada Pacific Company, under its charter.

Upon the subscription and payment on account of stock being made, as required by the Act of last session, respecting the Canadian Pacific

Railway Company, I have no doubt but that the Governor-in-Council will agree with the Company for the construction and working of the Canadian Pacific Railway, with such branches as shall be agreed upon, and will grant to the Company all such subsidies and assistance as they are empowered to do by the Government Act. I believe all the advantages which the Government Act empowers the Government to confer upon any Company will be required to enable the works contemplated to be successfully carried through, and I am convinced that they will be accorded to the Company to be formed by amalgamation, or to the Canada Pacific Company, as the case may be. I would add, that as I approve of the measure to which I have referred in this letter, I shall use my best endeavors to have them carried into effect.

Very truly yours,

[Signed.] GEO. E. CARTIER.

I positively declare that up to the date of this letter I had not any undertaking of any kind or description with the Government, either directly or through any other person, than that contained in Sir John Macdonald's telegram of the 28th July, which is given above; and that telegram and the above letter from Sir George Cartier contain everything that was ever stated or agreed to between any member of the Government and myself on the subject of the Pacific Railway project up to that date.

On the same day that I received the above letter from Sir George Cartier, I informed Sir John A. Macdonald of the contents of it, and asked for his sanction of the views which it contained. But he declined to concur in the terms of Sir George's letter, telegraphing to him that he would not agree to them, and that he would come down to Montreal and confer with him respecting them.

Thereupon I immediately informed Sir George Cartier that I should consider the letter addressed to me as being withdrawn. And to my knowledge Sir George telegraphed Sir John that he had seen me, and that as he (Sir John) objected to Sir George's letter, it had been withdrawn. I also telegraphed Sir John on the same day (July 31st) to the effect that I had seen Sir George Cartier, and that he (Sir John) might return my letter or regard it as waste paper, and that I was satisfied with the telegram of the 28th as expressive of the views of the Government.

I positively and explicitly declare that, excepting so far as an understanding between the Government and myself is expressed in the foregoing correspondence, I had no agreement of any kind or description, either verbally or in writing, by myself or through any other person, in respect of the contract of the Pacific Railway, or of any advantage to be conferred upon me in respect of it. The terms of the Charter, the composition of the Company, the privileges which were to be granted to it, the proportions in which the stock was to be distributed, having been matters for negotiation and settlement up to the last moment, and were only closed and decided upon while the Charter was being prepared in the early part of the present year, and the persons who finally composed the Company were only decided upon within a few days of the issue of the Charter. I myself being permitted to subscribe only a similar amount of stock to that subscribed by other prominent members of the Company.

With reference to certain private and confidential letters published this day in the Montreal *Weekly* and to certain statements in these letters which may appear to conflict in some degree with the foregoing, I must, in justice to myself, offer certain explanations. I desire to state with regard to those letters, that they were written in the confidence of private intercourse in the midst of many matters engrossing my attention, and probably with less care and circumspection than I might have bestowed upon them had they been intended for publication. At the same time, while in some respects these letters are not strictly accurate, I conceive that the circumstances, to a great extent, justified or excused the language used in them.

With regard to the reference repeatedly made in those letters, to the American interest in the stock of the Company, as I have already stated,

it would be most unfair to commence the inquiry while they were away; and it was felt now that the demand was a just one for the statement of Sir. Hugh Allan put quite a different complexion on what might otherwise have been twisted into a very ugly *prima facie*

I had made an agreement with the parties to whom those letters were addressed, associating myself with them in a Company projected for the construction of the Pacific Railway. I had never been informed by the Government that it was their intention not to permit the association of foreigners with Canadians in the organization of the Pacific Company. And in consenting to the legislation introduced into the House, I thought I was only deferring to a prejudice which I myself considered without foundation. I did not hesitate to intimate that if a suitable opportunity offered they should be permitted to assume a position in the Company, as nearly like that which they and I had agreed upon as circumstances would permit. And as I entirely disbelieved the statements that were made as to their disposition to obstruct the Canadian Pacific, and considered that they might be of great use in furthering its construction, especially in the event of a failure of the negotiations in England, I had no hesitation in placing myself individually in the position of favoring their admission into the Company if circumstances should permit of it. It was in that spirit that what is said in my private letters, now published, was written to the gentlemen to whom they were addressed, and if matters had taken such a turn as to permit with propriety of those intentions being carried out, I should have felt myself bound to adhere to them. But, in point of fact, when the discussions as to the mode in which the Company should be formed, were entered upon with the Government, late in the autumn, I came to understand decisively that they could not be admitted, and I notified them of the fact, and that the negotiations must cease between us, by a letter which has not been published in the *Herald* of to-day, but which was in the following terms:—

MONTREAL, October 24th, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. McMULLEN.—No action has yet (as far as I know) been taken by the Government in the matter of the Pacific Railroad. The opposition of the Ontario party will, I think, have the effect of shutting out our American friends from any participation in the road, and I apprehend all that negotiation is at an end. It is still uncertain how it will be given (the contract), but in any case the Government seem inclined to exact a declaration that no foreigners will have, directly or indirectly, any interest in it. But everything is in a state of uncertainty, and I think it is unnecessary for you to visit New York on this business at present, or at all, till you hear what the result is likely to be. Public sentiment seems to be decided that the road shall be built by Canadians only.

Yours truly,

(Signed.)

HUGH ALLAN.

G. W. McMULLEN, Esq.,

Pictou, Ont.

Up to this period to which this statement extends, the negotiation between the Government and myself had chiefly reference to effecting an amalgamation between the two companies which were competing for the railway, upon the principle, as I understand, that the enterprise would require all the strength that could be obtained for it, and the united efforts of everyone interested in it. And that it would conduce greatly to its success if the persons in the two Companies, who, together, comprised most of the prominent men in the Dominion, could be induced to join their energies in pressing forward the project.

About this time, however, a memorandum was communicated to me which had been received by the Government from the Inter-Oceanic Company, which appeared to destroy the prospect of amalgamation; and although the Canada Company endeavored to remove the objections made by the Inter-Oceanic Company, they failed in doing so, and the idea of amalgamation was shortly afterwards finally abandoned. Thereupon, the Government informed me that it was decided that the contract should not be given to either of the Companies alone, but that the Government would incorporate a new Company, if the prominent members of the two incorporated Companies, and any leading Canadians who might be disposed to join them, and able to give assistance, could

case if the letters had been allowed to go forth to the world without explanation or contradiction. Another point was that Sir Hugh Allan's statement was *sworn to* and purported to tell the *whole* story; while the letters were evidently obtained surreptitiously and only gave frag-

be induced to subscribe the stock in the proportions which the Government had decided upon, which proportions are those embodied in the Charter. And from that time the efforts of all parties interested in the project were directed towards procuring the association together of the most prominent men of both Companies in the new Company to be incorporated under the terms of the Government Act of the previous session. And it was as the result of these efforts that the present Company was formed, composed, in a majority of instances, of gentlemen with whom I had no communication whatever, and not in any respect as the consequence of any understanding between myself and the Government.

From that time also, communication between myself and my former associates ceased, having finally been broken off by myself as soon as I ascertained the desire of the Government. And I state further, positively, that no money derived from any fund or from any of my former American associates, was expended in assisting my friends or the friends of the Government at the recent general elections.

That with regard to the construction which appears to be intended to be placed upon the statements in the letter referred to as to the preliminary expenses connected with the Charter, I state most positively and explicitly that I never made an agreement or came to any understanding of any kind or description with the Government or any of its members, as to the payment of any sum of money to anyone, or in any way whatever, in consideration of receiving the contract for the Canadian Pacific. I declare that I did expend considerable sums of money in various ways which appeared to me to be advantageous to the Company I had organized, and calculated to strengthen my hand in endeavoring to obtain the contract for that Company, but that I did not on any occasion or in any way pay, or agree to pay, anything whatever to any member of the Government, or to any one on behalf of or at the instance of the Government, for any consideration whatever, in connection with the Charter or contract. As may be gathered from the letters in question, I considered it to be my policy to strengthen my position as far as I possibly could with my own friends and fellow citizens in the Province of Quebec, and more especially in so far as related to the Montreal Northern Colonization Railway, which I conceived would at some day be the outlet from the Canadian Pacific to the port of Montreal. And a considerable portion of the money referred to in those letters, was expended by me in furtherance of that project in many ways. I considered it for my interest also that those members of Parliament who had shown an interest in the Canadian Pacific enterprise, and in other railway enterprises in which I was interested, and who were disposed to assist and further them, should be aided in their elections, and I subscribed some money and lent some money to assist the election of such persons as were my friends and in whom I was interested, but without any understanding or condition with them, or any of them, as to Parliamentary support or assistance in the event of their election. In these and similar ways I expended sums of money approaching in amount those mentioned in those letters, as I conceive I had a perfect right to do; but I did not state in those letters, nor is it the fact that any portion of those sums of money were paid to the members of the Government, or were received by them or on their behalf, directly or indirectly, as a consideration in any form for any advantage to me in connection with the Pacific Railway contract.

I desire also to state further with regard to the envelope and the papers which it contains, which were placed in the hands of the Hon. Mr. Starnes shortly before my departure for England with the delegation of the Pacific Railway, that upon being informed by me that all negotiations between my former American associates and myself on the subject of the Canadian Pacific must cease, large demands were made upon me by Mr. McMullen based partly upon alleged expenditure by him, and partly upon a claim by him for compensation for his loss of time and services in the promotion of the enterprise so long as he and his friends remained connected with it. These demands at first were of such an extensive character that I declined altogether to entertain them. I was disposed

ments of a long correspondence, so arranged as to make the circumstances of which they treated appear in the worst possible light. The effect produced is well described by Lord Dufferin in the following portion of his despatch to the Earl of Kimberley, under date 15th August: "On the whole, as far as I could gather from the tone of the press, and from conversation, these revelations rather improved than otherwise the position of the Ministry. On the one hand, Sir Hugh Allan's letters accounted for and justified Mr. Huntington's pertinency, on the other, his affidavit,—or rather, Sir John Macdonald's telegram, quoted in the affidavit,—satisfactorily prove that, so far from yielding himself, or allowing his colleague, Sir George Cartier, to yield to the pressure put upon him by Sir Hugh Allan in the height of the election contest, my Prime Minister had required the immediate and complete cancelling of an arrangement favorable to Sir Hugh to which Sir George had evinced a willingness to subscribe."

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN— THE PACIFIC SCANDAL.—(Continued.)

1. HOW THE LETTERS CAME TO BE PUBLISHED.—
2. MR. McMULLEN'S "NARRATIVE."—3. THE DEFENSE OF THE GOVERNMENT.—4. THE FEELING ABOUT PROROGATION.—5. LORD DUFFERIN DEFINES THE POSITION OF A GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—6. THE QUESTION OF PROROGATION.—7. THE TACTICS OF THE

to return to my American associates any money which they might have expended in the matter, and I was ready to compensate Mr. McMullen for the loss of his time and his expenses, but it appeared to me that the sum he demanded was much greater in amount than all such disbursements and expenses could possibly have reached. I felt naturally that by trusting to the honor of my correspondents and writing to them in a manner somewhat inconsiderate, I had placed it in their power to annoy me by the publication of those letters, and I feared that the outcry which might follow their publication in the columns of certain papers which have manifested unceasing hostility to the Canadian Pacific Railway, might injure the prospects of the delegation in England. I therefore authorized an arrangement to be made with Mr. McMullen, by which a sum very much less than his original demands should be paid to him; the greater portion of the sum being paid to me after the present Session of

- OPPOSITION.—8. HIS EXCELLENCY'S DECLARATION.—9. THE NINETY-TWO REMONSTRANT MEMBERS.—10. HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.—11. PROROGATION.—12. THE INDIGNATION MEETING.—13. THE EFFECT OF PROROGATION.

1.—For the two weeks which followed the publication of Sir Hugh Allan's letters, and his subsequent affidavit with regard to them, little else occupied the attention of the newspapers, and "The Scandal" and "The Slander," as it was called by the Opposition, and Ministerial papers respectively, was discussed in all its possible and impossible bearings. Of course, Mr. McMullen came in for a full share of abuse, and "scoundrel," "black-mailer," &c., were amongst the mildest uncomplimentary epithets applied to him. It was charged that when he found that the Government was determined to have American capitalists excluded from the new Company to be formed, and that Sir Hugh Allan had informed him that he would be obliged to break off all negotiations with his American associates, he attempted to black-mail Sir Hugh, demanding a large sum of money, and threatening that if not paid he would publish the letters he had in his possession; that Sir Hugh had partly agreed to his terms, had paid part of the money demanded, and had deposited a cheque for the balance (\$17,500) in a sealed envelope, in the hands of Hon. Henry Starnes to be given to Mr. McMullen should the session close without the letters being published, and the letters themselves, which were also deposited with Hon. Mr. Starnes, were then returned to Sir Hugh Allan. It was also charged that he had kept

Parliament, should they not be published in the interval. This was accordingly done. Mr. McMullen received the greater part of the sum agreed to with him, and the remainder was placed in one of those envelopes in the form of a cheque, the other envelope containing to the best of my belief the same letters which have been published in the *Montreal Herald* this morning, together with one or two others, which do not appear there, but which would have established the rupture of all negotiations between the Americans and myself. And this arrangement was made on my behalf, with Mr. McMullen, without the concurrence or knowledge of any member of the Government, none of whom were aware that the papers had been deposited in the hands of Mr. Starnes.

AND I have signed. HUGH ALLAN.

Sworn before me at Montreal, this 4th day of July, 1873.

J. L. BEAUDRY, J. P.

copies of these letters and had sold them to the leaders of the Opposition for a larger amount than that offered by Sir Hugh (\$20,000 was the sum named). To this Mr. McMullen replied that he had never met Hon. Mr. Huntington but once, had never spoken to him about railway matters at all, disclaimed having received anything for the letters, and denied having furnished them at all for publication.

2.—Crimination and re-crimination went on for two weeks between McMullen and his accusers, and the public was beginning to weary of the controversy, when, on the 18th of July, Mr. McMullen caused to be published in the *Montreal Herald* and *Toronto Globe*, what he called his "Narrative" of the whole course of his negotiations with Sir Hugh Allan with reference to the Pacific Railway; and the whole complexion of the case was immediately changed. The narrative of Mr. McMullen was like a scorpion, all the sting was in the tail. Mr. McMullen's reputation for veracity was not very high, and the tone and animus of his narrative was so transparently vindictive towards the Government and Sir Hugh Allan for excluding him and his partners from the contract, that it would not have carried much weight against the sworn testimony of Sir Hugh Allan that no bargain of any kind was made with the Ministry; but the postscript to McMullen's statement contained copies of telegrams and letters from Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier which showed, on the face of them, not only that Sir Hugh Allan advanced large sums for election purposes to those gentlemen, but that it was done on account of some arrangement entered into by Sir George E. Cartier, under date 30th July, 1872.\* The appended statement of

Senator Foster, that, as far as his knowledge went, the statement of Mr. McMullen was substantially true, and that he was aware of an arrangement having been made for the use of money for election purposes, carried great weight, and many who had always regarded the charge of Hon. Mr. Huntington as a mere political trick, now changed their minds and were pronounced in their opinion that the matter needed the promptest and most thorough investigation, as there must be some truth in the charges.

3.—This second revelation was almost a death-blow to the Ministry, and although the *Montreal Gazette* of the 21st July published an editorial, by the authority of the Ministry, it did not have much effect in changing the opinion which was by this time generally formed, that the Government had been retained in power by the corrupt use of Sir Hugh Allan's money; and that he had been given the Charter as a reward for his pecuniary services. The defence was as follows: "We are authorized by the members of the Government referred to in the communications of Messrs. McMullen and Foster, published in the *Gazette* of Saturday, to state that in so far as any part of those communications or of the documents published with them tends or purports to implicate any member of the Government in any agreement, promise or understanding to grant, or to further the granting of the Charter of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, or the contract for the building of that Railway, as compensation for assistance at the late general elections, or for pecuniary considerations of any kind, or upon any ground, or for any reason inconsistent with their duty as members of the Government, those communications and documents are either absolutely and entirely false or so expressed as to convey an absolutely false impression. That the arrangement referred to by the late Sir George E. Cartier in the published letter of the 24th August last was an arrangement personal

\*There was a great deal of speculation as to how copies of these four documents came into Mr. McMullen's possession, as they were kept for some time by Hon. Mr. Abbott and afterwards handed to Sir Hugh Allan; but it was rumored that Hon. Mr. Abbott's Private Secretary (Mr. George Norris, Jr.) sold copies of them to Mr. John A. Perkins, a warm supporter of the Opposition, and an unsuccessful Candidate for Brome at the election of 1872 for \$1,500, and that they were appended to Mr. McMullen's letter to divert suspicion from the source from which they were obtained. The dismissal of Mr. Norris and his subsequent employment by Mr.

Perkins, and the failure of both Mr. Perkins and Mr. Norris to appear before the Royal Commission, gave some color to this rumor.



to himself and Sir Hugh Allan, independent of, and until published, unknown to the other members of the Government, and that it had no reference to the Canadian Pacific Charter or contract, or to the granting or furthering the granting of either of them; and that at the earliest possible moment the whole of the facts and circumstances will be laid before a tribunal competent to receive evidence respecting them upon oath." Indeed, the defence instead of strengthening the position of the Ministry rather weakened it; for it was regarded by many as a mean attempt to throw upon the shoulders of a dead colleague\* the whole responsibility of a transaction to which at least two other members of the Ministry—Messrs. Macdonald and Langevin—appeared to have been privy.

4.—Public attention was now thoroughly aroused, and the excitement soon grew to be

The feeling about  
Prorogation.

very great. The proposed prorogation on the 13th of August was no longer regarded as a mere formality, but the necessity for the members re-assembling and continuing the session was warmly and spiritedly discussed. On the one hand it was urged that it would be unfair to those members who lived at long distances from Ottawa if the House should proceed to business without their presence, and in some instances it would be physically impossible for the members to reach Ottawa by the 13th; and also that the House having formally agreed that the meeting of the 13th should be only *pro firma*, and that no business beyond receiving the report of the Select Committee, and prorogation should be transacted, no other business could be done. On the other hand it was urged that the revelations which had been made demanded instant investigation—indeed some papers went so far as to claim that no investigation was needed, but that the Governor-General should dismiss the Ministry at once; and that if the members were not in their places they had only themselves to blame and must take the consequences of their absence. The Opposition press was violent in its demand that the House should not be pro-

gued, while the Ministerial organs were as decided in their opinions that prorogation having been fixed for that day, must take place, and that the session could not be prolonged. Public sympathy was quite in favor of the House continuing the session, and pushing through the investigation of these charges without delay. It was felt that there had been altogether too much delay already; and that, no matter whether it was the Government or the Opposition which was to blame for this delay, it was now time that it should cease, and the charges either sustained or disproved without any more fighting against time on either side. As for the Opposition, there was no doubt but that the members were now really in earnest in demanding inquiry; and any further attempt of the Government to stave off an investigation was only regarded as an effort to retain power as long as possible.

5.—It was only to be expected that into so warm a controversy the name of the Governor-General should be introduced; and very soon the Ministerial

Lord Dufferin  
defines the position  
of a Governor-  
General.

press began to assume an air of authority with regard to the proposed action of His Excellency which was calculated to give the impression that the articles were at least sanctioned, if not inspired, either by him or by some one in his very close confidence. This led the Opposition press to comment with considerable severity upon the proposed conduct of His Excellency, and not only to advise but to lecture him on what it was supposed he would do. His Excellency was at this time making a progress through the Maritime Provinces, and was in Prince Edward Island when Mr. McMullen's "Narrative" was published. He at once sent for Hon. Messrs. Tilley and Tupper, who happened to be on the Island on some business connected with its recent admission to the Union, and he says in his despatch of the 15th of August, "the strenuous assurances I received from each of them confirmed my hope that matters might be satisfactorily explained."\* From Prince Edward Island

\* Sir George E. Cartier died in London, 27th May, 1873.

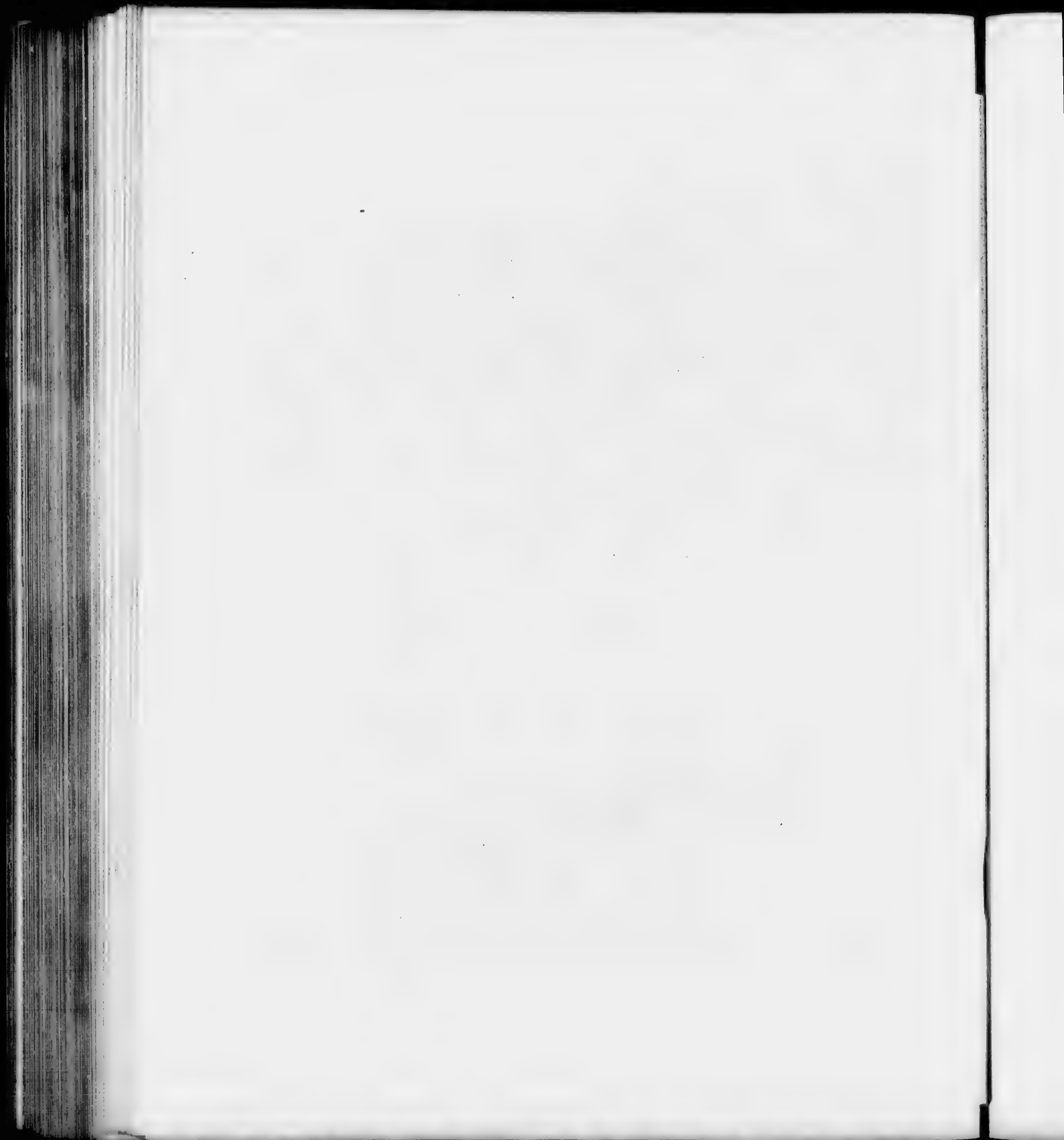
\* It may be as well to state here that not the faintest breath of suspicion has ever attached itself to either of these gentlemen as having

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His Excellency proceeded to Halifax, and there he found that the press was making such unwarranted use of his name, that he considered it necessary to explain what he considered the position of a Governor-General under the Constitution, which he did in a very able speech delivered at a dinner given in his honor by the Halifax Club.

6.—Still His Excellency was by no means determined what course to pursue. It had

been arranged that Parliament should be formally prorogued by Commission, and Lieut.-Governor Caron, of Quebec, was the officer who was to perform the ceremony; but His Excellency felt that his presence in Ottawa was necessary, and that he must consult his full Council before finally determining whether to continue to take the advice of his Ministers, or to dismiss them. From the time of the publication of the letters, etc., he had been in correspondence with Sir John A. Macdonald, who assured him that all the charges against the Government could be satisfactorily explained as soon as the Government had an opportunity to do so before a tribunal competent to take testimony on oath; the Premier insisting, very justly, that in a matter so nearly concerning the honor of the Ministry it would be most unjust to admit testimony which was not given under the sanctity of an oath, and with the fear of punishment for perjury before the eyes of the witness. On the question of prorogation, the Premier claimed that His Excellency should carry out the well-understood and perfectly well-agreed arrangement made in May, that the House should only meet *pro forma*, and be prorogued. It must be recollected that at this time the strength of the Opposition lay in Ontario and Quebec, especially in the former, where they were in a decided majority; and it was much easier for them to assemble at Ottawa than it was for the supporters of the Government, many

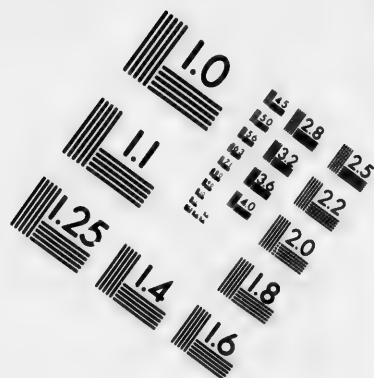
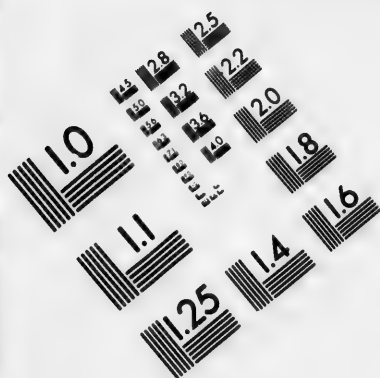
been in any way connected with the alleged corrupt bargain with Sir Hugh Allan; and their high personal characters and unimpeachable political probity, were the strongest supports Sir John A. Macdonald had through the trying seven days during which the debate which led to the resignation of the Ministry lasted.

of whom were in the most remote parts of the Dominion, and could not possibly reach the Capital in time for the meeting of the House. The Opposition organs had set up the plea that a majority of Parliament could do whatever a full House could do—in fact, that a majority *was* Parliament; but Sir John A. Macdonald held that it would be most unjust for his Ministry to be “given over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of their opponents in the absence of his supporters, whom he had dismissed to their homes with my sanction and with the acquiescence of Parliament,”\* and His Excellency finally yielded to his advice, and determined that the programme of prorogation should be carried out.

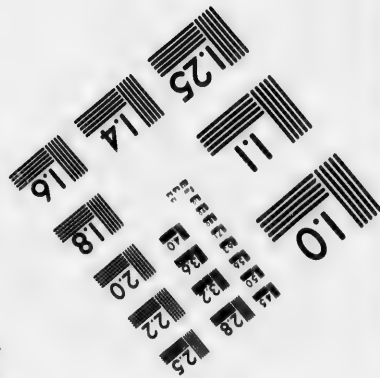
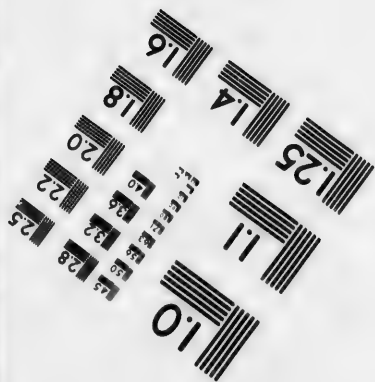
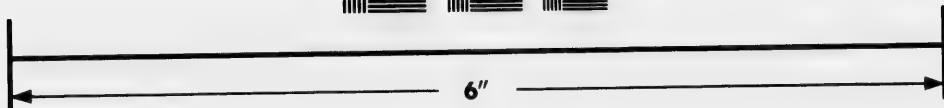
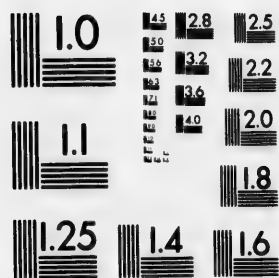
7.—Meanwhile the Opposition was most active, and were confident of success. Every supporter they could count on was drummed up and marshalled in array for the momentous 13th, and a few converts from the Ministerial ranks were partially gained over, who, although not at that time quite prepared to vote a want of confidence in the Government, were quite ready to support a prolongation of the session, as opposed to immediate prorogation, and a prosecution of the inquiry without further delay. Strong in their theory that a majority could do whatever the House could, and still stronger in the numerical superiority which they knew they would be able to show in the absence of so many Ministerialists, who could not reach Ottawa, they gathered at the Capital, feeling confident of driving the “Charter-sellers,” as the Ministry were termed by them, from office. The fact that the programme for prorogation had been changed, and that His Excellency would be present in person, instead of employing a deputy, as had been originally determined, gave them increased confidence, and they felt well satisfied that he would not prorogue the House in the face of so large an assemblage of members, and against their special request, which it was determined to make known to him in the shape of a memorial signed by all

\* Lord Dufferin's despatch of 15th August.





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who were opposed to prorogation, although not therefore necessarily opposed to the Government.

8.—The citizens of Halifax had prepared a series of demonstrations in honor of His Excellency's visit, and as he did not

His Excellency's  
decision.

like to disappoint them, he was detained until the evening of Saturday, the 9th, and did not reach Ottawa until the morning of the 13th, the day fixed for prorogation. Shortly after his arrival, His Excellency had an interview with Sir John A. Macdonald, at which all the arguments for and against prorogation were gone over again, and His Excellency finally determined that he did not consider himself justified in exercising the Royal Prerogative and dismissing his Ministers on the unsubstantiated charges against them, in the face of their oft-repeated assurances that there was no foundation for them, and that the suspicious circumstances could be explained; that, therefore, he should continue to take their advice and should prorogue Parliament, but only on the condition that Parliament should be convened again as speedily as possible, say in six or eight weeks—a condition to which Sir John readily assented, indeed he had himself previously proposed an extra session—and it was agreed that His Excellency should meet the full Council at two o'clock, in order that the agreement might be ratified by all the Ministers. At this Council meeting it was suggested that if the extra session was called in ten weeks instead of eight, it would be possible to get the estimates and departmental reports ready, so that the ordinary business of Parliament might be proceeded with, and the trouble and expense of a Spring session avoided. This was assented to, and, on this understanding, His Excellency agreed to prorogue Parliament.

9.—On his way to the Council Chamber, His Excellency was informed that a deputation of members of Parliament desired to wait on him for the purpose of presenting a memorial against prorogation; and as soon as the Council meeting was over he received the members,

The ninety-two  
remonstrant  
members.

when their chairman, Mr. Cartwright, read the memorial praying that Parliament should not be prorogued until it had had an opportunity of determining what steps it would take in the matter of the charges made by Hon. Mr. Huntington against the Ministry.\* Mr. Cartwright in presenting the memorial, stated that it had been signed by ninety-two members of the House, which was more than a majority of the ordinary attendance at Parliament, and that another member who had not affixed his signature, had expressed his willingness to sign it.

10.—His Excellency in replying assured the deputation that he regretted as much as anyone the delay which had occurred in making the inquiry, and, as far as the delay might have been occasioned by the disallowance of the Oaths Bill, stated that his own impression had been that it was not *ultra vires*, but that a doubt having been raised on the question he had exercised the right which he possessed of consulting the Home Authorities, with the result already known. He continued: "You then proceed to urge me on grounds which are very fairly and forcibly stated, to decline the advice which has been unanimously tendered me by my responsible Ministers, and to refuse to prorogue Parliament, in other words you require me to dismiss them from my councils; for, gentlemen, you must be aware that this would be the necessary result of my assenting to your recommendation. Upon what grounds would I be justified in

\* "The undersigned, members of the House of Commons of Canada, desire respectfully to approach Your Excellency, and humbly to represent that more than four months have already elapsed since the Honorable Mr. Huntington made, from his place in the House, grave charges of corruption against Your Excellency's constitutional advisers in reference to the Pacific Railway contract: that although the House has appointed a Committee to enquire into the said charges, the proceedings of this Committee have, on various grounds, been postponed, and the inquiry has not yet taken place: that the honor of the country imperatively requires that no further delay should take place in the investigation of charges of so grave a character, and which it is the duty and undoubted right and privilege of the Commons to prosecute.

"The undersigned are deeply impressed with the conviction that any attempt to postpone this inquiry, or to remove it from the jurisdiction of the Commons, would create the most intense dissatisfaction; and they, therefore, pray Your Excellency not to prorogue Parliament until the House of Commons shall have an opportunity of taking such steps as it may deem necessary and expedient with reference to this important matter."



taking so grave a step? what guarantee can you afford me that the Parliament of the Dominion would endorse such an Act of personal interference on my part? You, yourselves, gentlemen, do not form an actual moiety of the House of Commons, and I have no means, therefore, of ascertaining that the majority of that body subscribe to the opinion you have enounced. Again, to what should I have to appeal in justification of my conduct? It is true grave charges have been preferred against these gentlemen; charges which I admit require the most searching investigation; but as you, yourselves, remark in your memorandum, the truth of these accusations still remains untested. One of the authors of this correspondence which has made so painful an impression on the public, has admitted that many of his statements were hasty and inaccurate; and has denied on oath the correctness of the deductions drawn from them. Various assertions contained in the narrative of the other have been positively contradicted. Is the Governor-General, upon the strength of such evidence as this, to drive from his presence gentlemen who for years have filled the highest offices of State, and in whom, during the recent Session, Parliament has repeatedly declared its continued confidence? It is true, certain documents of grave significance have lately been published in the newspapers in connection with these matters, in regard to which the fullest explanation must be given, but no proof has yet been adduced which necessarily connects them with the culpable transactions of which it is asserted that they formed a part, however questionable they may appear, as placed in juxtaposition with the correspondence to which they have been appended by the person who has possessed himself of them. Under these circumstances, what right has the Governor-General, on his personal responsibility, to proclaim to Canada—nay, not only to Canada, but to America and Europe, as such a proceeding on his part must necessarily do, that he believes his Ministers guilty of the crimes alleged against them?" He then referred to the impossibility

of making a call of the House, to the positive agreement made by Parliament—as he was informed by the Premier—that the meeting on the 18th of August would only be for prorogation; and announced his intention of issuing a Royal Commission at once to investigate the charges, and said that Parliament would be summoned to receive the report in eight or ten weeks at the furthest.

11.—When the Special Committee held its meeting in Montreal on the 3rd of July it adjourned to meet at Ottawa on the 13th

*Prorogation.*

of August, and accordingly four of the members, Messrs. Blake, Blanchet, Cameron and Dorion, met at 11.30 a.m., but nothing was done, and when the House met at 3.25 p.m., the Committee had no report to present. The reply of His Excellency to the deputation, had been a great surprise and disappointment; great things had been expected of the "Memorial" and the intelligence that prorogation would take place, was received with very bad grace. The moment the Speaker took the chair—before indeed the doors had been opened, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie rose to a question of privilege, and read a motion to the effect that it was the imperative duty of the House to have a full investigation into the Pacific Railway charges; that the assumption of that duty by any Tribunal appointed by the Executive would be a gross breach of the privileges of the House; and that it was highly reprehensible for any person to presume to advise His Excellency to prorogue Parliament until it had taken action in the matter of the inquiry. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie was just commencing to speak to his motion when Black Rod appeared and was greeted with such a storm of hisses, cheers, and cries of "privilege" that his message summoning the House to the Senate Chamber was almost inaudible. The Speaker at once left the chair and was followed to the Senate by thirty-five members, all supporters of the Government, all the members of the Opposition retaining their seats. In proroguing the Houses, His Excellency formally announced what he had told the Memorialists, viz., that a Royal Com-

mission would be issued, and that Parliament would be summoned for business in a few weeks time.

12.—Deprived of the power of attacking the Ministry in the House of Commons by proroga-

The Indignation meeting.

tion, the members of the Opposition organized an "Indignation" meeting in the Railway Committee Room, and discussed this latest phase of the "Scandal." Mr. Cartwright reported the result of the interview with His Excellency, and was followed by Messrs. Cunningham, Burpee (Sunbury), Forbes, Paquet, Cauchon, Lallamme, Mackenzie, Blake, and Huntington, who all took the line of argument that prorogation was a breach of the privileges of Parliament; that His Excellency should not have taken the advice of his Ministers; that those Ministers were guilty of the grossest corruption, and were only staving off inquiry to keep themselves in office; and that the issuing of a Royal Commission by Ministers to try themselves was a farce on Justice and an insult to the House in whose hands the inquiry should have been allowed to remain. The plea that supporters of the Government were not present was looked on as a mere subterfuge, as friends of the Opposition had had plenty of time to come from Manitoba, and it was charged that supporters of the Ministry had been instructed to absent themselves so that this plea could be raised with some degree of plausibility. The meeting was stormy and excited, and His Excellency came in for some share of blame, one speaker comparing him to Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. Having talked itself hoarse without taking any action, the meeting adjourned until 7.30 p. m., when it again met in the Railway Committee Room,—a suggestion of Hon. Mr. Cauchon's that they should take possession of the Commons Chamber being disregarded,—and Hon. Mr. Cauchon moved "That the prorogation of Parliament without giving the House of Commons the opportunity of prosecuting the inquiry it had already undertaken was a gross violation of the privileges and independence of Parliament and of the rights of the people." Mr. David Mills seconded the reso-

lution, which was carried unanimously. Dr. Forbes then moved, seconded by Mr. Cartwright, "That in the opinion of this meeting, the House of Commons is the proper body to institute and prosecute an inquiry into the pending charges against the Ministry; and the act of the Ministry in removing the inquiry from the House of Commons, and appointing a Commission of their own to try themselves, is a gross violation of the rights and privileges of Parliament, and it will be the imperative duty of the House of Commons, at the first moment at which it is allowed to meet, to take the matter into its own hands and prosecute an inquiry." This was spoken to by Messrs. Cartwright, A. J. Smith (Westmoreland), McDonnell (Inverness), Cunningham, Coffin, Goudge, Fiset, Rymal, Young (Montreal West), Jetté, Anglin, and Mackenzie, and Senators Letellier De St. Just and Christie, after which it was carried unanimously, and the meeting dispersed.

13.—The news of the prorogation, produced the greatest excitement throughout the country, and the action of the Ministry in advising prorogation, and the conduct of the Governor in accepting their advice were freely commented on and generally condemned.\* The popularity of the Governor-General received a severe wrench, and, for a moment he was in considerable disfavor. That Lord Dufferin acted correctly, however, as a Constitutional ruler there can be little doubt, or if he erred at all it was in being *too* Constitutional and preferring to follow the strict letter of the law instead of exercising the Royal Prerogative. His whole line of conduct was foreshadowed in his speech delivered before the Halifax Club, of which we give the

The effect of Prorogation.

\* The tone of the Opposition press generally was very severe on Lord Dufferin: we give the following extracts from the leading organs in Quebec and Ontario as mild specimens:

"Yesterday, at Ottawa, an act was perpetrated which is probably the greatest outrage on the Constitution which has occurred since Oliver Cromwell ordered 'that bauble' to be taken away." *Montreal Herald*, 14th August 1873.

"Lord Dufferin has, in short, done what the Premier asked him. He has missed a great opportunity of showing that he had a mind of his own, that he could rise to the dignity of a great crisis, that he could aid in putting down corruption with a firm hand. It will be a disappointment to some, but others more familiar with the past career of Lord Dufferin have not looked for much at his hands." *Toronto Globe*, 14th August 1873.

following paragraph with regard to a Governor-General's duty towards his Ministers: "So long as they are maintained by Parliament in their positions, so long is he bound to give them his unreserved confidence, to defer to their advice, and loyally to assist them with his counsels." That the Ministry still possessed the confidence of Parliament he had no reason to doubt; their majority in the last Session had steadily increased from 16 on the first vote to 35 on the last, and even the full strength of the Opposition as assembled at Ottawa, including the twelve who usually supported the Government but had signed the "memorial" was only 92. Three of the signatures were affixed by proxy, so that there were only actually 89 present, out of a House of 200, and it was not claimed by the Opposition that they could muster more than one or two more votes. In fact it was a minority of the House endeavouring to persuade His Excellency to dismiss his legal advisers and take them instead—for, of course, a refusal to take the advice of His Ministers was tantamount to a dismissal. No strongly was this point felt that the Opposition papers claimed that "a majority" of the House had memorialized His Excellency—but how they made 89 members, or even 93 as some papers claimed signed, a majority of 200 they did not take the trouble to explain. Another point raised was that Lord Dufferin ought to have dismissed his Ministers because they were *charged* with corrupt practices; but if Governor-Generals were to adopt the principle of dismissing Ministers because Opposition newspapers charged them with corrupt practices no Ministry would ever remain twenty-four hours in office. This point is very fairly dealt with by Lord Dufferin in his despatch of the fifteenth of August. He says: "It is a favorite theory at this moment with many persons, that when once grave charges of this nature have been preferred against the Ministry they become *ipso facto* unfit to counsel the Crown. The practical application of this principle would prove very inconvenient, and would leave not only the Governor-General, but every Lieutenant-Governor in the Dominion, very

thinly provided with responsible advisers, for as far as I have been able to seize the spirit of political controversy in Canada, there is scarcely an eminent man in the country on either side whose character or integrity has not been, at one time or another, the subject of reckless attack by his opponents in the press." That Lord Dufferin was right in refusing to condemn and punish his Ministers before they had been found guilty there can be little doubt; but that his Ministers committed a blunder and greatly influenced Public Opinion against themselves by the advice they gave him is beyond question. The general public is not given to troubling itself overmuch with nice points of Parliamentary privilege or of Constitutional practice; they only looked to the broad facts that over four months ago the Ministry had been charged in the House of Commons with selling the Charter of the Pacific Railway; that for more than a month letters and documents had been before the public, which, taken alone and without explanation, made out a *prima facie* case of guilty; that it was in the power of the Ministry to have continued the Session of Parliament and had those charges investigated, in some way, if they had been so disposed; and their disinclination to meet Parliament was looked on as a proof of guilt, and from the day of the prorogation of Parliament may be counted the decline and fall of the Macdonald Administration, and the overwhelming defeat of the party at the polls at the General Election of 1874.

#### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

##### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN— THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

1. APPOINTMENT OF THREE JUDGES.—2. HON. MR. HUNTINGTON REFUSES TO APPEAR BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS.—3. THE COMMITTEE PROCEEDS WITH SUCH WITNESSES AS IT CAN GET.—4. SIR FRANCIS HINCKS' EVIDENCE.—5. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD'S EVIDENCE.—6. HON. H. L. LANGEVIN'S EVIDENCE.—7.

SIR HUGH ALLAN'S EVIDENCE.—8. HON. J. J. C. ABBOTT'S EVIDENCE.—9. THE COMMISSIONER'S REPORT WITHOUT EXPRESSING AN OPINION.

1.—On the 14th of August, 1873, the day following Prorogation, His Excellency issued a Royal Commission to Judges Polette and Gowan, and Ex-Judge Day to investigate the charges made by Hon. Mr. Huntington, and to report to the Speakers of the Senate and Commons as well as the Secretary of State. A great deal of exception was taken to these appointments by the Opposition, on the ground that the Ministers should not be tried by a Commission appointed by themselves; and some of the Opposition papers even attacked the *personnel* of the Commission, claiming that they were likely to be swayed by political considerations. This was scarcely just. Ex-Judge Day, Chancellor of McGill College, Montreal, had been for many years one of the Judges of the Superior Court of Lower Canada, and stood very high in his profession; Judge Polette, of the Superior Court, Quebec, and Judge Gowan, County Court Judge for Simcoe, had been removed from politics for many years, and both were regarded as gentlemen of unblemished probity and excellent legal knowledge.\* The Commission was issued under the Act Vic. 31, Chap. 38,—passed during the session of 1868—giving the Governor-in-Council power to issue Commissions to inquire into public matters, &c.; and exception was taken to the Commission on the ground that this sort of inquiry was not contemplated by the Act; but the Governor-General held that to be a purely

legal point on which he must take the advice of his legal advisers, and, moreover, as the Act specially provided for inquiry into any matter affecting "the good government of Canada," he concluded that this was a subject which came very much under the meaning of the Act. Another objection to the Commission was that its appointment was a breach of the privileges of the House; but this was met by the fact that the House was powerless to conduct the inquiry itself in the only manner which would be satisfactory—under oath—since the disallowance of the Oaths Bill; and that prorogation having dissolved the Committee appointed by the House, the matter would have to lie over until Parliament met again, which was most undesirable; and, moreover, there was nothing to show that Parliament *would* appoint another Committee, for if the Ministry was defeated on a vote of want of confidence, the matter might be allowed to rest there. On the other hand, the appointment of the Commission could not in any way affect the right of Parliament to appoint a Committee of its own, and investigate the case *de novo*, as if the Royal Commission had never existed. Under these circumstances, it appears that Lord Dufferin was perfectly justified in appointing the Commission; and, although the Opposition press attacked the Commission, its appointment was generally approved by the public at large, who were anxious to have the truth or untruth of these charges proved without further delay.

2.—The Commission was required to sit at Ottawa, and, accordingly, met on the 18th of August, and settled the manner of proceeding, the examination of witnesses being commenced on the 4th of September, and continued until the 30th of that month. Hon. Mr. Huntington was summoned to appear before the Commission, but failed to do so. In a letter to the Chairman of the Commission, Hon. Judge Day, under date 26th of August, he acknowledged the receipt of a letter from the Commissioners, dated 21st of August, requesting him to furnish

Hon. Mr. Huntington  
refuses to appear  
before the  
Commission.

\* Lord Dufferin, in his despatch of the 18th of August, to the Earl of Kimberley, says of these gentlemen:—

"Only one of them is personally known to me, viz.: Judge Day, who, as Chancellor of the McGill University, received me on my visit to that institution. Since that we have improved our acquaintance, and I have no hesitation in stating, both from what I know and have learnt, that I have every confidence in Judge Day's high sense of honor, capacity and firmness. I have also considered it my duty to satisfy myself as to the qualifications of the other two gentlemen with whom he is associated, and I am in a position to inform Your Lordship that they are generally regarded as persons of unblemished integrity, sound judgment, and professional ability, while the length of time all three have been removed from politics frees them from the suspicion of political partizanship."

a list of the witnesses he desired to have examined, but declined to do so on the grounds that, the inquiry having been instituted by him in the House of Commons, it was a breach of the privileges of that House for any other tribunal to attempt to interfere with that inquiry. In conclusion, he said, "I believe that the creation of the Commission involves a breach of that fundamental principle of the Constitution which preserves to the Commons the right and duty of initiating and controlling inquiries into high political offences; that it involves also a breach of that fundamental principle of justice which prevents the accused from creating the tribunal and controlling the procedure for their trial; and that it is a Commission without precedent, unknown to the Common Law, unsanctioned by the Statute Law, providing, by an exercise of the Prerogative, for an inquiry out of the ordinary course of justice into misdemeanor cognizable by the Courts, and, consequently, illegal and void. Entertaining these views, you will not expect me to act otherwise than in conformity with them, and you will be satisfied that by my non-appearance before the Commission I intend no disrespect to the Commission, but am moved by the same sense of public duty which will constrain me, at the earliest practicable moment, to renew the efforts which I have been making since April last to bring to trial, before the Commons of Canada, the men whom I have impeached as public criminals."

3.—The "Prosecutor" thus declining to prosecute the Commissioners summoned those witnesses whose names he had handed to the Special Committee, and such others as they were requested by the Government to summon. Altogether forty-three witnesses were summoned, and thirty-six examined.\* The seven who

The Commission proceeds with such witnesses as it can get.

were summoned and did not appear were Hon.

L. S. Huntington, G. W. McMullen, C. M. Smith, Hon. A. B. Foster, Hon. Thomas McGreevy, John A. Perkins, and George Norris, jr. A special messenger was sent to summon Mr. McMullen, but that gentleman preferred making *ex parte* statements to giving evidence under oath, and did not appear before the Commission. It will thus be seen that the party making the charge against the Government (Hon. Mr. Huntington) and the person on whose statements he was supposed to have acted (Mr. McMullen) gracefully avoided the test of an oath, and left the Commission to get at the truth of the matter, if they could, without any help from them. This gave the investigation a very "one-sided" appearance, as the Ministers were put on their defence without any prosecutor appearing, and the public scarcely placed that confidence in its labors which might have been expected had the party making the charges appeared to substantiate them; still the Commission performed its labors very fairly, and the investigation was about as thorough as could be expected under the circumstances in which it was placed by Hon. Mr. Huntington's refusal to appear. We do not propose to enter at length upon the evidence—a great deal of which was of little or no importance; but will confine ourselves to a brief synopsis of that portion of it which bore most directly on the points charged by Hon. Mr. Huntington that the Government had made a corrupt bargain with Sir Hugh Allan to give him the contract in consideration of his spending large sums of money for election purposes.

4.—Sir Francis Hincks denied most positively that any sum of money had been mentioned by him in conversation with any one, as what he should expect to get out of the contract, or that any such conversation had ever taken place. He had never heard or known of any arrangement having been entered into between Sir Hugh Allan and the Government for furnishing money for election purposes, and did not know at the time

Sir Francis Hincks' evidence.

\* The witnesses examined were: Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, Andrew Allan, Sir Hugh Allan, Hon. J. O. Beaubien, Louis Beaubien, Hon. J. L. Beaudry, J. B. Beaudry, N. W. Bethune, W. E. Blumhart, E. R. Burpee, Hon. Alex. Campbell, Hon. J. C. Chapais, Hon. M. H. Cochrane, C. J. Coursoi, F. W. Cumberland, James Dakers, E. L. DeChellefeuille, Sanford Fleming, R. N. Hall, Joseph Hamel, Sir F. Hincks, Victor Hudon, Hon. H. L. Langevin, C. A. LeBlanc, Sir John A. Macdonald, Hon. D. L. Macpherson, F. C. Martin, D. McInnes, Rev. D. McMullen, Daniel G. McMullen,

Hon. Peter Mitchell, P. S. Murphy, Hon. G. Quimet, Jackson Rae, Hon. Henry Starnes, Thomas White, jr.



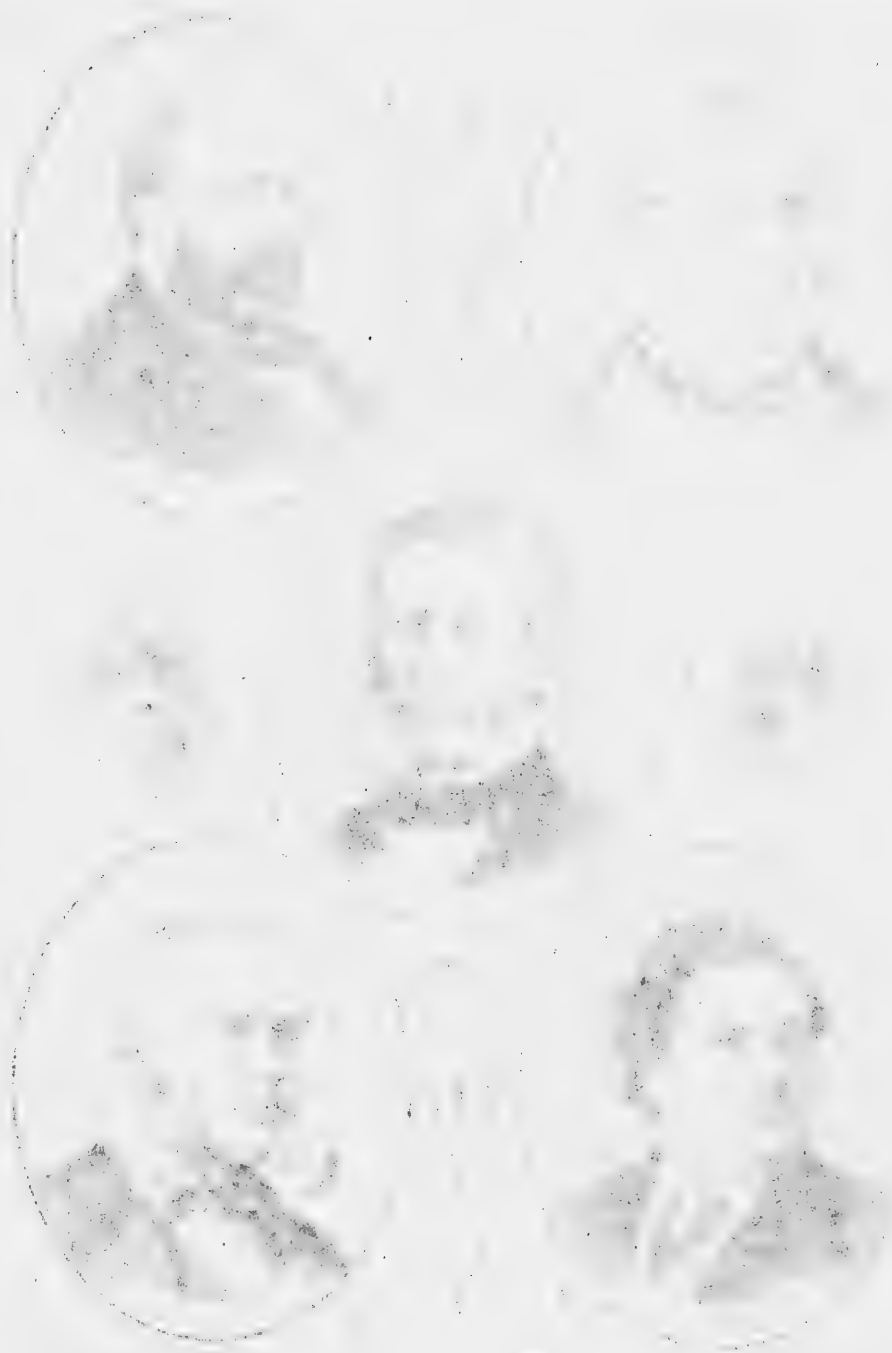
of the election that money was being furnished by Sir Hugh. He entered at length into the early history of the formation of a Company to build the road, and said that he knew—and other members of the Government must have known—from the fact of Sir Hugh Allan coming to Ottawa with Mr. McMullen and other Americans, that he was negotiating with American capitalists, but he did not know, nor did any other member of the Government know, of the agreement made between Sir Hugh and these gentlemen. He was positive that it was not until some time after the elections that the Government decided to grant a Charter to a new Company; the strongest efforts of the Government had always been used to effect an amalgamation of the Inter-Oceanic and Canada Pacific Companies, and it was only after all these efforts had failed that it was determined that a new Charter should be granted, and then great care was taken that each Province should be represented in the Board of Directors, and the members of the Board should only be allowed equal quantities of stock, and that offices were to be opened in each Province for the subscription of stock, each Director being only allowed to retain a small portion for himself.

5.—Sir John A. Macdonald was examined on the 17th of September, and his evidence was in substance as follows; After the session of 1871, Mr. Waddington and some American capitalists had an interview with Sir Francis Hincks and himself on the subject of the Pacific Railway. "We said, as a matter of politeness, that we were glad to see that American capitalists were looking for investments in Canada, but that we could not enter into any arrangements or receive any propositions from anybody until after the next Session." Mr. Smith and Mr. McMullen were amongst those who called. He (Sir John) then spoke to several Canadian capitalists of this visit and said, that if Americans could make the enterprise pay Canadians ought to be able to, and that it would be a pity if the enterprise fell into the hands of foreigners. Sir Francis

Sir John A.  
Macdonald's  
evidence.

Hincks next saw Sir Hugh Allan, but without any arrangement with his colleagues. Neither Sir John nor any of his colleagues knew that these American gentlemen had any connection with the Northern Pacific Railway. "I thought that the true plan would be to endeavor to get up a strong Canadian Company, in which would be represented the capital of the different sections of the Dominion, and after a body of Canadian capitalists was so formed, they might extend to the United States, or to England, and I thought that it would frustrate that policy, to have communication in the first place with Americans." Sir Hugh Allan and these American capitalists next had an interview with members of the Ministry, about October, 1871, but being told that the Government was not prepared to accept any proposition made, did not offer any. He (Sir John) denied the statement in Mr. McMullen's letter which was published on 18th July, that he had met McMullen at the St. Lawrence Hall in September and expressed the approval of the Government at the proposed arrangement with Sir Hugh Allan; he saw Mr. McMullen, but neither approved nor disapproved of the proposed action, as the Government was not in a position to entertain any proposition until after obtaining the sanction of Parliament. The arrangement made between Allan and the American capitalists roused a feeling of fear in Ontario, especially in Toronto, that the road would get into American and Montreal hands, and the interests of Ontario be sacrificed. This led to the formation of the Inter-Oceanic Company. He (Sir John) participated in the fear, which was becoming very great in Canada, that these American capitalists were seeking control of the Canada Pacific to make it subservient to the interests of the Northern Pacific, and the whole Cabinet was of the opinion that American capital must be excluded. He then referred to the legislation of 1872, the incorporation of the Inter-Oceanic—which was regarded as the Ontario Company,—and the Canada Pacific—which was regarded as the Quebec Company,—and the

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H. A. NELSON



ALONZO WRIGHT



J. GOV. E. B. CHANDLER



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passage of the Government Act, authorizing the contract to be given to either Company, or to both amalgamated, or to a new Company, and continued, "The policy of the Government, from the time of prorogation until now, I may say, has never varied. It was that an amalgamation of these two Companies should be procured if possible." It was felt that to give the Charter to either section would be to alienate the other, and that the Government would be defeated in either Ontario or Quebec, as the case may be, and, therefore, every effort was made to bring about an amalgamation. He (Sir John) urged Senator Macpherson and his other Toronto friends to amalgamate, and brought about a meeting between Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Abbott for that purpose. An amalgamation was very nearly made; the two points of difference were the Presidency and the number of Directors; the Government had suggested thirteen, five from Ontario, four from Quebec, and one each from the other Provinces, but the Canada Pacific wanted seventeen members. On the question of the Presidency, Mr. Macpherson did not want it himself, but would not consent to Sir Hugh Allan having it, fearing that with his wealth and influence he would, in some way, admit the American capitalists with whom he had been connected. Sir John's impression was that amalgamation would take place, and with that idea he went to Kingston to look after his own election. While in Kingston he again saw Mr. Macpherson, and became convinced that it was no use attempting to conclude the amalgamation before the elections, and, therefore, sent the telegram, dated 26th July, 1872, to Sir George E. Cartier, which is included in Sir Hugh Allan's affidavit (see foot note page 388). He explained the phrase, "This should be accepted by Allan,"—with reference to his promise that the Government would use its influence in the amalgamated Company to secure Sir Hugh the Presidency—to mean that he had heard that Sir George was losing favor with his Lower Canada friends on account of his supposed opposition to Sir Hugh Allan and the Quebec

Railway schemes he was engaged in; and he (Sir John) thought that the concession of this point would help Sir George in the Quebec elections. When he parted with Sir George at Ottawa, the latter going to Montreal, and Sir John to Toronto, it was agreed that both should endeavor to raise funds amongst their friends to help in the Ontario elections, where it was expected that the contest would be keenest on account of the influence of the Ontario Government being brought to bear against Ministerial candidates, and the names of Sir Hugh Allan, Mr. Abbott, and others in Montreal were given Sir George as those of parties likely to subscribe. On or about the 30th of July, he received a letter from Sir Hugh Allan saying that he had entered into an agreement with Sir George E. Cartier.\* This agreement was not satisfactory to him, and he telegraphed to that effect to Sir George, and on the 31st July received telegrams from both Sir George E. Cartier and Sir Hugh Allan, stating that the agreement with Sir George was withdrawn, and Sir Hugh Allan was content with the telegram of 26th July.† "That was the only arrangement that was ever made between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan, or the Canada Pacific Railway Company, which he represented, and I had no discussion or conversation in a contrary sense, either from Sir Hugh Allan or any member of his Company, or from Sir George Cartier, from that time until this." That arrangement was that the whole matter should remain in abeyance until after the elections, and then Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Macpherson should meet and try to amalgamate their Companies. With reference to the statement by Mr. McMullen that there had been

\* See Sir George E. Cartier's letter of 30th of July to Sir Hugh Allan, in Sir Hugh Allan's affidavit, page 388.

MONTREAL, 31st of July, 1872.

† To SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD :

Have seen Sir Hugh, he withdraws letter written you since you make objection to it, and relies for basis of arrangement on your telegram to me of which I gave him copy.

Matters go on well here. Hope they are same with you. Don't think it is necessary for you to come down here Saturday. I want to be out of town on Sunday, but will remain here if you specially desire to see me.

Answer.

(Signed),

G. E. CARTIER.

another agreement made on the 6th of August, he never heard of any such agreement, and did not believe Sir George Cartier would have made any agreement without consulting him. "Sir George was a man of the highest honor, and between him and myself there were no political secrets, and if he had made any arrangement of that kind respecting the railway, he certainly would have communicated it to me." He then explained that after the elections, efforts were renewed with a view to amalgamating the two Companies, and he went to Toronto himself for that purpose, and it was only after every effort in that direction had failed that the Government addressed itself to the formation of a new Company. He explained that the sole object of the Government was to get a Board of Directors who by their wealth, standing or experience in railway matters would command the confidence of the country, and gave the reasons for selecting the gentlemen to whom the Charter was subsequently given. In framing the Charter he said: "Every precaution that we could think of or that was suggested to us to prevent the Americans getting in either directly or indirectly so as to have control of the Company, was adopted." With regard to election funds, he stated that when in Kingston he got a letter from Sir Hugh Allan stating that he would contribute \$25,000 to the election fund, to "help the friends of the Administration." He (Sir John) considered himself trustee of that fund, and did not use any of it for his own election. He then went to Toronto and engaged in the election contest there, getting pecuniary assistance where he could. He said, with reference to these subscriptions: "In Canada we have not the same organization that they have in England. We have neither a Reform Club nor a Carleton Club to manage elections, and the leaders have to undertake that for themselves," and stated that he found the Opposition using so much money that he twice asked Mr. Abbott—who was acting for Sir Hugh Allan during the latter's absence in Newfoundland—for \$10,000 more, making in all \$45,000, which was all he ever received, and

not "over \$100,000," as stated by Mr. McMullen. He had never asked Sir Hugh Allan for any subscription when he received the \$25,000, but had no doubt Sir George Cartier had. The two sums of \$10,000 each were given at his request. With reference to Mr. McMullen's statement that Sir Hugh Allan had said that he had loaned \$4,000 to Sir John A. Macdonald and \$4,500 to Sir Francis Hincks "with very good knowledge that it was never to be repaid," he said: "With reference to that sum of \$4,000 to myself, that is a complete and utter falsehood. I never received \$4,000 from Sir Hugh Allan. I never had any money transactions with him in my life. He never gave me any money or never lent me any money in his life. It is utterly false, and I have reason to believe Sir Hugh Allan never said so." With regard to Mr. McMullen's statement that after Sir George Cartier had made the agreement of 6th of August Sir Hugh Allan began to pay out money, but became alarmed when \$150,000 to \$200,000 had been paid, and refused to pay more unless the whole Government would sanction the bargain, and that Sir George telegraphed to Ottawa and received in reply a telegram from Sir John A. Macdonald confirming his action, he (Sir John) declared it: "Altogether untrue. He received no such telegram from me. He could not do so, because I never was in Ottawa during that time. I was always in the West attending the elections. From the time I left Ottawa at the end of June or the beginning of July, until the elections were all over, I never was once in Ottawa, and I never made such a communication. It is altogether a falsehood." He next gave an account of two interviews—one on 31st December 1872, the other on 23rd January, 1873, which Mr. McMullen, Mr. Smith and Mr. Hurlburt had with him, in which they complained of the manner in which they had been treated by Sir Hugh Allan, and read portions of some papers in support of their statements. He (Sir John) told them that, if their statements were correct, it appeared that Sir Hugh had used them badly for he had promised what the legislation of last session ought to have

shown him he could not perform, and he ought to return the money advanced for the preliminary expenses of the Canada Pacific Company. Their object seemed to be to know whether, by any chance, they could be admitted to an interest in the Railway, and they were informed that it was impossible. With regard to the statement of Mr. McMullen that Sir Hugh Allan, thinking that the Government intended to play him false after the election, prepared a statement with copies of telegrams, orders for money, &c., and threatened publication if the Government did not keep faith with him, and that the Government yielded to the threat, Sir John said: "I can only say that I never heard of such a statement; never saw it; no such threat was ever made, and no communication of the kind was ever made. It is a falsehood complete and entire, without one semblance of truth." With regard to the sealed packet in Hon. Mr. Starnes' hands, he declared that he knew nothing of it until Mr. Huntington asked in the House of Commons to have it impounded. He had no knowledge of any agreement made by Sir George E. Cartier on the 5th or 6th of August, and did not believe any such agreement was ever made. After answering several questions with reference to the efforts at amalgamation of the two Companies, and the granting of the Royal Charter, he said in answer to a question whether he had any special reason in mentioning Sir Hugh Allan as likely to subscribe to the election fund, certainly he had; Sir Hugh Allan was very largely interested in it always, and it was to his interest to get a Railway Parliament returned, as if the Opposition got a majority they might upset the policy of the last Parliament and spoil all their plans. The letter from Sir Hugh offering to subscribe \$25,000 for election purposes contained no terms or stipulations whatever. It was the only letter received on the subject. The \$25,000 was received early in August, before the 24th. With reference to Sir George E. Cartier's allusions in his letter of 24th of August, to the conditions of his letter of 30th July to Sir Hugh Allan, Sir John stated that he had not seen that letter

until after it was alluded to in the papers,\* he then saw it in possession of Sir Hugh Allan, who he supposed had it and would produce it before the Committee. Being shown copies of the telegrams and draft for \$10,000 given at end of Mr. McMullen's statement, he said he had no doubt they were correct copies; he had drawn for \$10,000. Mr. McMullen had said in answer to a question put by a reporter of the *Chicago Times* whether he could prove that Sir John A. Macdonald was aware of the bargain between Sir Hugh Allan and Sir George E. Cartier: "I can, and will even show his telegrams, one admonishing Allan to shell out, because he had a big thing; another telegram declaring in the most positive manner that he endorsed the arrangement made by Sir Hugh with Cartier, and would hold himself bound by it. He confirmed the bargain unreservedly." Reporter asks can you prove that? Mr. McMullen answers: "I will put witnesses on the stand who saw the telegram, one of them a very prominent man and a friend of Cartier's. I will name the man who wrote the second of these transactions." In answer to this Sir John said: "I can only say that I never sent such a telegram. It is quite an untruth. I never sent any telegram to Sir Hugh Allan, saying that I endorsed any arrangement made by Sir George Cartier and Sir Hugh Allan. I cannot understand how the idea that I sent such a note or telegram got abroad, or how Mr. McMullen could have got the idea that I sent any such telegram to Sir Hugh, calling on him to shell out, for he had got a big thing." He did not know what passed between Sir Hugh and Sir George on the subject of this subscription; Sir George wrote him no letters; what little communication there was, was by telegraph. He (Sir John) declared distinctly that there was no understanding that Sir Hugh Allan was to receive any exceptional advantages from the

\* There were two letters from Sir George E. Cartier to Sir Hugh Allan dated 30th July, 1872, one already given in Sir Hugh's affidavit, page 388, and the other will be found in his evidence before the Commission, page 405. For some time it was supposed that there had been a postscript to the published letter of 30th July which had been erased, but it was discovered that there were two letters.

Government, in consideration of any subscriptions he might make. He continued: "I have no doubt Sir Hugh Allan gave these subscriptions for the one object of sustaining the Government and their Railway policy in connection with the Pacific Railway, he being assured that that policy would be sustained with the influence and power of the Government if it remained a Government."

6.—Hon. H. L. Langevin was examined on the 18th of September, and gave, in substance, the following evidence: He Hon. H. L. Langevin's evid. nec. knew nothing about any agreement between Sir Hugh Allan and American capitalists until he saw it in the newspapers. The members of the Government, with the exception of Sir Francis Hincks, had been unanimous in their opinion that American capital should be excluded, and Sir Francis had yielded when he found all the others against him. He denied in most unqualified terms the charge that the Government, or any members of it, had made any contract with Sir Hugh Allan, or any one else, with regard to the Pacific Railway in consideration of furnishing funds for election purposes. With regard to Mr. McMullen's statement that Mr. Abbott had reported that he had promised him (Mr. Langevin) \$25,000 for his good will in the matter of the railway, he said: "I may say first, that Mr. Abbott never told me that he was authorized to promise me \$25,000, or any other sum. Mr. Abbott never promised or offered me anything. He never spoke to me of anything of the kind, and therefore, in so far as I am concerned, that charge is false." With regard to money for election purposes, he stated that during the Session of 1872 he had a conversation with Sir George E. Cartier about election expenses, and it was agreed that Sir George should furnish him with a portion of the money he collected in Montreal to assist in the elections in Eastern Quebec. In consequence of this conversation he received \$15,000 from Sir Hugh Allan, which he said he had been requested by Sir George Cartier to remit to him (Mr. Langevin) for election expenses. Subsequently he received a note from Sir Hugh

stating that on giving Mr. Abbott a receipt he would receive \$10,000 more. He saw Mr. Abbott and declined giving a receipt, stating that if the money was not a free gift he would not receive it, and would return the \$15,000. The \$10,000 was afterwards paid without any conditions, and he also received \$7,500 or \$7,600, the balance of election expenses, from Sir George E. Cartier, through Sir Hugh Allan. None of this money was used in his own election. His statements with regard to the determination of the Council with reference to excluding Americans, to the steps taken to amalgamate the two Companies, and to the formation of the new Company, were substantially the same as those of Sir John A. Macdonald, except that he was not personally so intimately connected with the transactions. He had no knowledge of any letter from Sir George E. Cartier to Sir Hugh Allan under date 30th July, 1872, except the one published.

7. Sir Hugh Allan was examined on the 19th. He read a statement giving an account of his connection with the Pacific Sir Hugh Allan's evidence. Railway, which was mostly similar to the affidavit already given (foot-note, page 386), adding some particulars as to what the original scheme for building the road was, and fying copies of his agreements with Jay Cooke & Co., and other American capitalists.\* There was nothing in the agreement, nor was it ever

\* We make the following extract from his evidence, to show how it was intended to build the road:—

On looking at the deed of agreement, it will be seen that it was stipulated that the road should be built by the route and on the terms prescribed in the Act to be passed respecting it, and it was further understood that in addition to the route north of Lake Superior a branch was to be constructed from Lake Nipissing to Sault Ste. Marie, with a branch to Georgian Bay, near the mouth of French River. At Sault Ste. Marie, the river was to be bridged and the line carried along the south shore of Lake Superior to Duluth, where it would join the North Pacific, from which line another branch would lead to Fort Garry.

From Fort Garry westward to the Pacific, it was intended the road should proceed on the route afterwards determined by the surveys, and it was regarded as a possibility that the Northern Pacific, when it got as far west as the Missouri River, might be deflected to as to join the Canadian Pacific, get the advantage of our easier pass through the mountains, and run on its track to some point west of the mountains, where they would again separate; the Northern Pacific passing south to New Westminster, and the Canadian Pacific seeking the shore of the Pacific Ocean at such point as determined by the surveys.

I favored this scheme because it not only gave us such a Pacific Railroad as we might desire, but also the advantage of a direct connection with the States of Northern Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Dakota, the traffic and produce of which would naturally find its way to and from the seaboard, through Canada, as being much the shortest.

intended to retard the building of the road in any way. The Americans were to pay preliminary expenses and advanced \$40,000 currency for that purpose, which he afterwards returned when he broke off connection with them. He narrated the circumstances relating to Sir John A. Macdonald's telegram of 26th of July, the agreement signed by Sir George E. Cartier under date 30th July, and its subsequent withdrawal on Sir John A. Macdonald refusing to agree to it, substantially as already given in his affidavit, and in Sir John A. Macdonald's evidence, and declared that these were the only agreements ever entered into with the Government. On the 31st July—the day the agreement of the 30th was cancelled on account of Sir John A. Macdonald's objections—he called on Sir George E. Cartier, and when about leaving Sir George asked him, "Are you not going to assist in our elections," or words to that effect. He replied that he would subscribe, as he had done on former occasions, and asked how much was wanted. Sir George thought, possibly, \$100,000. He (Sir Hugh) desired the success of the Government on account of his approval of its railway and canal policy which he considered advantageous to his business, and he asked Sir George to state in writing what he wanted. This Sir George did, and gave him the following letter at a subsequent visit in the afternoon:

*Private and Confidential.*

MONTREAL, 30 July, 1872.

DEAR SIR HUGH,—The friends of the Government will expect to be assisted with funds in the pending elections; and any amount which you, or your Company shall advance for that purpose, shall be recouped to you.

A memorandum of immediate requirements is below.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) GEO. E. CARTIER.

SIR HUGH ALLAN.

and, consequently, the cheapest route, even for the traffic of New York and Boston.

Thus, in place of, as has been alleged, sacrificing the interests of Canada to the United States, these plans, if carried out, would have been a greater benefit to Canada than any other scheme of communication that could be desired, and would have given a double communication with Fort Garry.

#### NOW WANTED.

Sir John A. Macdonald.....	\$25,000
Hon. Mr. Langevin .....	15,000
Sir G. E. C.....	20,000
Sir J. A. (add'l).....	10,000
Hon. Mr. Langevin (add'l).....	10,000
Sir G. E. C .....	30,000

At the time the letter was written only the first three amounts (\$60,000) were put down, the other three were added by Sir George Cartier afterwards. With reference to the promise in that letter that the money should be repaid, Sir Hugh said: "I did not see well from what source this money could be repaid, but Sir George held out some hope that his political friends would contribute to make it up. Beyond this there was nothing that I can recall as to the manner of repayment. On leaving Sir George I said to Mr. Abbott that I saw no possibility of my ever being repaid these contributions. Neither then nor on any other occasion had I any correspondence with Sir George, as to the repayment of these sums." The total amounts paid were Sir George E. Cartier's Committee, \$85,000; Sir John A. Macdonald for Ontario elections, \$45,000; Hon. H. L. Langevin for Quebec elections, \$32,600, making a total of \$162,600; besides this he paid \$16,000 or \$17,000 to assist some friends of his own, and these sums, with the amounts paid for preliminary expenses on the Pacific and other railroads connected with the enterprise, made his total advances about \$350,000. With regard to the construction sought to be put on these transactions by Mr. McMullen's letters, he said: "That with regard to the construction which appears to be intended to be placed upon the statements in the letter referred to as to the preliminary expenses connected with the Charter, I state most positively and explicitly that I never made any agreement or came to any understanding of any kind or description with the Government, or any of its members, as to the payment of any sum of money to any one, or in any way whatever, in consideration of receiving the contract for the Canadian Pacific. I declare that I did expend considerable sums of



money in various ways which appeared to me to be advantageous to the Company I had organized, and calculated to strengthen my hands in endeavoring to obtain the contract for that Company, but that I did not on any occasion or in any way pay or agree to pay anything whatever to any member of the Government, or to any one on behalf, or at the instance of the Government, for any consideration whatever, in connection with the Charter or contract. \* \* \* \* And I state further, positively, that no money derived from any fund, or from any of my former American associates, was expended in assisting my friends, or the friends of the Government, at the recent general elections." He maintained that his subscriptions to the election fund had nothing to do with getting the Pacific contract, as charged by Mr. Huntington, as at that time, July 30th, nothing was settled; and when the Charter was granted it was given to a new Company, of which he was a Director, but in which there were some Directors unknown to him and others opposed to him. With reference to the parties mentioned in his letter of 28th February, 1872, to Mr. Smith, mentioning that \$850,000 of stock would have to be distributed (see foot-note, page 385), he explained that he had not obtained the consent of the gentlemen named to take the stock, and that it was never meant that they should have it without paying for it. With reference to Mr. McMullen's statement about the \$8,500 advanced to Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Francis Hincks, he said that no such transactions took place, and he had no recollection of any conversation of the sort with Mr. McMullen. With regard to the statement that Sir Francis Hincks had told him he would expect \$50,000 in cash, he said that no such conversation ever took place; and that he never spoke to Sir Francis Hincks in his life about money, in this connection. He denied that he had ever paid \$6,000 to Hon. Mr. Ouimet, as charged by Mr. McMullen, and as to newspapers the only transaction he remembered was discounting a note for \$4,000 for one of the proprietors of the *Minerve*. With regard to the alleged indefinite loan of

\$10,000 to Sir Francis Hincks, he said he had never loaned him any money; and of the authorized promise of \$25,000 to Hon. Mr. Langevin, that he had never heard of it until he saw it in the newspapers. With regard to the statement that after he had paid between \$150,000 and \$200,000 he had refused to advance any more unless the whole Government agreed to the bargain and that Sir John A. Macdonald had telegraphed his consent, he said he was absent from the Province the whole time and therefore that was impossible, that no money was paid without his knowledge and consent, and, therefore, he never could have made such a statement. In reply to questions, he stated that Sir Francis Hincks was the only member of the Cabinet who had ever favored the idea of employing American capital; and that when the people of Ontario began to cry out about it, the whole Cabinet then opposed it. In answer to the question, what was meant by the words, "the same conditions," and "the same terms," in Sir George E. Cartier's letter of 24th August (Given in postscript to Mr. McMullen's narrative), he said: "It was difficult to say what Sir George meant by those words. He was not a man with whom you could talk very much, because in all the interviews with him he generally did most of the talking himself, and you could with difficulty say anything. I never understood exactly what he meant on any of these points. I was quite satisfied that he probably felt that he did not like to be under such very heavy obligations, and would endeavor at some future time to make it up by subscription or otherwise. I did not think that he had any very definite idea, and I did not think it would be done." He declared that he had no understanding with Sir George, or any other member of the Government, or derived from any other source, that he was to derive any advantage from the Government in consideration of his advances, and had not received any. He had never subscribed so largely to an election fund before, but explained that he did so from a desire to assist the party which he believed it would be most advantageous to the

many enterprises he was interested in, to have remain in power. In reply to numerous questions, he maintained that there was never any other agreement than the first letter of 30th July, signed by Sir George E. Cartier, which was subsequently withdrawn, and that that was what he referred to in his letter to General Cass and Mr. McMullen. He denied that there was any truth in Mr. McMullen's statement that he had prepared any copies of telegrams, etc., and threatened to publish them, and that then the Government came to terms; or that he had ever received any telegram from Sir John A. Macdonald approving of Sir George E. Cartier's agreement, the only telegram he saw was disapproving of it.

8.—The Hon. J. J. C. Abbott was examined on the 19th of September, and gave an account of his connection with the railway project from its inception, bearing out in general terms the statement of Sir Hugh Allan. His account of the interview with Sir George E. Cartier when the advance of money was spoken of, was substantially the same as Sir Hugh's, except, that he thought Sir George added: "You know you won't lose it all. Our party will make up the greater part of what you give, but we want it now." His evidence with regard to the efforts towards amalgamation, the exclusion of American capital and the formation of a new Company, corroborated that of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Hugh Allan. He had no knowledge until quite recently of the telegram of 31st July, from Sir John A. Macdonald disapproving of Sir George E. Cartier's agreement of 30th July, and had thought at the time that Sir John approved of the agreement. With regard to the \$8,500 and the \$50,000 for Sir Francis Hincks he knew nothing about them except what had appeared in the newspapers. With regard to the \$25,000 for Mr. Langevin, he said that he had never been "authorized to promise Mr. Langevin \$25,000 to aid in the elections about Quebec, on condition of his friendly assistance," as stated by Mr. McMullen. He had had some conversation with Mr. Langevin during the Session

about Quebec elections, and had promised that if an election fund was raised in Montreal he would endeavor to have a part of it appropriated to Quebec, as he did not think it fair, he (Mr. Langevin) should have to bear all the expense alone; but nothing at all was said about the Railway, and indeed, he always supposed that Mr. Langevin, as an ardent Lower Canadian, was in favor of the road which it was supposed would be most advantageous to that Province. He did mention to Sir Hugh Allan, that if an election fund was got up Mr. Langevin ought to have \$25,000 out of it, but did not mention it to Mr. McMullen. Witness here stated that nearly if not all the papers published about the Pacific railway had been obtained by illegal if not criminal means, and especially the telegrams, letters and receipts published at the end of Mr. McMullen's "Narrative," which must either have been stolen from his private drawer, or from where Sir Hugh Allan placed them after they were given into his keeping. All the money payments with which he had anything to do, were \$10,000 to Mr. Langevin, \$20,000 to the Central Committee, and \$10,000 to Sir John A. Macdonald, which were paid by order of Sir Hugh Allan. With regard to Mr. Langevin's \$10,000, he corroborated that gentleman's statement, and said that he finally paid the money on his own authority without a receipt. He understood the expressions "on the same conditions," and "on the same terms," in Sir George Cartier's letter of 24th August, to refer to the letter of 30th July, which said that the sums so advanced should be recouped. He was not present at any other interview, nor did not know of any communication between Sir Hugh Allan and any members of the Government in relation to the subscription of money for the elections. As far as he knew, and he had reason to believe he was in a position to know as much as anyone, the subscriptions to the elections had no influence whatever on the Charter. He never heard them alluded to.

9.—The other Ministers examined supported the testimony of Sir John A. Macdonald to the

The Commissioners report without expressing an opinion.

facts of their determination not to allow the introduction of American capital, to the negotiations for amalgamation, and their repudiation of the charge that any corrupt bargain had been made. The other evidence taken was mostly of an unimportant nature, and nothing was adduced to materially sustain the charges of Mr. Huntington. The Commissioners, under the Commission issued to them, were instructed to report "as well the said evidence as any opinions which you may think fit to express thereon;" but they did not "think fit" to express any opinion, and merely reported the evidence, with the various documents filed.

#### CHAPTER XXXIX.

##### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN —RESIGNATION OF THE MACDONALD MINISTRY.

1. MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—2. THE ATTITUDE OF THE OPPOSITION.—3. THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—4. THE P. E. I. MEMBERS.—5. PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE.—6. DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS. HON. MR. MACKENZIE'S AMENDMENT.—7. SPEECH OF HON. DR. TUPPER.—8. SPEECH OF HON. MR. HUNTINGTON.—9. HON. MR. MACDONALD'S AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT.—10. THE EFFECT OF FIVE DAYS' DEBATE.—11. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD'S DEFENCE.—12. RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTRY. GUILTY, OR NOT GUILTY?

1.—Never before in the history of the Dominion, and seldom in that of the old Province of Canada, had the assembling of Parliament attracted so much attention as did the session which opened at Ottawa on the twenty-third of October, 1873. The ten weeks which had elapsed since the prorogation of the thirteenth of August had been busily used by the leaders of both parties in marshalling their forces, and the result was one of the largest—if not the largest—gathering

of members which had ever assembled in Ottawa. It was felt that no more delays or subterfuges would avail on either side; the country had been roused during the publication of the evidence taken before the Royal Commission, as it had never been roused before; the Commission had declined to express any opinion on the evidence produced before it, and left that duty to Parliament, and all eyes were now turned towards the Capital, and the verdict of guilty, or not guilty, was anxiously awaited. Both sides were confident of success; but the Opposition had most reason to be so, for during the recess most of the members had had an opportunity of meeting their constituents, and the tone of public opinion was so much against the accused Ministers that many members who generally voted with the Government felt that they would no longer be representing the wishes of their constituents by continuing that support they had given in the past, unless the Government could show a much better defence than had been made before the Royal Commission. Still it was expected that the Government would be able to escape the vote of want of confidence which it was certain would be made, by a small majority; and, after that ordeal was once passed, they would, undoubtedly, be able to recover the confidence of some of their old supporters, and increase their majority.

2.—On the other hand, the leaders of the Opposition were confident, almost jubilant, and left not a stone unturned not only to secure the presence and fidelity of their regular followers, but to gain new converts. In this latter effort they were highly successful. In times of great political excitement when a change of Administration is imminent, there are always to be found a few disappointed or ambitious members of the party in power whose "convictions" are susceptible of sudden change as they find the party they have previously supported losing the reins of power and their opponents gaining them. It has ever been the fate of Ministers to have some of their weak-kneed followers secede from them

The Meeting of Parliament.

The attitude of the Opposition.

in their hour of adversity — on the same principle that rats desert a sinking ship; and Sir John A. Macdonald did not find himself an exception to the general rule. Several of his ordinary supporters who were only "Remonstrants" on the thirteenth of August, had developed into full-pledged Oppositionists by the twenty-third of October; and it was pretty freely hinted that, in some instances at least, promises of reward for party infidelity were not wanting, and that those who had been unable to obtain the rewards or advancements they desired from the existing Ministry, were entertained with very flattering promises by those who expected to benefit by the downfall of that Ministry. There may be a difference in morality between a candidate corrupting a constituency in order to gain a seat in Parliament, and that same candidate selling his vote for place or office after his election, although we are inclined to think the difference scarcely perceptible; and while we do not charge that the Opposition corruptly purchased any of the votes which ultimately placed them in power, still it is certain that several members who had uniformly opposed them for years, and even up to the thirteenth of August, suddenly became converted from the error of their ways in supporting Sir J. A. Macdonald's Administration, and received places of trust and emolument immediately on the formation of the new Ministry. Without charging these gentlemen with being purchased — as the partizan press very freely did — we are still forced to confess that circumstances certainly showed suspiciously against them.

3.—The opening was unusually well attended, both by members and spectators, the latter being attracted from all parts of the Dominion by the anticipated struggle, and both the floor and gallery of the Senate were crowded with a large and fashionable assemblage. His Excellency, in his Speech from the Throne, stated that Parliament had been called together, in accordance with his promise at prorogation, at the earliest possible moment after the receipt of the report of the

Royal Commissioners, and that "the report will be laid before Parliament, and it will be for you to determine whether it can be of any assistance to you." It was announced that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, having been unable to make the financial arrangements they desired in England, had surrendered their Charter, which had been accepted, and that a measure for the purpose of carrying out the agreement with British Columbia, and building the road, would be submitted to Parliament. An Election Law was promised, as well as an Act establishing a General Court of Appeal, and Acts relating to navigable waters, to the inspection laws, to insolvency, and for the establishment of a Dominion Board of Agriculture. The Public Accounts were promised, and the announcement made that, "the prosperous condition of our finances continues, and the revenue has been sufficient to meet all charges upon it."

4.—On returning to the Commons Chamber the first business transacted was the introduction of new members, amongst whom <sup>The P. E. I. members.</sup> were the six members from Prince Edward Island who took their seats for the first time, and were greeted with cheers from the Ministerial side of the House as they were severally introduced by members of the Government.\* Considerable importance was attached to these six gentlemen as it was felt that in the close condition in which the parties were getting, numerically speaking, their votes might almost decide the support or defeat of the Government; at the same time, although elected to support the administration of Sir John A. Macdonald and introduced to the House

\* The name of the six representatives and their introducers are as follows:

Hon. David Laird (Queen's), introduced by the Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, and Mr. A. L. Palmer.

Hon. J. C. Pope (Prince), introduced by Hon. J. H. Pope, and Hon. John Crawford.

James Yeo (Prince), introduced by Hon. Hugh Macdonald, and Hon. J. B. Robinson.

Hon. Peter Sinclair (Queen's) introduced by Hon. H. L. Langevin and Hon. T. N. Gibbs.

A. C. Macdonald (Kings), introduced by Hon. Peter Mitchell and Hon. A. DeCosmos.

Hon. Daniel Davies (King's), introduced by Hon. Dr. Tupper, and Hon. John Carling.

by members of the Ministry, it was understood that on the subject of the Pacific Scandal they proposed to exercise an independent judgment and decide on the evidence adduced more than from a mere party standpoint. Mr. Appleby, newly elected for Carleton, N. B., was also introduced by the Hon. A. J. Smith and Mr. Burpee (Sunbury) and took his seat with the Opposition—to whose ranks the former of these gentlemen was a recent acquisition.

5.—It had been rumored that the Opposition did not intend to move a direct vote of want of

Papers laid on the table.

confidence in the Government, fearing that some of the Ministerialists who had signed the memorial of the 13th of August, would scarcely support them in so direct a vote, but rather to raise a sort of side issue by raising the question of privilege that the Prorogation of the 13th of August was a breach of the privileges of Parliament, a motion on which they could depend on the support of the Memorialists; but if any such action was intended it was rendered inoperative by the action of the Premier in laying on the table immediately messages from His Excellency transmitting the papers with regard to the disallowance of the Oaths Bill; papers relating to the prorogation of the 13th of August; papers relating to the issue of the Royal Commission; and a copy of a despatch from the Earl of Kimberley, under date 9th October, in which he acknowledged receipt of the Governor-General's despatches of the 15th and 18th of August, giving an account of the prorogation and the issue of the Royal Commission. His Lordship's despatch concluded as follows: "Her Majesty's Government have read these clear and able statements with much interest. It is not their duty to express any opinion upon the particular measures adopted on the advice of your responsible Ministers, but they fully approve your having acted on these matters in accordance with constitutional usage." The Report of the Royal Commission was also laid on the table; and it was at once felt that no side issue would be of avail, the Government had in effect challenged the Opposition to question their

conduct if they dared, and the question of confidence or non-confidence must be squarely raised. After the submission of these papers, and a little routine business, the House adjourned until Monday, the 27th, when the great debate on the Address was commenced.

6.—In the Senate the Address was moved by Hon. G. Alexander, seconded by Hon. D. Montgomery, and was adopted after a brief discussion, in which Hon. Messrs. Letellier de St. Just,

Debate on the Address. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's amendment.

Campbell, Dickey, Macpherson and Christie participated. In the Commons, the Address was moved by Mr. Witton, seconded by Mr. Baby, who made the usual complimentary remarks on the measures treated of in the Speech from the Throne. The first paragraph of the Address—which was merely that an Address be presented—was adopted without comment. On the second paragraph, which was as follows: "That we thank His Excellency for his statement that, in accordance with the intimation given by him at the close of last session, he has caused Parliament to be summoned at the earliest moment after the receipt of the report of the Commissioners appointed by His Excellency to inquire into certain matters connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway," being read, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie rose and reviewed at length the course pursued by the Government with regard to the Pacific Railway Charter. He claimed that during the five years of the first Parliament of the Dominion, the Administration had been gradually losing the confidence of the country; and that, as their chief object was the retention of power rather than the passage of good measures, it became necessary for them to start some new movement to retain them in office; the Intercolonial Railway was nearly finished, and it was necessary for them to find some other great work by means of which they hoped to keep themselves in power; therefore, the inauguration of the Pacific Railway. He recounted the objections which had been raised by the Opposition at the time of the admission of British Columbia, to the country binding itself to build the road in



ten years; and the still stronger objection which had been raised during the session of 1872, to the Government being given the power to issue a charter to a Company to build the road, without consulting Parliament. It was customary to consult Parliament on the subject of contracts, and he thought it very extraordinary that the very Administration which submitted to the approval of Parliament, at the session of 1872, a contract for carrying the mails, which involved an expenditure of £25,000, should refuse to submit to the House a contract involving the expenditure of \$30,000,000, and the granting of 50,000,000 acres of our best lands. This was extraordinary, not to say suspicious, and when the Government sought to justify it by saying that it was necessary on account of the ten-year limit of time, it looked as if that limit had been made as part of the plot to throw the control of this immense patronage into the hands of the Government. He claimed that unless there was some object to gain there was no reason why the Government should not have consulted the House with regard to the contract. He then referred to the fact that the Government had put off the passage of a stringent Election Act, which would prevent bribery, and place the trial of Controverted Elections in the hands of the Judges, until after the general elections; and argued that no Government would have done this had it not been intended to carry the elections no matter what means were used. He referred to the imperfect character of the Interim Election Law, and the great advantages it gave to the Ministerial candidates in many ways, and said that in spite of all these advantages it was found that something more was needed, and that something more was furnished by the contractors for the Pacific Railway. He then quoted from the evidence of Sir John A. Macdonald, before the Royal Commission, to show that he had instructed Sir George E. Cartier to call on Sir Hugh Allan for funds, and went on to argue that it was ridiculous to say that the immense contributions of this gentleman had no reference to the granting of the Charter,

but were simply given by him for the support of the party—a man who, by his own showing, never had a party, and had never even voted but once. He proceeded to show by the evidence, that Sir Hugh Allan was not a party man; that he was a shrewd speculator, and that it was only after an agreement had been come to that he should have the contract, that he agreed to furnish money for the elections and asked, "what money do you want?" He reviewed the conduct of the Government with regard to the prorogation of the thirteenth of August, and the appointment of three Judges to take the evidence against them; and contended that from the evidence taken, it was clearly shown that the Government were determined to carry the elections at all hazards, and that they used the Pacific contract to gain their ends. He concluded by moving, seconded by Mr. Coffin, "That the following words be added to the paragraph: 'And we have to acquaint His Excellency that by their course in reference to the investigation of the charges preferred by Mr. Huntington, in his place in this House, and under the facts disclosed in the evidence laid before us, His Excellency's advisers, have merited the severe censure of this House.'"

7.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie spoke until six o'clock, and, after recess, was replied to by the Hon. Dr. Tupper, who said he rejoiced that his colleagues and himself had at last an opportunity of defending themselves in Parliament against the foul aspersions which had for months been cast upon them. He believed that not only had the Government been assailed in a manner unprecedented in history, but that there were motives behind that assault which would not bear investigation. He claimed that the Government had remained in power by "bringing forward such measures as they believed would advance the prosperity, raise the character, and elevate the position of Canada," and had been met by gentlemen who were most unscrupulous as to the means they used in their efforts to reach the Treasury benches. He claimed that the Opposition had acquired thier majority in Ontario by

charging the Government with sacrificing the interests of Canada to the necessities of the Mother Country, and thought that a small triumph which was gained by advocating disloyalty to the British Crown. He charged that the Opposition having tried in vain every effort to overthrow the Government on the Washington Treaty, had resorted to these charges in connection with the Pacific Railway Charter. The honorable member for Shefford had charged the Government with bartering a great public interest for foreign gold, while the facts showed that every precaution had been taken to exclude foreigners from the road; and instead of the Government being interested with foreigners, it was the Opposition which had become interested with Jay Cooke & Co., when that firm found that the Government was determined to keep it out of the Pacific Railway. He then reviewed at length the appointment of the Committee, the circumstances attending the passing of the Oaths Bill, its disallowance, the offer of the Premier to issue a Royal Commission to the Committee, the refusal of Messrs. Blake and Dorion, the prorogation of the 13th of August, and the issue of the Royal Commission, contending that the Government had acted throughout in the best of faith. He reviewed the evidence taken before the Royal Commission at length, and claimed that the charges made by the honorable member for Shefford (Mr. Huntington), had been disproved in every particular, by the very witnesses on whom he had professed to rely to establish them.

8.—Hon. Mr. Huntington followed, and denied that he had ever had any connection with Jay Cooke & Co. He declared that he firmly believed in the truth of the charges at the time he made them, although he did not have Sir Hugh Allan's letters in his pocket then. He asked how it was that the members for Vancouver (Sir Francis Hincks) and Cumberland (Hon. Dr. Tupper) had not denied the charges in Sir Hugh Allan's letters? He claimed that the letters of Sir Hugh Allan were the best evidence produced

before the Committee, and they showed conclusively the bargain between Sir Hugh Allan and the Government. He did not accuse Sir Hugh Allan of any greater crime than that of thinking he could carry everything before him by bribery. He then read the agreement entered into between Sir Hugh Allan and his American friends, as adduced before the Royal Commission, and claimed that that substantiated the first part of his charge. The gist of his charge was that Sir Hugh Allan purchased the contract, and he contended, that the evidence taken before the Commission proved that the contract had been purchased. He quoted from several parts of Sir Hugh Allan's letters to show the intimacy existing between him and the Government. It was shown that Sir Hugh Allan wanted the contract, and that Sir George E. Cartier wanted money to bribe the electors with; Sir Hugh got the contract and Sir George got the money, and what was the logical conclusion? An adjournment of the debate was moved by Sir Francis Hincks.

9.—On the twenty-eighth the debate was resumed by Sir Francis Hincks, who defended himself from some personal attacks made on him by the member for Shefford, and entered into a lengthy explanation of the conduct of the Government, which he claimed was entirely blameless and for the best interests of the country; and held that the charges of the honorable member for Shefford had not been sustained by the evidence produced. He was followed by the Hon. James Macdonald, of Pictou, who in a very eloquent and exhaustive speech of over four hours duration, very ably defended the Government, and attacked the Opposition for endeavoring to hound to political death and personal dishonor the man who had done more than any other living Canadian to uphold the honor and dignity of the country, and to consolidate and develop its power and resources. He concluded by moving in amendment to the amendment that the following words be substituted: "And we desire to assure His Excellency, that after consideration of the statements made in the evidence

Hon. Mr. Macdonald's amendment to the amendment.

Speech of Hon. Mr. Huntington.

before us, and while we regret the outlay of money by all political parties at Parliamentary Elections, and desire the most stringent measures to put an end to the practice, we, at the same time, beg leave to express our continued confidence in His Excellency's advisers, and in their administration of public affairs." The debate was continued by Mr. David Glass, one of the recent converts to the Opposition, who explained his "peculiar position," and stated that he believed the charges proved; Mr. Baker, who supported the Government; and Mr. Young (Waterloo) who condemned it; and was adjourned on motion of Mr. Wood.

10.—The debate was continued on the twenty-ninth, thirtieth and thirty-first of October and the third of November by Messrs.

The effect of five days' debate.

Wood, Cartwright, MacKay, McDonnell, (Inverness) Cunningham, Joly, Coffin, Laflamme, Burpee, (St. John) Pickard, Prevost, and Mills in support of Hon. Mr. MacKenzie's amendment; and Messrs. Palmer, Kirkpatrick, Grant, Thompson, (Cariboo), Wallace, (Norfolk), Tilley, Carter, Domville, Ouimet, Mathieu, and Wright, (Pontiac), who supported the Government, after which Sir John A. Macdonald rose to speak. The debate had now lasted five nights and the condition of the Government was hourly growing more and more critical; new defections from their ranks were daily taking place, and, although none of them had spoken yet, it was understood that at least a portion of the Prince Edward Island members would support the Opposition. The "whips" on both sides were unceasingly active and noses were being counted with a care and thoughtfulness which had not been known since the days preceding the "Dead Lock" in 1864. Of course, there were whispers of attempts at corruption and corrupt influences, but the only charge of the kind which was made was by Mr. Cunningham, member for Marquette who stated in his place, on the third of November, that he had been approached on the previous day (Sunday) by Alderman Heney, of Ottawa, who had offered him one, two, or three thousand pounds if he would vote for the Ministry. On

motion of Mr. White, (Halton), Alderman Heney was summoned to the bar of the House, and appeared there, and was placed in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms to be produced when needed. Mr. Heney, however, was never needed, for the resignation of the Ministry took place on the fifth, and the House was prorogued on the seventh without any action being taken in his case. The excitement in Ottawa during the long debate was most intense; the hotels were crowded and the galleries nightly thronged while small anxious groups of threes and fours could be seen about the lobbies and in the corridors of the Russell, at almost all hours of the day or night, eagerly discussing the latest move, or supposed move, on the political chess-board. The speech of Sir John A. Macdonald had been anxiously waited for, but was rather a disappointment to some of his friends when it did come. He was not in his happiest vein, and spoke more like the leader of a forlorn hope than the chief of a victorious party; he was out-generalled and beaten, and he knew it, and his five hour and a half oration had little of the strength and force in it which characterized some of his previous Parliamentary efforts, such as his speech in defense of the Washington Treaty.

11.—He commenced by stating that he had not intended making any remarks on the two motions before the House, for <sup>Sir John A. Macdonald's Defence.</sup> the reason that he had already made a full, free and unreserved statement under oath, of the whole case, as far as he knew of it, and he had not desired to supplement his statement, under oath, by another statement, not under oath; but he had been taunted in the press and outside of the House, with holding back his statements, and not daring to meet the House or the country, and he wished it to be understood that he was quite prepared to meet both the House and the country. He commenced by defending the prorogation of the thirteenth of August, claiming that there was no breach of the privileges of the House committed, that it was simply an exercise of the prerogative which it could not be questioned the Sovereign

had the undoubted right to exercise, on the advice of his Ministers, responsible to both Houses. He hoped the time would never come when Parliament would refuse to be prorogued, and attempt to sit *en permanence*, for then would be destroyed one of the greatest safeguards of the British Constitution. Passing on to the motion of the honorable member for Shefford (Mr. Huntington) he declared that it was not only intended as a motion of want of confidence in the Government, but, was also meant to kill the Pacific Railway, and prevent the deputation which had gone to England to interest European capitalists in the scheme from accomplishing their object. He denied the statement made by the leader of the Opposition and others that pressure had been brought to bear on him (Sir John) by some of his supporters to induce him to ask for a Committee. There was no such pressure at all; the motion of the member for Shefford was promptly voted down, because it was a vote of want of confidence, but no Ministry could dream of holding office after such a charge had been made without having it disproved, and accordingly he (Sir John) had, on entering the Council Chamber, on the following morning announced his intention of asking for a Committee, before any one had spoken to him on the subject. He went on to explain that he never supposed any one would expect the Committee to complete its work in the absence of the three parties mainly interested—Sir Hugh Allan, Hon. Mr. Abbott and Sir George E. Cartier—who were then absent in England, and for that reason he had added to his motion, "and if need be to sit after the prorogation of Parliament," so that if these gentlemen did not return before the other business of Parliament was concluded, the Committee could still continue its labors. He had afterwards discovered that Parliament had not the power to authorize a Committee to sit after prorogation, and it was on that account that the House had been adjourned on the 23rd of May instead of being prorogued, so that the Committee could go on taking evidence after these gentlemen returned. He claimed that

the House perfectly well understood and accepted the statement that the meeting on the 13th of August was to be *pro forma*; and that after it had been so announced by him, on the authority of the Governor-General, and accepted by the House, it was not possible that any other course could be pursued. As to the legality of the issue of the Royal Commission, he did not propose to speak, as the motion of the member for Lambton rendered that unnecessary; he would, therefore, pass on to the evidence taken before the Commission. He argued at some length to prove the legality of the Commission, and blamed the honorable member for Shefford for not appearing before it, whether it was legally constituted or not, if he really wished to have a full investigation. He defended the Judges appointed on the Commission from the charges of partizanship made against them; and with reference to the statement that witness after witness had been examined who simply knew nothing, he said that the names of the witnesses had been given to the Committee by the member for Shefford, and were called and examined in the order in which they were given by him. If they knew nothing it was not the fault of the Commissioners. With regard to the charges themselves he said: "First we are told that the Government had acted with these American gentlemen, and had given up all the rights of Canada to a foreign corporation. We were told that we were recreant to our position, as Canadians, to our position as members of Parliament, and guardians of the rights of Canada, and that we handed over the great Pacific Railway to the Americans. When that broke down, the next charge was brought up. Hon. gentlemen opposite said, 'We know you did not do that, but you have sold it,' and when that broke down they came to the last charge, and said, 'Oh, you are guilty of spending a large sum of money at the elections.' These are the three charges, and I shall deal with them *seriatim*." With regard to the first charge he said that it had roused him when it was made, for he had thought that he had entirely kept Jay

Cook & Co., and every other Company interested in the Northern Pacific Railway, out of any participation in the Canadian Pacific. He claimed that it was because he had done so that this attack had been made upon the Government; and he charged the member for Shefford with being the agent of the Northern Pacific Railway, and that he was elected to his seat by alien railway influences. He spoke of the strong opposition which he knew he should meet with in Ontario during the elections on account of the Washington Treaty; and said that the Opposition leaders had described him as a cross between Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot, but he was proud of having assisted in securing peace to two great nations by that Treaty, and he should be glad to have it recorded on his tombstone that he had been instrumental in negotiating that Treaty. He entered at length into the various efforts which had been made by the Opposition in Ontario, and the cries which had been raised that he had sacrificed the interests of Ontario to that of the other Provinces; that he was going to ruin the country with the Pacific Railway; that he had given too much to Nova Scotia, &c., to show the difficulties which the Government had to contend against in that Province. He claimed that the Opposition had spent two pounds to the Government's one, and challenged them to have a Committee appointed and investigate the facts. He charged that there were more members on the Opposition than on the Government benches who owed their seats to the use of money, and affirmed that he believed he could prove what he said before any Committee the House thought proper to appoint. He then traced at length the course pursued by the Government with regard to the building of the Pacific Railway, claiming that after the cry had been raised against the admission of American capital, every precaution had been taken by the Government to exclude it, and blaming Sir Hugh Allan for continuing to hold out hopes to his American partners after he must have known that the Government could not, and would not, grant a charter to any Company in which Americans

were interested. He spoke of the visit paid him by Mr. McMullen and other Chicago gentlemen about the time of the granting of the Royal Charter, and their complaints about Sir Hugh Allan's treatment of them, and said that he took that as the best evidence that Sir Hugh Allan and his American associates had quarrelled, and there was no danger of their being interested in the Charter in any way. With regard to the action of Sir George E. Cartier in Montreal, he said: "I do not wish honorable gentlemen to suppose for one single instant that I would desire to shelter myself or my living colleagues by throwing the blame on my dead colleague. Whatever Sir George Cartier has done I will assume the responsibility of. Whatever Sir George Cartier has done I must accept as being the honest expression of an individual Minister; but, sir, I do not admit, and I will not admit, and it is not safe for honorable gentlemen opposite to admit, that any one Minister can bind a Ministry." He declared that the only agreement ever entered into with regard to the granting of the Charter, as far as he was concerned, or as far as the Government was concerned, was the telegram of the 26th of July with regard to postponing the matter until after the elections and then bringing about an amalgamation of the Ontario and Quebec Companies. He charged that Sir Hugh Allan's letter had been bought from McMullen by the member for Shefford, (the charge was at once denied by Mr. Huntington), and then proceeded to defend the course of the Government after the 26th of July, saying: "There never was an occasion, there never was a minute, in which the interests of Canada were sacrificed by the Government of Canada for election purposes." He then proceeded to show how the Company to which the Charter was finally granted was constituted; how thirteen representative men from the different Provinces had been selected, and how it was provided that no one of them should hold more than \$100,000 worth of stock; and concluded his address as follows: "If there is a word in that Charter which derogates from the rights of Canada; if



there is any undue privilege, or right, or preponderance given to any one of these thirteen Directors, I say, Mr. Speaker, I am condemned. But, sir, I commit myself, the Government commits itself, to the hands of this House, and far beyond the House, it commits itself to the country at large. We have faithfully done our duty. We have fought the battle of Confederation. We have fought the battle of Union. We have had Party strife setting Province against Province, and more than all, we have had in the greatest Province, the preponderating Province of the Dominion, every prejudice and sectional feeling that could be arrayed against us. I have been the victim of that conduct to a great extent; but I have fought the battle of Confederation, the battle of Union, the battle of the Dominion of Canada. I throw myself upon this House; I throw myself upon this country; I throw myself upon posterity; and I believe that I know that, notwithstanding the many failings in my life, I shall have the voice of this country and this House rallying round me. And, Sir, if I am mistaken in that, I can confidently appeal to a higher Court, to the Court of my own conscience, and to the Court of Posterity. I leave it with this House with every confidence. I am equal to either fortune. I can see cast the decision of this House either for or against me, but whether it be against me or for me I know, and it is no vain boast to say, Sir, for even my enemies will admit that I am no boaster, that there does not exist in Canada a man who has given more of his time, more of his heart, more of his wealth, or more of his intellect and power, such as it may be, for the good of this Dominion of Canada."

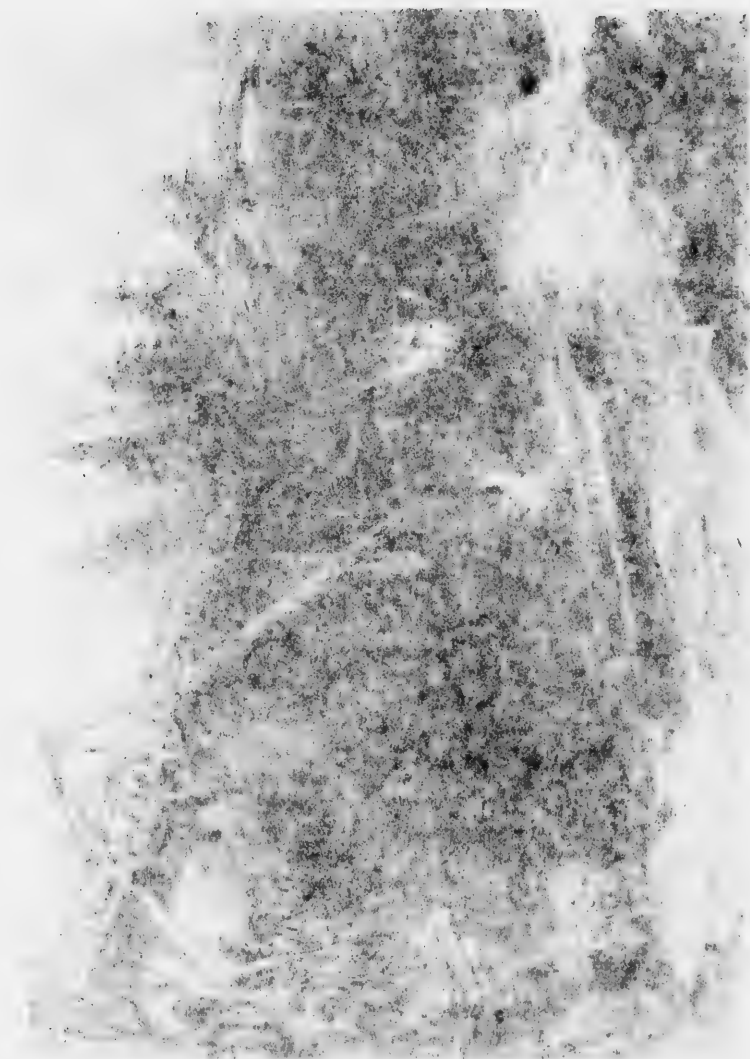
12.—Sir John A. Macdonald was followed by Hon. Mr. Blake, who spoke until half-past two in the morning, when the House

Resignation of the  
Ministry. Guilty or  
not Guilty.

adjourned. On the 4th the debate was resumed by Hon. Mr. Blake in a lengthy speech, in which he condemned the conduct of the Government, and sought to show the very intimate relations which existed between them and Sir Hugh

Allan. The debate was continued by Messrs. Cameron (Cardwell), Pope, (P. E. I.) and Dodge who supported the Ministry; and Messrs. Laird, Hagar, Smith, (Selkirk), and Davies, (P. E. I.) who supported Mr. Mackenzie's amendment. The House adjourned at 1.30 on the morning of the 5th. By this time it had become evident to Sir John A. Macdonald that he had lost his majority in the House. The determination of the Prince Edward Island members (except Mr. Pope), to support Mr. Mackenzie's amendment, added to the defection of some of his usual supporters on whom he had depended—notably Mr. D. A. Smith—had turned the scale, and he now saw that he would be defeated on a division, and that Mr. Mackenzie's vote of want of confidence would carry. Under these circumstances, he decided not to await the issue of the vote, but, on the morning of the 5th of November (the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot) he placed the resignation of the Ministry in the hands of Lord Dufferin, and Mr. Mackenzie was sent for to form a new Administration. The announcement was formally made to the House by Sir John A. Macdonald, and to the Senate by Hon. Mr. Campbell, and both Houses adjourned until the 6th, and on that day to the 7th, when the formation of a Ministry by Hon. Mr. Mackenzie was announced, and Parliament was prorogued. So ended the celebrated "Short Session," and so died the Macdonald Ministry, after having been in power in the old Province of Canada and in the Dominion for nearly twenty years. The fact of the resignation can hardly be taken as a plea of guilty by the Ministry to the charges made against them by Mr. Huntington, and it may be argued that the case was not absolutely proved, and that Sir John, finding many of his old friends and supporters could not support him on this question, resigned to spare them the pain of recording their votes against him; and, further, that by their not so committing themselves they would be at greater liberty to give him their countenance and support again on matters of general policy in which they agreed with him. However that may be, the fact of the Ministry not daring to test the House and take a vote,

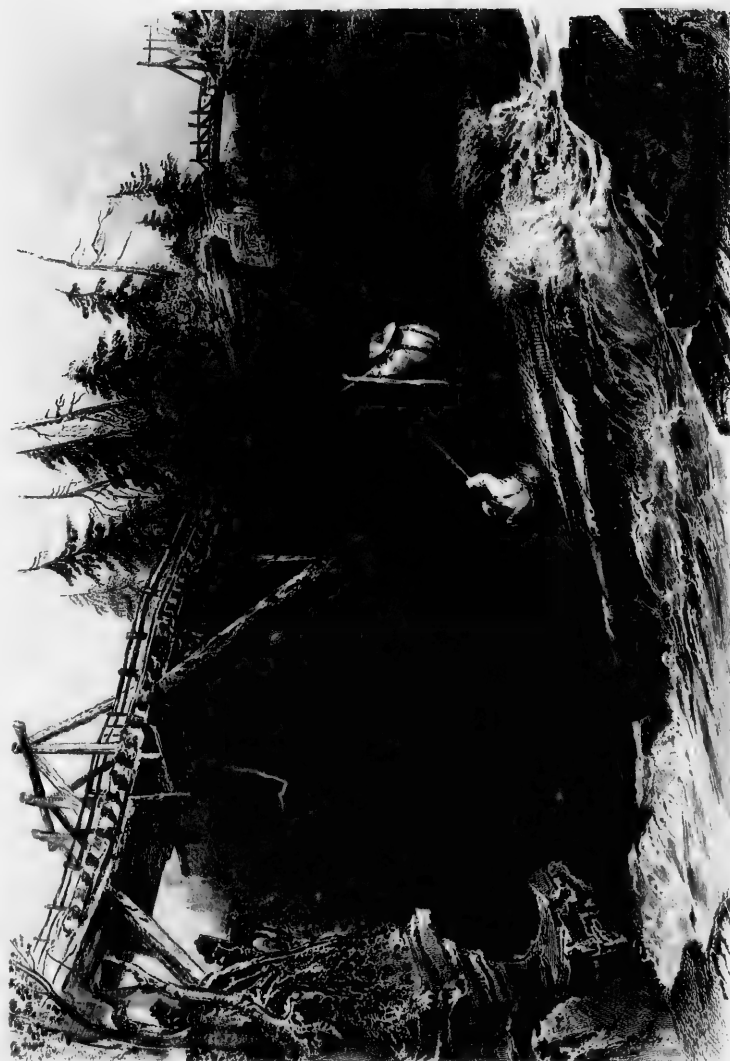
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On 12 May 1992, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Vukobratović, announced that the Federal Police would be taking steps to ensure that the country was free of weapons and ammunition. He stated that the Federal Police would be conducting a nationwide search for weapons and ammunition, and that the results of the search would be reported to the public.

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was claimed by the Opposition as a plea of guilty, and the vote of the country at the next general election endorsed that opinion by an overwhelming majority. Judged from the evidence alone and from the statements made by honorable gentlemen on both sides, it would not be fair to say that the charges of Hon. Mr. Huntington were sustained; nor would it be possible to say that there was no ground for them, and that there was not at least some portion of truth in them. Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Hugh Allan, Mr. Abbott, and others interested, all swore that there never was any bargain of any kind by which money was to be advanced for the elections in consideration of Sir Hugh Allan getting the contract; that the large sums spent by Sir Hugh were expended because the policy the Government had inaugurated was what he considered best for the interest of the Dominion, and most likely to benefit the many and extensive commercial enterprises in which he was engaged. On the other hand, we have the fact that it was only after Sir George E. Cartier had agreed that the Canada Pacific Company should have the contract, in the event of an amalgamation not taking place that Sir Hugh agreed to advance any money to the members of the Government for election purposes, in compliance with the request contained in Sir George E. Cartier's *second* letter of 30th July. It is true that the first letter was withdrawn, at the request of Sir John A. Macdonald, but the second letter was not, and payments were made on it for a month after, and it scarcely seems probable that so clear-headed and shrewd a business-man as Sir Hugh would have gone on advancing such large sums after the withdrawal of the first letter of the 30th of July, unless he had some reason to believe either that that letter would be renewed, or that he would gain his object in some other way. He, however, swears that he had no bargain with any member of the Government, and as the member with whom the bargain was supposed to be made—Sir George E. Cartier—was dead, there was no evidence other than that of inference to show that there

was any other bargain than that proposed by Sir John A. Macdonald's telegram of 26th July, which showed nothing corrupt, or at all compromising to the Government. Taking the evidence therefore, as it stands we should be inclined to arrive at the Scotch verdict of "Not Proven," which, while admitting that there was not evidence enough to convict, at the same time acknowledges that there was evidence enough on which to suspect. That Sir Hugh Allan gave \$162,600 to Sir George E. Cartier, Sir John A. Macdonald and Hon. Mr. Langevin, for election purposes, there can be no doubt;\* nor is there any doubt that Sir Hugh Allan was one of the parties to whom the Charter was eventually granted, although he did not get as favorable terms as he had previously expected; still, although the inference is very strong, the positive evidence is lacking, and in the absence of that, and in the face of the sworn testimony of Sir Hugh Allan and others that there was no bargain, we must give the accused the benefit of the doubt, and admit the charges "Not Proven." It is a sad commentary on the political morality of Canada, to be forced to allow that Ministers of the Crown came so near being found guilty of the crime of selling a great public work; but there are two crumbs of comfort left, one is that there was no charge, indeed no suspicion, that either Sir John A. Macdonald or his colleagues sold the Charter for any personal advantage, but only for funds with which to corrupt others—a nice distinction, but still one of some significance. Bribery at elections was scarcely regarded as an offence; both parties resorted to it freely and almost openly; and the second crumb of comfort to be gathered from the Pacific Scandal is that the

\* On my return, I found that the limits of payments which I had first agreed to had been exceeded, and, with subsequent advances, they finally stood as follows:—

To Sir Geo. E. Cartier's Committee.....	\$85,000
To Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, towards election expenses in Ontario .....	45,000
To Hon. H. L. Langevin, towards electoral expenses in Quebec.....	32,600

Total..... \$162,600

Sir Hugh Allan's evidence before Royal Commission.

exposure of the immense proportions to which this system of bribery had attained, opened the eyes of the public at large to its enormity, and prepared the way for the passage of a more thorough Election Law, and very severe Acts against bribery and corrupt practices at elections.

## CHAPTER XL.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN —PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1873.

1. CHANGES IN THE CABINET.—2. FORMATION OF THE MACKENZIE MINISTRY.—3. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. THE TARIFF.—4. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. SECOND DAY'S DISCUSSIONS.—5. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE. THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.—6. WRECK OF THE "ATLANTIC." 545 LIVES LOST.—7. OTHER MARINE DISASTERS.—8. BURNING OF THE "BAVARIAN."—9. FIRES.—10. THE POPE-MACDONALD LETTER.—11. OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

1.—The important event of the year 1873, was *par excellence* "The Pacific Scandal," which we have already dealt with at considerable length, and it only remains to notice the changes in the Ministry which preceded and followed the defeat of the Macdonald Administration. Quite a number of changes took place in the Macdonald Cabinet, the first of which was on the thirtieth of January, when the Hon. J. C. Chapais, Receiver-General, resigned, and his portfolio was taken by Hon. Théodore Robitaille, who was sworn of the Privy Council on the same day. Ever since his defeat for South Brant at the General Election, 1872, and his subsequent return for Vancouver, B.C., it had been rumored that Sir Francis Hincks contemplated retiring from public life; but it was not until the twenty-second of February that he resigned the portfolio of Finance Minister, and accepted the Presidency of the City Bank of Montreal. His successor to

the portfolio of Minister of Finance was Hon. Mr. Tilley, Minister of Customs, whose portfolio was taken by Hon. Dr. Tupper, Minister of Inland Revenue. On the fourth of March the Hon. John O'Connor, President of the Privy Council assumed the portfolio of Minister of Inland Revenue. On the first of May, the Hon. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia; and on the fourteenth of June, the Hon. T. N. Gibbs and the Hon. Hugh McDonald were sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Secretary of State for the Provinces and President of the Privy Council respectively. The death of Sir George E. Cartier having made a vacancy a general change of portfolio's took place on the first of July which left the Cabinet as follows:

RT. HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, K. C. B., Minister of Justice, (Premier).

HON. S. L. TILLEY, C. B., Minister of Finance.

HON. PETER MITCHELL, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

HON. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Minister of the Interior.

HON. H. L. LANGEVIN, C. B., Minister of Public Works.

HON. J. C. AIKINS, Secretary of State.

HON. CHARLES TUPPER, C. B., Minister of Customs.

HON. JOHN H. POPE, Minister of Agriculture.

HON. JOHN O'CONNOR, Postmaster General.

HON. THEODORE ROBITAILLE, Receiver General.

HON. T. N. GIBBS, Minister of Inland Revenue.

HON. HUGH McDONALD, Minister of Militia and Defence.

2.—The portfolio of Secretary of State for the Provinces was not filled (the Department was abolished by the Act of 1873, <sup>Formation of the Mackenzie Ministry.</sup> creating the Department of the Interior), and no other changes took place in the Cabinet until the day of the resignation of the Ministry—fifth of November—when the Hon. S. L. Tilley was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick; and the Hon. Hugh McDonald was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. At the same time Mr. John Crawford, member for West Toronto, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and a very large number of other appointments were made, which caused much dissatisfaction amongst the incoming party, but most of the appointees were undisturbed, and only a few removed. On the seventh of Novem-

ber, the new Ministry was sworn in and appointed to office as follows :

- HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, M. P., Ontario, Minister of Public Works, (Premier).  
 HON. ANTOINE A. DORION, M. P., Quebec, Minister of Justice.  
 HON. EDWARD BLAKE, M. P., Ontario, without portfolio.  
 HON. ALBERT J. SMITH, M. P., New Brunswick, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.  
 HON. LUC LETELLIER DE ST. JUST, Senator, Quebec, Minister of Agriculture.  
 HON. RICHARD JOHN CARTWRIGHT, M. P., Ontario, Minister of Finance.  
 HON. DAVID LAIRD, M. P., Prince Edward Island, Minister of the Interior.  
 HON. DAVID CHRISTIE, Senator, Ontario, Secretary of State.  
 HON. ISAAC BURFEE, M. P., New Brunswick, Minister of Customs.  
 HON. DONALD A. MACDONALD, M. P., Ontario, Postmaster-General.  
 HON. THOMAS COFFIN, M. P., Nova Scotia, Receiver General.  
 HON. TÉLÉSPHORE FOURNIER, M. P., Quebec, Minister of Inland Revenue.  
 HON. WILLIAM ROSS, M. P., Nova Scotia, Minister of Militia and Defence.  
 HON. RICHARD W. SCOTT, Senator, Ontario, without portfolio.

The portfolio of President of the Privy Council was not filled until the 20th January, 1874, when the Hon. L. S. Huntington was appointed. A few days previously (on the 9th) the Hon. David Christie was appointed Speaker of the Senate, and the Hon. R. W. Scott took the portfolio of Secretary of State. On the 31st January, Hon. Mr. Blake resigned, so that the number of Ministers was reduced to the usual number, thirteen. The formation of the new Ministry was somewhat severely criticised by the Conservative press, and the inconsistency of Mr. Mackenzie, who had always opposed Coalitions in taking Messrs. Coffin and Cartwright into his Cabinet, was pointed out; while it was also thought strange that Mr. R. W. Scott, Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Ontario Government, should be called to the Senate and sworn of the Privy Council, and still more singular that Hon. Mr. Blake should accept a seat at the Council, without portfolio, thereby increasing the number of Ministers to fourteen, while he had always contended that the number of Ministers was too large, and should be reduced. However, although there was some criticism, there was little opposition, and all the new Ministers who had to go to their constituents

for re-election were returned by acclamation, with two exceptions.

3.—The fourth Annual Meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade was opened at Ottawa, on the 15th of January, representatives from seventeen Boards of Trade being present.\* Mr. Henry Fry, of Quebec, was elected President and Mr. W. H. Howland, of Toronto, Vice President. The first discussion was on the tariff question, Mr. Morin, of Montreal, making a motion to the effect that the time had come for a revision of the tariff, and that it should be so revised that the duty should be taken off the prime necessities of life and raw materials, and a heavy duty put on articles of luxury, or such articles as enter into competition with our own productions; but that such increase of duty should not exceed the amount required for the public service. Mr. Wilkes, of Toronto, offered the following resolution as a substitute: "That this Board, having considered the mode by which the revenue is levied, believes that the time has come when a revision of the sources of revenue should be considered, and it recommends to the Government such modifications of the duties on such articles of daily food and clothing as will reduce the cost of living to our population, thereby encouraging our industries; and that a revenue of at least one mill in the dollar be

\*The following is a list of the delegates:—

- MONTREAL BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. H. McLennan; John Kerry; Andrew Robertson; L. E. Morin; Hon. John Young.  
 MONTREAL CORN EXCHANGE. Messrs. M. P. Ryan; W. W. Ogilvie; Thomas White; R. Sprout; H. Labelle.  
 TORONTO BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. Robert Wilkes; W. H. Howland; John Morrison; Thomas Lee.  
 OTTAWA BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. E. McMillivray; F. Clemon; William Pennock; Hon. James Skend.  
 QUEBEC BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. R. R. Dobell; Henry Fry; A. Fraser; John Roche.  
 ST. HYACINTHE BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. Antoine Maynard; Louis Cote.  
 THREE RIVERS BOARD OF TRADE. H. McDougall Esq.  
 KINGSTON BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. John Carruthers; W. B. Simpson; William Hart.  
 SUREL BOARD OF TRADE. G. H. Bramley Esq.  
 WINDSOR BOARD OF TRADE. James Dougall Esq.  
 HAMILTON BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. W. Mettiferin; S. E. Gregory.  
 LONDON BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. John Walker; Thomas Thompson.  
 ST. JOHN'S, QUE. BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. Charles Langellier; James McPherson.  
 HALIFAX BOARD OF TRADE. Messrs. C. Thompson; John T. Wille.  
 ST. JOHN N. B. Messrs. T. R. Jones; J. A. Harding; R. S. DeVeber.  
 STRATFORD BOARD OF TRADE. Thomas Daly, Esq.  
 LEWIS BOARD OF TRADE. J. H. Simmons Esq.

levied on the improved estates of the country in consideration of their protection, and increase in value; also that a small tax be levied on sawn lumber exported to the United States, and an increased duty be levied on proof spirits and tobacco." Mr. Inlach moved an amendment to the effect that the principle of incidental protection was a sound one, and that a return to the 20 % tariff of 1859, with alterations to protect manufactures, would be beneficial to the country. This amendment was negatived 16 voting for it, and 33 against. Mr. Walker, of London, moved an amendment to the effect that the Board was in favor of maintaining the 15 % tariff; and that if the Government needed more revenue, it should be raised from articles of luxury; "and that this Board is of opinion that permanence in the fiscal policy of the country is most important to commerce and manufactures." After some debate, Major Walker's amendment was carried by 40 to 9.

4.—On the 16th, a discussion arose on the motion of Mr. Kirby, of Petrolia, that the Excise duty should be taken off petroleum. Major Walker moved in amendment, seconded by Mr. M. P. Ryan, that no change in the Excise duty on petroleum be recommended, which was adopted by 33 to 18. A resolution in favor of improving the St. Lawrence canals was carried; and one in favor of recommending improvements in Kingston harbor lost on division. Two resolutions with reference to improvements in the harbor at Quebec, and in favor of enlarging the Richelieu river navigation and canals were discussed, but afterwards withdrawn. A long discussion took place on a resolution with reference to the liabilities of common carriers, introduced by Mr. W. H. Howland, of Toronto. The principal point of the discussion was the signing of receipts for given quantities, "more or less," and there was a considerable difference of opinion as to whether it would be in the interest of trade to have the existing system changed, on account of the increased cost and loss of time which it would involve. At the same time, it was felt that merchants were, to a great extent, at the

mercy of the railways and other common carriers, as there was no means of compelling them to pay for shorts when receipts were signed "more or less," although the deficiency might have occurred through negligence while the goods were in transit. Finally the matter was referred to a special committee.

5.—On the seventeenth a resolution was introduced by the Hon. John Young, and carried, to the effect that as the Dominion Board of Trade, "Third Days' proceedings." National Board of Trade of the United States, had instructed its Executive Committee to memorialize Congress in favor of appointing a Commission on the subject of Reciprocity, the Executive Committee of the Dominion Board of Trade he instructed to petition the Dominion Parliament to appoint a similar Commission. Mr. Morin moved a resolution in favor of the Pacific Railway, to the effect that that portion of the line running on the north shore of Lake Superior should not be built at present, but the road to be completed to the Sault Ste Marie, and there connect with the American system, by means of a bridge across the St. Mary River, a branch line from Winnipeg to Pembina, connecting the western section, and then the road to be built from Winnipeg to the Pacific. Hon. John Young read a very long and elaborate paper on the advantages of this route to the Pacific, and on the means of utilizing the "magnificent water stretches" of the North-west; after which Mr. Thomas White, of Montreal, moved an amendment, to the effect that as the Board was not in possession of the reports of the exploratory survey, it did not feel called on to express an opinion as to the route, which was carried. Resolutions in favor of restricting the carrying of deck-boards, of protecting sailors from crimps, and for continuing the Insolvency Law were carried. A discussion took place on the question of recommending the passage of an Act requiring the inspection of butter, cheese, &c., in the course of which Mr. Morin said that Canadian butter could only be sold as grease in England. The resolution was withdrawn. A resolution was adopted that the Government should be peti-

Dominion Board of Trade, "Second day's discussions."

tioned in favor of establishing the free delivery system of letters in towns and cities, and for the reduction of the postage on transient newspapers to one cent each. Resolutions were also carried in favor of direct telegraph communication with Europe, and a weekly Canadian mail by way of New York. A resolution in favor of repealing the ten per cent. tax on tea imported from the United States was laid on the table; and after passing the usual votes of thanks to retiring officers, etc., the Board adjourned.

6.—The year 1873 was a disastrous one generally for vessels trading to Canada; but the one great disaster of the year which far surpassed all others in extent was the wreck of the Steamer "Atlantic" of the White Star Line, on Meagher's Island, in the County of Halifax, Nova Scotia, at a quarter past three o'clock on the morning of the first of April, by which 545 persons lost their lives. The "Atlantic" was a magnificent iron vessel 3,700 tons measurement, 420 feet length, 40 9-10ths breadth; 31 feet depth, elegantly finished, and considered one of the finest steamers crossing the Atlantic. She left Liverpool on the 20th of March, and Queenstown on the 21st for New York, in command of Captain James A. Williams, having on board 35 cabin, and 376 steerage passengers, and a crew of 141, making a total of 952 souls on board, amongst whom were upwards of 350 women and children. The ship had fair weather until the 26th of March, when she encountered a heavy gale which lasted three days, and greatly impeded her progress. On the 31st, while still 460 miles from Sandy Hook, Captain Williams discovered that he had only 127 tons of coal left, or barely enough for thirty-six hours consumption.\* At this time, according to his reckoning, he was 170 miles from Sambro Light, and he thought it most prudent to change his course and make for Halifax to get a fresh supply of coal. At one o'clock p.m., on the 31st

Wreck of ss.  
"Atlantic,"  
545 lives lost.

the vessel's course was changed, and at 3.15 a.m., on the morning of the first of April she ran, bow on, upon a rock about fifty yards distant from Meagher's Island. Her bow remained fast, but her stern swung round to the eastward, and in a few minutes the vessel turned over on her side, her deck facing seawards and being almost perpendicular with the water. Hundreds of the unfortunate passengers had hurried on deck immediately after the vessel struck, and numbers of these were swept into the sea by the keeling over of the vessel and drowned. A number managed to cling on to the side which was uppermost and gain the rigging, from which the majority of them were afterwards rescued, but so sudden was the disaster that hundreds were drowned in their berths, and it is a melancholy fact that out of one hundred and fifty women and nearly two hundred children only one boy—John Hendely, eight years old—was saved. Shortly after the vessel struck some of the officers managed to pass a rope to the rock and some of the crew and passengers made their way along it, and were afterwards rescued from the rock by the people of Meagher's Island, but almost as many were drowned in trying to reach the rock as were saved, and numbers became numbed by the cold wind and pray while clinging to the rigging and dropped into the sea. An investigation was held, when it was shown that Captain Williams was considerably out in his reckoning, and great carelessness was exhibited by the fact that Sambro Light had not been sighted, although the night was fine and it could have been seen from the spot when the vessel struck. The certificate of the Captain was suspended for two years, and that of the fourth officer, Brown, who was in charge at the time of the accident, for three months; but the greatest indignation was felt at the niggardness of the Company, which by sending the vessel to sea so shortly supplied had rendered a change of her course necessary, and, so exposed her to a danger she would otherwise have escaped.

7.—The total number of casualties reported to the Department of Marine and Fisheries for

\* It was shown at the investigation which took place that the vessel left Liverpool with less than thirteen days supply of coal, which was considered altogether inadequate for a trip across the Atlantic at that period of the year when voyages are frequently seventeen days and more.



Other marine  
disasters.

the year was 321, involving a loss of 789 lives, and property to the value of \$2,685,683, but these returns are by no means complete, and the loss, especially of life, was probably much greater. Among the most serious disasters was the loss of the steamer *George S. Wright*, during a snow storm in January, in Queen Charlotte Sound, B. C., while on her way from Oregon to Sitka, by which all hands, 30 in number, were lost. What was almost a repetition of the *Atlantic* horror occurred about mid-day on the 5th of July, when the steamship *City of Washington*, 2,870 tons, of the Inman Line, on her way from Liverpool to New-York, with 29 cabin, and 442 steerage passengers, and a crew of 96, went ashore on the reefs off little Point Ebert, Shelburne County, N.S., and became a total wreck. Fortunately, the accident occurred in broad day-light, in smooth water, and near the main land, so that all hands were landed safely. The vessel and cargo, however, valued at nearly \$500,000 became a total loss. The vessel had been in a fog for nine days, and the compass had deviated considerably, which accounted for the accident, but the master's certificate was suspended for a year on account of his having neglected to take soundings when crossing the Banks of Newfoundland. Amongst the other losses were the barque *Commissioner*, from Pictou to Bermuda with a load of coal, ten lives lost; the barque *James W. Elwell*, of St. John, N.B., burned at sea, ten lives lost; barque *Thornhill*, from Quebec to Liverpool, stranded on Manicouagan Shoals, 17 lives lost; steamer *Pictou*, from Quebec for Pictou, N.S., burned in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, 29 lives lost. On the 24th and 25th of August, a very heavy gale raged along the coast of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, and throughout the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, and a large number of small coasting vessels were driven ashore, fifteen were total wrecks, and nearly one hundred lives were lost.

8.—The loss of life and property on the inland waters of the Dominion was not so heavy as in previous years, the only very serious loss of life being

Burning of the  
"Bavarian."

occasioned by the burning of the steamer *Bavarian*, of the Canadian Navigation Company, about eight o'clock on the evening of the 5th of November, nearly opposite Whitby lighthouse on Lake Ontario, while about twelve miles from shore. The *Bavarian* was a new vessel which only commenced running in the Spring of 1873, but her engine and walking beam were old, having been used in the *Kingston* for about eighteen years and taken from that vessel after she was burned in 1872. The *Bavarian* was an iron paddle-wheel steamer, 427 tons, and left Toronto at 5 p.m. on the evening of the 5th of November, having a crew of thirty-four and six passengers, three ladies, two gentlemen and a boy. She had a full cargo, amongst which was some twenty barrels of high-wines. After she had proceeded about thirty miles, the walking beam broke and part of the machinery in falling stove in the barrels of high-wines, and the contents running into the furnaces at once caused an immense conflagration. The greatest panic thereon ensued; and although there were three boats capable of holding twice as many persons as there were on board, and the vessel had upwards of 200 life preservers, the panic was so great that just one half of those on board perished. The pilot seized the life boat, capable of holding thirty persons, and with a crew of six and two passengers pulled for the shore; the first officer got thirteen into a boat capable of holding twenty-five and also pulled away, leaving three ladies standing on the deck praying to be saved; the Captain jumped overboard and tried to save himself on a pail-rack, but was drowned. Of the six passengers four were lost, three being ladies; and sixteen of the crew. With anything like the commonest order and presence of mind every soul on board could have been saved easily, as the night was calm and fine, the boat accomodation ample, and the shore not far distant. Another accident which might have proved very disastrous, on account of the cowardly conduct of the Captain, was the grounding of the steamer *Louis Renaud* in the Lachine Rapids, near Heron Island, on the

evening of the 12th of May. There were about 150 passengers, including many women and children, on board, and a crew of twenty-seven, but all were safely landed on Heron Island. In this case also the officers behaved very badly, the Captain, John Rankin, seizing the life boat the moment the vessel struck, and, with only four persons in it, although it would hold twenty, making for shore—from which he took good care not to return. Thanks to the exertions of some of the passengers all were safely landed, but the vessel and cargo became a total wreck.

9.—The year 1873 was not distinguished by a large number of destructive conflagrations,

but some of the fires which occurred were very extensive, and

*Fires.*

involved considerable loss of life and property. Amongst the most important was the burning of the Court House at Quebec, on the morning of the 2nd of February, whereby an immense quantity of title deeds and other legal documents, together with many valuable records of the Colony from its foundation were destroyed. In the building were the Appeal, Superior, Circuit, Vice Admiralty, Quarter Sessions and Police Courts; and the Crown, Stamp, Sheriff's, Registrar's and other offices, and the Advocate's Library, considered the most valuable in the Province, all of which were consumed by the flames. The pecuniary loss was considerable, but the loss and inconvenience caused by the destruction of so many valuable documents was much greater. On the 31st of January, the Branch of the Bank of British North America at Renfrew, Ont., and several adjoining buildings were burnt and three persons lost their lives. On the 17th of March, a fire occurred in the St James' Hotel, Montreal, doing damage to the extent of \$20,000, and five persons were either suffocated or killed in jumping from the windows of the burning building. On the 6th of May, twenty-seven tenement houses at Cote St. Antoine, near Montreal, were burned, and nearly one hundred families rendered homeless. Bush fires raged in the Ottawa district towards the end of June, but were not as

extensive or destructive as in former years.

10.—During the time of the excitement about the "Pacific Scandal," while everything the

Government did was viewed with suspicion, and, if possible

turned to their disadvantage by the Opposition

press, an occurrence took place which caused

much comment at the time, and very nearly led

to the condemnation of an innocent man on the

evidence of two American "Experts" in hand-

writing. The office of Flour Inspector at the

port of Montreal had for some years been held

by Hon. John Young, who held his appointment

from the Board of Trade, and who was paid by

fees. During the session of 1873, a general

Inspection Act was passed which vested the

appointment of all Inspectors in the hands of

the Governor-in-Council—the Flour Inspector

at Montreal being appointed on the recommen-

dation of the Board of Trade. Hon Mr. Young

represented West Montreal in the House of

Commons, and it was held that his retention of

the office of Flour Inspector—which had been

recommended by the Board of Trade—would

be an infringement of the Independence of Par-

liament Act, which excludes any member of the

House of Commons from holding any office of

profit or emolument in the gift of the Dominion

Government. Mr. Young's friends tried to

raise the cry that he was threatened with dis-

missal because he supported the Opposition, and

that his being a Member and Flour Inspector

at the same time, was not an infringement of

the Act because he received no salary, but was

paid in fees by the parties whose goods he

inspected. The matter had already attracted

considerable attention when, on the 4th of Sep-

tember, the following letter—with display

heading, and Editorial comments as to the

"corruption" it showed—appeared in the

Montreal *Herald*:

Ottawa, 1st September, 1873.

MY DEAR POPE,

I want you, before we take any steps about John Young's appointment, to see about the selection of our candidate for West Montreal.

From all I can learn William Workman would run the best. He will very likely object, but, if he is the best man, you can easily hint to him, that if he runs for West Montreal, and carries it, we will consider that he has a claim to an early seat in the Senate. This is the great object of his ambition.

I don't think we should take any steps about filling up the appointment until we have our candidate ready and all competitors out of the field. There will be some difficulty in getting A. A. Stevenson to consent, but I suppose it can be done. Will you see to this at once? If our candidate is ready, then we must take the necessary steps to procure Young's resignation, which, I am pretty sure, he will send in when he finds that, if he does not do so, we will appoint another Inspector.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed,) JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The publication of this letter caused much excitement. The Opposition press claimed that it disclosed an attempt on the part of the Ministry to coerce a political opponent into resigning his seat, and the intention of making a corrupt bargain with a friend, by promising him a Senatorship, to induce him to spend money to secure his election. On the other hand, the Ministerial press was loud in its denunciations of the Opposition for "Stealing" and publishing private correspondence. An investigation into the manner of the letter coming into the possession of the publishers of the *Herald* was opened before Police Magistrate Brehaut, on the fifth, and Hon. Mr. Young, Mr. E. G. Penny, Editor of the *Herald*, and others examined. From the evidence it appeared that the letter was addressed to the Hon. J. H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, and mailed in Ottawa by Sir John A. Macdonald's Private Secretary, on the night of the 1st of September, that it reached Montreal on the 2nd, and was seen in the Post Office by one of the clerks, but none of the clerks remembered delivering it, or knew what had become of it. Hon. John Young deposed that on taking his letters out of his box at the Post

Office, on the 3rd, he found an envelope addressed to him, on opening which he found the letter, without an envelope, and around it was a slip of paper bearing the words "Forwarded by a friend for information of Hon. Mr. Young." He knew nothing of how it came to be in his box, or who sent it to him; but, after a consultation of the leaders of the Opposition had been held, it had been decided to publish it. Suspicion, of course, fell on the Post Office clerks, but nothing further was discovered at this time, and the enquiry dropped. After the accession of the Mackenzie Administration to power, a Commission was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Dewe, Parmelee and Mercier, to examine into the management of the Montreal Post Office, and the investigation into the matter of the Pope-Macdonald letter was resumed. The question of handwriting was gone into very fully and every clerk in the office was made to copy the envelope and slip into a book, which book, with the envelope and slip, was submitted to Messrs. Paine and Underwood, two American Experts, who soon discovered that the handwriting on the slip and envelope agreed with that of Mr. J. L. Palmer, Chief Clerk in the Delivery branch, Mr. Paine going so far as to swear positively that the slip and envelope were written by Palmer. Palmer was suspended, and would have been dismissed and disgraced, had not the real culprit been forced by a friend to whom he had confided his secret, to confess his offence and save an innocent victim. It then appeared that the letter on its arrival in Montreal had been sorted by mistake into the box of the Militia Department, of which Colonel Pope was Storekeeper; that a messenger named Boyes employed in the Department went for the mail, and finding this letter opened it, read it, and forwarded it to the Hon. John Young. Boyes sent his confession in writing to the Commission, and put them in possession of collateral evidence to prove his assertion, and left for the United States before any action could be taken against him.

11.—About one o'clock in the afternoon of

the 18th of May, one of the most terrible colliery accidents which has ever occurred in Canada took place in the Drummond Mine at Westville, N.S., whereby seventy miners were killed. The accident was caused by a miner using powder for blasting, which was contrary to orders. The blast fired the mine and nearly all who were in it at the time perished. Fortunately it was about the men's dinner hour and most of them were above ground, or the loss would have been counted by hundreds. On the 20th of May, Canada lost one of her foremost statesmen by the death in London of Sir George E. Cartier, who had, probably, done more to consolidate French Conservative power in Lower Canada than any other one man, and who had for many years kept the Conservative party in power in the old Province of Canada, and afterwards in the Dominion. Parliament being in session at the time a resolution was carried to give his remains a public funeral. The body was brought over in the Allan Steamer *Prussian*, and transferred at Quebec to the Government Steamer *Druid*, on which a *Chapelle Ardente* had been erected, and conveyed to Montreal, where it laid in state in the Court House and was afterwards interred in Côté des Neiges Cemetery. On the 31st May, the Hon. Joseph Howe, who had only a month previously been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, died at Halifax. During the summer His Excellency visited the Maritime Provinces and was everywhere warmly received—except in Halifax, where his reception was rather a failure; and he greatly added to his fast growing popularity by delivering many of those happy speeches for which he has since become famous. The year, on the whole, was a fair but not a very prosperous one for Canada; crops were not above an average; business began to show signs of slackening, and we had indeed entered upon that cycle of "Hard Times" in which we have since continued.

Other events of the year.

## CHAPTER XLI.

## GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN—FIRST SESSION THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1874.

1. DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.—2. RESULT OF THE GENERAL ELECTION.—3. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.—4. RIEL'S ELECTION FOR PROVENCHER.—5. MOTION TO EXPEL RIEL.—6. HON. MR. MACKENZIE EXPLAINS THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT. RIEL EXPELLED.—7. SALE OF LIQUOR IN THE HOUSE PROHIBITED.—8. COMMITTEE ON THE NORTH-WEST TROUBLES, 1869-70.—9. THE BUDGET.—10. HON. DR. TUPPER'S STRICTURES ON THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.—11. THE ELECTION BILL.

1.—It was only natural to suppose that Mr. Mackenzie would take an early opportunity of appealing to the country, and, accordingly, Parliament was dissolved on 2nd January, 1874, and writs for a General Election issued. The Opposition press was very irate at the dissolution, calling it "The Outrage," &c., but it is hard to conceive how Mr. Mackenzie could have done otherwise under the circumstances under which his party had succeeded to power. One of the main charges against the Macdonald Administration was that it had corrupted a large portion of the electors, and that upwards of thirty of its supporters had "bought their way to Parliament with Sir Hugh Allan's money;" if this was true it was important that the independent electors in those constituencies should have an opportunity of returning other persons instead of these corruptly elected members. Again, the people had a right to pronounce on the Macdonald Administration that judgment which the Royal Commission had declined to give, and which had been evaded in Parliament by their resignation. Public confidence could not be expected in any Government, after the events of the past few months, without an appeal to the people; and Mr. Mackenzie showed that he appreciated this fact by advising that appeal.

2.—Mr. Mackenzie may be said to have appealed to the country almost without a policy, except that of a condemnation of the Pacific Scandal. On other points he was guarded, and made few promises. With regard to the Pacific Railway the policy of the new Government would be that faith would not be kept with British Columbia, but that the road should be built as soon as the finances of the country would permit of it, and after full surveys had been made. Meanwhile the Government proposed to utilize "the magnificent water stretches" of the country and have a route part land and part water which could only be used half of the year. On other questions, the introduction of the ballot, creation of a Supreme Court, &c., he followed the old measures of the late Government. The string harped on throughout the campaign was the enormity of the crime committed by the Macdonald Administration in selling the Charter of the Pacific Railway, and that proved sufficient, for the result gave Mr. Mackenzie a majority of about 80 out of a House of 206, being stronger than the Macdonald Administration had been after the General Election of 1867. The Conservative party received a defeat such as its greatest opponents had not anticipated, and from which they expected it would never recover—an erroneous belief from which they were rudely awakened by the General Election of 17th September, 1878.

3.—Parliament met on the 26th March, and the Hon. T. W. Anglin was unanimously elected Speaker of the Commons. On the following day the first session of the third Parliament of the Dominion was formally opened by His Excellency the Governor-General. In the Speech from the Throne, His Excellency announced that an Election Law would be introduced, providing for the use of the ballot. Acts relating to Controverted Elections; to the establishment of a Supreme Court; to the Militia, and to Insolvency were promised, as well as a new Pacific Railway Bill. With regard to the Intercolonial it was announced that it would be taken out of the

hands of the Commissioners and vested in the Department of Public Works. Reference was made to the re-opening of negotiations with the United States on the subject of Reciprocity, and the appointment of a Canadian Commissioner.\* With regard to the Finances of the Dominion he said: "I regret to state that the receipts of the current year will not be sufficient to meet the expenditure. It will therefore be necessary for you to consider the best means to be adopted, for making good the anticipated deficiency." On the thirteenth, the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved in the Senate by Hon. E. G. Penny, seconded by Hon. M. Panet; and in the House by Mr. Moss, (West Toronto), seconded by Mr. W. Laurier, (Drummond and Arthabaska). In both Houses the Address was adopted without amendment.

4.—At the General Election of 1872, Louis Riel, the ex-"President" of the Provisional Government in the North-West in 1869-70, and since then a fugitive from justice on account of the murder of Scott, was a candidate for Provencher, but retired in favor of Sir George E. Cartier on that gentleman's defeat in Montreal East. After Sir George's death Riel was returned for Provencher, but did not attempt to take his seat. At the General Election 1874 he was again elected, and there were much speculation as to whether he would dare to take his seat, and what course the Government would pursue if he did. The excitement had, however, nearly died out, when, on the 30th of March the news was telegraphed from Ottawa all over the country that Louis Riel had appeared before Mr. Patrick, Clerk of the House of Commons, taken the Oath of office, and signed the roll of the House. The report was true. Riel reached Ottawa privately, was introduced to the Clerk of the House by Dr. Fiset, the Liberal representative for Rimouski, took the Oath, signed the roll, and departed as safely and quietly as he came. It is said that he remained quite some time in Ottawa with

Result of the General Election.

Opening of Parliament.

Riel's election for Provencher.

\* Hon. George Brown, of whose mission to Washington we treat elsewhere.



his friends, but kept very quiet and his presence caused no disturbance.

5.—On the same day that Riel signed the roll, 30th March, Mr. Mackenzie Bowell made two motions in the House, one for the attendance of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery to prove that Riel had been returned as duly elected for Provencher; and the other for the appearance at the bar of the House of Hon. H. J. Clarke, Attorney-General of Manitoba, to prove that the Grand Jury of Manitoba had found a True Bill of murder against Riel, and that he was a fugitive from justice. Hon. Mr. Clarke was examined at great length at the bar of the House, and showed that a Bench-warrant for Riel's arrest had been issued, but he had not been arrested. On the 9th of April Mr. Mackenzie Bowell gave notice of a motion to expel Riel as a fugitive from justice; and, on the 15th, he made his motion for expulsion. Hon. Mr. Holton proposed an amendment to the effect that as the House had appointed a Committee of investigation into the troubles in the North-West in 1869-70, action should be suspended until that Committee should report. Mr. Mousseau moved an amendment to the amendment to the effect that it would be most conducive to the peace and tranquility of the Dominion that an Address should be presented to Her Majesty praying for a general amnesty for all offences committed in the North-West in 1869-70.

6.—Messrs. Mousseau and Baby, spoke in favor of amnesty; and Messrs. Rochester, Orton, Gordon, White, (Hastings), White, (Renfrew), Davies, Wright, (Pontiac), and Pickard, in favor of expulsion. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said that the Government had to face the question, and he desired to state that he should vote for the motion of his hon. friend opposite (Mr. Bowell) and against the amendment of his hon. friend sitting by him (Hon. Mr. Holton) and he did this simply because he thought it right to come to the point directly, and because Louis Riel was a fugitive from justice, and ought to be

placed where he would be tried for the offence with which he was charged. He was aware that many of his friends regarded Riel's crime—if it was a crime—as a political one, and were not disposed to view it in any graver light, and he could understand why they should do so. He was willing to admit that the people of the North-West had suffered much annoyance and injustice when their territory was taken possession of by the Dominion Authorities. That the people should have for a moment lost control of their passions under the circumstances, and entered upon a course which was entirely unjustifiable was not much to be wondered at. He was prepared for these reasons to take a lenient view of the cases of nearly all of them, and in regard to the question of amnesty he had no hesitation in saying that he did not see the slightest objection to one being granted which would cover all the political offenses committed upon that occasion. The debate was continued by Messrs. J. H. Cameron, M. C. Cameron, Dr. Schultz, D. A. Smith, Hon. Mr. Blake and others, and adjourned to the 16th, when a vote was taken on Mr. Mousseau's amendment to the amendment, which was lost, 27 for, 164 against. Hon. Mr. Holton's amendment was then lost, 76 for, 117 against. The motion of Mr. Mackenzie Bowell for expulsion was then carried, Yeas, 124; Nays, 68.

7.—The Temperance movement had been gaining great strength in Canada of late years, and had found expression in the House by numerous petitions in favor of a Prohibitory law; but it was felt that if Parliament really wished to reform the drinking habits of the people, example would be far better than precept, and it should commence its good work by abolishing the bar within its own precincts; accordingly, Mr. Chisholm moved, on the 1st of April, "That Mr. Speaker be requested to issue an order prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor within the precincts of this House." After some discussion the motion was adopted.

8.—The question as to whether an amnesty had ever been promised by the late Government

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie explains the position of the Government. Riel expelled.

Sale of liquor in the House prohibited.

Committee on the  
North-West troubles,  
1869-70.

to those who had participated in the Red River Rebellion of 1869-70, had been attracting a great deal of attention of late. Archbishop Taché had published a pamphlet in which he fully explained his reasons for stating—as he had always done—that a general amnesty had been promised, at the time the delegates came to Ottawa, in 1870, and afterwards; and the French Liberals of Quebec began to press Hon. Mr. Mackenzie pretty hard on the amnesty question. This was a hard matter for him to deal with, for the Liberal party had gained so much support in Ontario by pandering to the Orange sentiment, and had worked so successfully on the cry for vengeance for the murder of Scott, that it would have been almost a death-blow to him to have boldly declared himself in favor of a general amnesty, and a forgetfulness of old scores. On the other hand the Quebec members were very earnest in their efforts to obtain amnesty for their co-religionists and *compatriots* in the North West; and they found a very able advocate in the Minister of Justice, Hon. A. A. Dorion. The difficulty was a serious one; and Mr. Mackenzie met it with characteristic caution. He would not pledge himself on the question of amnesty; but intimated that if the honor of the Crown was involved by any promise of amnesty given by the late Administration, the Government would take the matter into consideration. To discover whether any promise had been made, or not, Mr. D. A. Smith (Selkirk), on the 1st of April, moved, "That a select Committee of nine members be appointed to enquire into the causes of the difficulties which existed in the North-West in 1869 and 1870, and into those which have retarded the granting of the amnesty announced in the Proclamation issued by the late Governor-General of Canada, Sir John Young; and further to enquire whether, and to what extent, other promises of amnesty have been since made; with power to send for persons, papers and records." After a short discussion the motion was carried, and the following Committee appointed: Messrs. Smith (Selkirk), Cameron (Cardwell), Bowell,

Abbott, Blake, Moss, Geoffrion, Masson and Jones (Halifax.)

9.—On the 9th of April, the Estimates were brought down, and on the 14th, Hon. Mr. Cartwright, Minister of Finance, <sup>The Budget.</sup> made his Budget Speech. He commenced by stating that the Government of which he was a member was quite willing to assume full responsibility for all their own acts, but could not be expected to assume, and would not assume, responsibility for the acts of their predecessors. He then proceeded to show that the acts of those predecessors had placed the country in a very embarrassing position by the great increase in expenditures which had taken place under their rule, and by the very heavy liabilities in the future to which they had pledged the country; and argued that the present Administration found itself compelled to increase taxation in order to meet the obligations which had been incurred by their predecessors. With regard to the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1873, the receipts were \$20,813,469 and the expenditures \$19,174,647, showing a surplus of \$1,638,822, which was highly satisfactory; but for the year ending 30th June, 1874, he anticipated a deficit of nearly \$3,000,000 which it would be necessary for Parliament to provide for, by increased taxation. The estimated receipts for that year, according to the statement of the late Finance Minister, were \$21,740,400 and the estimated expenditures \$22,586,727, showing a deficit of \$946,727; but he (Mr. Cartwright) claimed that there were many important items of expenditure incurred by the late Administration, which were not included in that \$22,586,727, and which would increase the expenditure for the year 1873-4 to about \$24,100,000. Amongst these items were, \$400,000 for the expenses of Prince Edward Island; \$200,000 for the preservation of peace in the North-West; \$200,000 for the general election; \$400,000 additional expenditure on public works; \$100,000 for surveys of Dominion lands; \$175,000 additional for the Post Office; and \$156,000 for miscellaneous charges. With regard to the estimates for the year 1874-5, the sum

required would be about \$42,000,000, of which \$5,530,000 was required to pay maturing bonds, and \$6,900,000 for canal enlargement. The net amount for fixed and current expenses was \$24,639,000; of this \$6,831,000, was for interest on the debt, \$5,500,000 for collection of the revenue, and \$3,757,000 for subsidies. The amount estimated to be received from all sources he considered could not be placed at more than \$22,000,000, and he proposed to raise the deficit by increased taxation on the following articles; wines, \$200,000; spirits \$200,000; silks, velvets, &c., \$400,000; unenumerated articles, on which the rate was raised from 15% to 16½%, \$500,000; cigars, \$100,000; tea and coffee, \$400,000; iron, \$100,000; ships materials, machinery and parts of locomotives were removed from the Free List and charged 5, 10 and 16½% respectively. In the Excise Department the duty on spirits was raised from 63 to 75 cents per gallon; on manufactured tobacco from 15 to 20 cents per pound. From these two latter sources (spirits and tobacco) he expected an increased revenue of \$700,000 to \$750,000, which with the increased Custom duties would make a total of about \$3,000,000, which, he anticipated would be sufficient to meet the increased expenditure, and to provide for the large public works in which the country was engaged.

10.—Hon. Dr. Tupper reviewed the Budget Speech of the Finance Minister, and claimed that he had done great injustice to his predecessors, Sir Francis Hincks and Hon. Mr. Tilley. He held that looking at the past and to the documents the present Finance Minister had laid on the table, it ill became him (Mr. Cartwright) to attempt to throw obliquely upon his predecessors, and intimate that they were unequal to the task of conducting the financial affairs of the country. He quoted from the documents laid before the House to show that under the late Administration the exports of the country had in five years risen from \$57,567,888, to \$89,789,922; and the imports from \$73,469,544, to \$128,921,184; that the revenue had proportionately increased; that, by the showing of the

Hon. Dr. Tupper's strictures on the Financial statement.

honorable gentleman himself, the receipts for the nine months of the current year had been \$1,316,668 more than the estimate of the late Finance Minister, and argued that if the affairs of the country were as well administered as they had been, there would be no deficit at all. He condemned the reduction of the estimate for public works, and alleged that the statements of the Finance Minister had been made with a view to preparing the country for an abandonment of the Pacific Railway. He held that the expenditure of \$30,000,000 in building a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific would be the very best investment the country could make; and charged the late Opposition with having by their unpatriotic action defeated the excellent scheme of the late Government for building the road. Passing on to the proposed increase of taxation, he did not object to the attempt to raise more revenue from spirits, malt liquors or wines, but warned the Finance Minister that too high a tariff on these articles inevitably led to smuggling and illicit production. He strongly objected to duties being replaced on tea and coffee, and also on the imposition of duties on material used in manufacturing machinery and in shipbuilding. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie replied to Hon. Dr. Tupper, and after some further debate the tariff resolutions were introduced and read a first time. Acts amending the Customs and Excise Acts were subsequently introduced and passed, the rate on unenumerated articles being raised from 16½ to 17½ per cent.

11.—Amongst the most important acts passed was the Act providing for elections of Members of the House of Commons, introduced by the Hon. A. A. Dorian The Election Bill. on the 17th of April. In introducing the Bill, the Hon. Mr. Dorian explained that its chief characteristic were that the Returning Officers should be the Sheriffs or Registrars of the several election districts, and where the Sheriff or Registrar could not act the Governor-General should appoint Returning Officers in Ontario and Quebec, and the Lieutenant-Governors in the other Provinces. The elections to take place on the same day throughout the Dominion, except

in Manitoba and British Columbia, and in Algoma and Muskoka in Ontario, and Bonaventure, Gaspé, Chicoutimi and Saguenay in Quebec. Public Nominations were done away with, and Nomination by a paper signed by at least twenty-five electors, which may be handed in to the Returning Officer any time before Nomination Day, substituted, a deposit of \$50 being made at the same time. No property or other qualification to be required of Candidates. The most important provision was that introducing voting by ballot, the system adopted being intended to secure as nearly absolute secrecy to the voter as possible. The question of franchise to be left to each Province to determine for itself with regard to representatives in Parliament. On the second reading of the Bill, on the 21st April, Hon. Dr. Tupper said that most of the essential points of the Bill were the same as had been proposed by the late Government. He objected to the continuance of a different franchise for the different Provinces, and thought that it would not add to the dignity of the House to have one gentleman sitting in it as the representative of a constituency where universal suffrage prevailed, and another for a constituency where a property qualification was required. He had no confidence in the fairness of the Local Legislature in fixing the franchise; and thought that the expenditure of \$50,000 or \$60,000 every five years, to keep a correct list of the voters at Parliamentary elections would be a comparatively insignificant matter as compared to the danger of leaving the settling of the franchise from time to time to the caprice of Local Legislatures in no way responsible to the House of Commons. He did not favor the appointment of Sheriffs as Returning Officers, and objected to the abolition of Nomination Day. It was true it had been abolished in England, but the same reason for its abolition did not exist in Canada; here it was frequently the only opportunity the electors had of hearing the speeches and discussions of public men of different opinions, and he thought it ought to be retained. With reference to the ballot he said that having been adopted in so conservative

a country as England, and public opinion here being apparently in favor of it, it could not be put off any longer. He approved of the clauses providing for simultaneous elections and for abolishing property qualification, but said both of them had been copied from the Nova Scotia election law. The debate was continued by Messrs. Flynn, Blake, Cameron, (Cardwell), Plumb, Farrow, Dymond, Oliver, Mills, Palmer, Langlois, Tremblay, Mitchell, Kirkpatrick, Cameron, (Huron), Laird, Macdonald, (Kingston), Jones, (Halifax), Trow, Goudge, Davies, Flesher, Macdonnell, (Inverness), Caron and Schultz, after which the Bill was read a second time. In Committee there was considerable discussion as to the abolition of Nomination Day, several Members speaking against it, and others objecting to the introduction of the ballot as being "un-English" and "sneaking" and a few trifling amendments were made; but the Bill passed its third reading, on 20th May, without any material alteration. In the Senate the second reading was moved by Hon. Mr. Luc Letellier de St. Just, on 22nd May, and in Committee an amendment was moved by Hon. Mr. Bellerose providing for a property qualification, which was lost. Hon. Mr. Campbell moved to add the words of the British North America Act, which required candidates to be subjects of the Queen, either by birth or naturalization, which was carried. On the 41st clause Hon. Mr. Haviland (P. E. I.) moved an amendment to make the franchise in Prince Edward Island the same for the House of Commons as for the Local Legislature, which was carried on a division by the casting vote of the Speaker. The Bill as amended was then passed.

## CHAPTER XLII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.  
—PACIFIC RAILWAY BILL, 1874.

1. BRITISH COLUMBIA'S DISCONTENT.—2. MR. EDGAR SENT TO BRITISH COLUMBIA AS AGENT OF THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT.—3. THE

PACIFIC RAILWAY BILL. — 4. HON. MR. MACKENZIE EXPLAINS THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.—5. HON. DR. TUPPER CRITICISES THE BILL.—6. MR. DECOSMOS EXPLAINS THE WISHES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.—7. BILL PASSED WITHOUT AMENDMENT.—8. PROROGATION.

1.—One of the most difficult questions with which Hon. Mr. Mackenzie found himself confronted on his accession to power, was that of the Pacific Railway. The honor of the country was pledged to build the road, and the existing Act of Parliament required that it should be built by a Company, receiving aid from the Government and not by the Government itself; but the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had surrendered its Charter, and, owing to the exposures which had taken place with regard to the granting of that Charter, there seemed no possibility of any other Company being formed. The British Columbia Government was already beginning to show signs of discontent and dissatisfaction at the non-commencement of the road within the time agreed on in the terms of Union, and as early as July 1873, had lodged a protest with the Macdonald Ministry; and with the change of Administration, and the taking of office by the party which had always opposed the terms of Union, and held that the Dominion could not, and should not, build the road in ten years, this dissatisfaction was very greatly increased.

2.—Mr. Mackenzie, in his speech at Sarnia, boldly announced that faith would not be kept with British Columbia in so far as the time of building the Railway was concerned; but that the road should eventually be completed "as the finances of the country would warrant," and that some kind of temporary arrangement would be made meanwhile. Immediately on the conclusion of the General Election Mr. J. D. Edgar, who had been an unsuccessful candidate for re-election in Monck, was appointed to proceed to British Columbia as the

Agent of the Dominion Government "to consult with the Local Government with reference to the late agitation concerning an extension of time for the construction of the Pacific Railway beyond that promised in the terms of Union." Of the failure of his mission we shall speak further on.

3.—In the Speech from the Throne it was announced that, "The enactment of 1872 respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway having failed to secure the prosecution of that great enterprise, you will be called upon to consider what plan will best and most speedily provide the means of transcontinental communication with British Columbia," and, accordingly, on the 12th of May, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie moved the House into Committee on a series of resolutions on which to form a new Pacific Railway Bill. The Bill, as passed, provides for the construction of a railway "from some point near to and south of Lake Nipissing to some point in British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean," the route to be determined by the Governor-in-Council. The line is divided into four sections, viz., first, from Lake Nipissing to the west end of Lake Superior; second, from No 1. to Red River; third, from Red River to a point between Fort Edmonton and the foot of the Rocky Mountains; fourth, thence to the Pacific. Branches are provided for, viz., first: From the eastern terminus to Georgian Bay; from a point near Fort Garry to the boundary at or near Pembina. A line of telegraph to be constructed along the line in advance of the railway. The gauge to be 4 feet 8½ inches. The line to be constructed under the Department of Public Works. But the sections may be divided into sub-sections, and the building, furnishing plant and running be let to contractors, after tenders are obtained. But contractors must have a capital equal to \$4,000 per mile of the sub-section tendered for, and 25 per cent. of it in money or approved securities must be deposited in a bank to the credit of the Receiver General. \$10,000 per mile only may be paid to the contractors, for construction and rolling stock, and 4 per cent.

Mr. Edgar sent to British Columbia as Agent of Dominion Government.

The Pacific Railway Bill.

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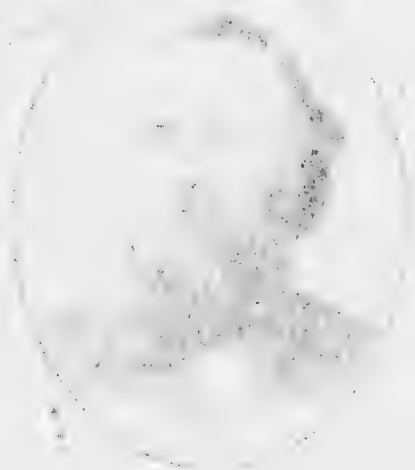
on a sum per mile to be fixed by contract, for a period of twenty-five years for running. Land at the rate of 20,000 acres per mile may also be appropriated in alternate sections of twenty miles square with a frontage of three to six miles on the road, two-thirds to be sold by the Government at prices agreed upon, and the proceeds paid to the contractors as the work goes on, and the remaining third conveyed to them in like manner. These lands to be designated so soon as the line is located. The right of way through public lands, station grounds, &c., to be also granted free. The subsections contracted for to be the property of the contractors. But the Government may at any time take possession, paying actual cost and 10 per cent. additional; subsidies to be returned. No contract to be binding until one month after it is laid before the House of Commons, unless sooner approved by resolution. The Government may, if found more advantageous, contract and work the railway as a public work. A bonus not exceeding \$12,000 per mile may be granted to any Company which will construct a railway to connect the eastern terminus of the line with the proposed or existing railways; running powers being secured for traffic of Canadian Pacific Railway. Any Order-in-Council granting such subsidy is to be submitted to the House of Commons for ratification. The branches may also be built as a private enterprise or public work. The Government may order the work to be proceeded with from time to time or suspend it at any time till next session of Parliament. £2,500,000 sterling of the sum authorized to be raised with Imperial guarantee, and \$15,000,000 of that to be raised without, may be applied to the construction of the road.

4.—In introducing his resolutions Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said that he had not changed the opinion expressed by him at the time of the admission of British Columbia that the Dominion was promising more than it could perform; but, as the terms had been agreed to, and the honor of the Dominion pledged, he was

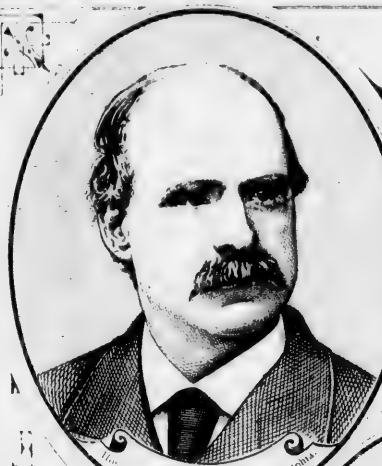
Hon. Mr. Mackenzie explains the policy of the Government.

prepared to carry out those terms as nearly in the spirit, if not in the letter, as possible. He reviewed the action of the late Government in granting better terms than British Columbia had asked; their efforts to get a Company to build the road; the granting of the Charter to "the famous Sir Hugh Allan Company, which was a mere combination for the purpose of finding capitalists. They had no capital themselves, and did not pretend to have any," the failure of that Company to interest capitalists, and their surrender of the Charter; and dwelt on the difficult position in which the present Administration found itself in coming into power. He held that it was utterly impossible that the exact terms of Union could be carried out, and stated that Mr. Edgar had been sent to consult with the Local Government as to a modification of terms, but the result of his mission was not yet known. With regard to building the road he considered that it would have to be built by the people; but it was not necessary that it should be all constructed at once. By building short lines of railways to connect the magnificent water stretches of the Continent, a summer route to the foot of the Rocky Mountains could be had which would be sufficient for many years to come; the Pembina Branch would be constructed at once, and, he hoped would be open in a year. With regard to the railway proper, he said that he did not think it at all necessary that the 557 miles from Nipissing to Nipigon should be built at present. With reference to the portion which would run through British Columbia he held that it was impossible to commence it until the surveys had been completed, and it had been determined which was the best terminus on the Pacific Coast. Bute Inlet, so far appeared the best, but the engineering difficulties were very great, and it would be folly to commence the road there and, perhaps, after some millions had been expended, discover that there was a much easier route and better terminus. With reference to the proposed plan of granting \$10,000 a mile and 20,000 acres of land, and guaranteeing interest at 4 per cent. on such

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Honorary British Commissioner, Philadelphia.



GEO. W. CHILDS.  
Honorary British Commissioner, Philadelphia.



HON. SENATOR PENNY.  
Canadian Centennial Commissioner.



R. W. CAMERON.  
Centennial Commissioner, New South Wales.



D. McDUGALL.  
Canadian Centennial Commissioner.





additional sum per mile as may be agreed on with the contractors, he entered at length into a statement how railroads had been built in other countries on similar terms, and claimed that the scheme of the present Government differed in two essential particulars from that of the late Administration, inasmuch as it was not proposed to lock up the land so as to give it a fictitious value, and all contracts would have to be submitted to Parliament. By the new scheme, the Government, while giving 20,000 acres of land to the Company or Contractor, would retain entire control of the sale of two-thirds of the land. This would depreciate the value of the land in the eyes of any Company proposing to build the road; but he considered it most important that the Government should retain the power to throw population into any part of the country, which was the only way to make the road a commercial success. The road had been divided into four sections, from Lake Nipissing to Nipigon; from Nipigon to Red River, or from some point on Lake Superior to Red River; from Red River to Fort Edmonton, or some other point, there to connect with the fourth section, which was west of the Rocky Mountains; and he thought it would be best if four Companies could be found to build these four sections instead of one Company to build the whole road. "The British Columbia section will, of course, have to be proceeded with as fast as we can do it, as it is essential to keep faith with the spirit, and as far as possible with the letter, of the agreement." After some further remarks from Mr. Mackenzie the resolutions were adopted, and the Bill introduced and read a first time.

5.—On the second reading of the Bill, on the 19th May, Hon. Dr. Tupper defended the course of the late Ministry, and charged the present Premier with inconsistency in now proposing that the Government should build the road as a public work, when he had, formerly, strongly condemned such a course. He defended the scheme of the late Government, contending that they would by it

Hon. Dr. Tupper  
criticizes the Bill.

have been able to complete the road without additional taxation. He complained of the powers taken by the Government in the Bill before the House; and claimed that by the showing of the Premier both the money and land subsidies would be greater than those proposed by the late Government, while the four per cent. guarantee on the balance of the cost of construction would make a total sum of \$84,000,000 to be obtained on the credit of the country, without taking into account at all the land grant. He contended that the scheme of the late Government would not have thrown a burden of more than one million and a half a year on the people, which could have been met without increased taxation; but the present scheme would raise that amount to over twelve millions a year, and he would like to know from what source the Government expected to raise that sum when the Finance Minister had been forced to confess that he could not raise, from ordinary revenue, within \$3,000,000 of what he required for expenditures. If this scheme was carried out, the time was not far distant when taxation would have to be resorted to which would be so insupportable that instead of immigration into this country there would be emigration out of it. He contended that the great defects of the proposed system were that the water communications would only be available for six months in the year; and that the immediate completion of the Pembina Branch would have the effect of sending all the emigrants, which we were spending so much money to procure, by the American lines which would expose them to the temptation of settling in the States, instead of going through to the North-West. He held that if the Government scheme was persevered in there could only be one of two results, either the road would never be built at all, or it would be built at such an excessive cost that our debt would become equal to, if not more, in proportion to population than that of either Great Britain or the United States.

6.—Mr DeCosmos said there was no danger of secession from the Union on the part of

Mr DeCosmos  
explains the  
wishes of  
British Columbia.

British Columbia. She would agitate for her rights in a constitutional manner, and if the Government did not give her her rights, he and his colleagues would endeavor to drive that Government from power and replace them by a Government which would do so. He went on to advocate Esquimaux as the Western terminus of the road, and to make a calculation with regard to the number of persons which would be necessary to support the road. He estimated the number of persons residing along the Northern Pacific as about 1,000,000, and thought that if there were 1,500,000 persons residing along the line of the Canada Pacific Railway between Nipissing and the Western terminus of the Road, a railway 3,000 miles in length, they would afford a fair support to our railway. When we had our road we would also be able to enter into rivalry with the Americans for the trade with China and Japan. He spoke in high terms of the past enterprise of Canadians, but said that if they were unprepared to advance westward, let them hand over their country to a people who would know how to discharge properly the duty which devolved upon them. Referring to the Intercolonial Railway, he pointed out that it could not be said that anyone knew any difference in the taxation of the country for its construction. Just the same thing would be the result in the case of the Pacific Railway, could we only get rid of the terrible curse of extreme party politics. He advocated the building of the road directly by the Government, and he commented upon the advantages of keeping the lands out of the hands of Companies and close corporations, who would hinder settlement for their own purposes. The British Columbians would be satisfied if the present Government, instead of professing to commence the road and then not doing so, as the late Government had, would show that they intended in good faith to build it as rapidly as possible. He held that the position of the Premier, in saying that if the British Columbia Government relaxed the terms they could commence the surveys, and if they were not willing

to relax the terms, the surveys could not be proceeded with, was quite illogical. He asked the Chief Minister and this House how the Government intended to vindicate the good faith of the country with regard to British Columbia? He hoped the honorable Premier would see his way to commencing the work on the Pacific coast immediately. He believed that the people of British Columbia would be quite willing to have a mixed water and railway route adopted. All they were anxious for was to see the road built as rapidly as practicable. He did not see why the construction of the road could not be commenced at once; and advocated Bute Inlet as the point at which construction should be begun in British Columbia.\*

7.—Mr. Thomson (Cariboo) while partly favoring the scheme, did not think that it sufficiently guaranteed that the terms of Bill passed without amendment. Union would be carried out, as the Premier gave no intimation as to the time in which the road would be built. He was not altogether pleased with the mixed land and water route, and thought that the sum promised to be spent yearly in British Columbia (\$1,500,000) was not enough. Mr. Bunster contended that Esquimaux was the proper terminus of the road, and that the Government should commence to build it from that point at once, when they would soon have a large immigration flocking in and settling the waste lands. The Bill was then read a second time, and the House went into Committee. In Committee Mr. Bunster moved an amendment that the construction of that portion of the road which was run through British Columbia should be commenced in a year from the passage of the Act, and that not less than one-tenth of the whole construction in that Province should be carried out each year. The amendment was lost, and the Bill reported without amendment. On the third reading of the Bill, on the 20th May, Mr. Kirkpatrick took exception to the 13th clause which empowered the Government to give out the contract for the portion of the road from Nipissing to Georgian Bay without the

\* Condensed from *Toronto Globe*.

consent of Parliament; and moved an amendment to the effect that the contract should not be binding until approved of by Parliament, which was lost on division. Mr. Bunster then moved the amendment which had been lost in Committee, which was lost, 5 for, 77 against. Mr. Bunster then moved that the work of construction should be commenced at Esquimault, Vancouver Island, during the present year, which was lost on division, and the Bill passed its third reading without amendment.

8.—Parliament was prorogued on the 26th of May, when His Excellency gave assent to one hundred and seventeen Bills.

Prorogation.

Amongst the most important Acts passed, which have not been already mentioned, were: An Act authorizing a loan of £8,000,000 stg. to be expended on the Pacific Railway and enlargement of canals; An Act taking the construction of the Intercolonial out of the hands of Commissioners and placing it under control of the Department of Public Works; An Act with reference to the Graving Dock at Esquimault, providing that in lieu of the guarantee at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum for 10 years on £100,000 stg. for this Graving Dock agreed to in the terms of the Union with British Columbia, \$250,000 may be advanced during the progress of the work; Acts amending the Dominion and Manitoba Land Acts; and an Act relating to Permanent Building Societies in Ontario, and Incorporating a Member of Boards of Trade.

### CHAPTER XLIII.

#### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN— PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1874.

1. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE.—2. TERRIBLE RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—3. PACIFIC RAILWAY OFFICES BURNT. OTHER FIRES.—4. MARINE DISASTERS.—5. TRIAL OF LÉPINE.—6. COMMUTATION OF LÉPINE'S SENTENCE.—7. NEGOTIATIONS FOR RECIPROCITY.—8. OTHER EVENTS.

1.—The fourth annual meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade was opened in the Railway Committee Room, Ottawa, on the 24th February, and lasted four days, as usual. In the absence of the President, Mr. W. H. Howland, Vice-President, presided. One of the interesting features of the meeting was the presence, for the first time, of the delegates from Prince Edward Island, and also delegates from the National Board of Trade of the United States. Mr. W. H. Howland, of Toronto, was elected President for the ensuing year, and Mr. W. W. Ogilvie, of Montreal, Vice-President. The first debate occurred on a motion of Mr. Thompson, of Toronto, urging on the Dominion Government the necessity of enlarging the St. Lawrence canals at once; but, after some discussion, an amendment was carried to the effect that the Board was satisfied with what had been already done in the way of canal improvements, and hoped that the Government would prosecute the work as rapidly as the financial condition of the country would permit of. A resolution in favor of urging the Government to construct a ship canal at Sault Ste Marie, as soon as possible, was moved by Mr. Adam Brown, of Hamilton, and adopted; as were also resolutions with reference to ship-building and registration. The most interesting debate of the session was that on the tariff, which showed that the pinch of hard times had already begun to call attention to the fact that if Canadian manufactures were to live and compete with those of the United States, they must receive a certain amount of protection; and after a long discussion, a resolution, moved by Mr. Thomas White, Jr., Montreal, was adopted, to the effect that as there would be a deficit in the revenue, and additional taxation would be required, such taxes should be levied in such a manner as to afford incidental protection to Canadian manufactures.

2.—A terrible accident occurred on the Great Western Railway, about three miles east of Komoka, and seven west of London, Ont., on the evening of the 28th of February, whereby ten persons lost their

Dominion Board of Trade.

Terrible Railway Accidents.

lives and over twenty were seriously injured. The Western Express Train left London about 6.30 p.m., and had run about seven miles when it was discovered that the first-class car was on fire. It appears that the lamp in the closet either fell, or was knocked down and set fire to the floor and wood work. The fire had gained some headway in the closet before it was discovered, and rapidly spread to the car, in which there were about forty persons. The train was then running about thirty miles an hour; and, as there was no signal rope, on account of there being some oil cars in the train, the Conductor had to climb over the top of the baggage car to signal the engineer to stop, and so for over ten terrible minutes the burning car rushed through the night, while its unfortunate inmates were being roasted to death. Many jumped from the car and were injured, and when the train was finally stopped it was found that ten were dead and twenty injured. The fire seemed to have been accidental, but the Company was blamed for allowing a train to go out without a bell-rope, so that the Conductor could signal to stop. This, however, appeared to be the custom of the Company whenever part of the train was composed of oil cars, as it was almost impossible to conduct a rope along those cars so that it would work. Another very serious Railway accident occurred on the South Eastern Townships Railway, in the Province of Quebec, on the morning of the 13th of August, by which five persons were killed and sixteen wounded, some of them very seriously. It appears that during the night of the twelfth a heavy thunder storm raged for about two hours over the valley through which the road runs near the United States frontier, and a number of bridges and culverts were carried away, amongst them the railway bridge spanning a little brook between Abercorn and Sutton Flats. The flood was so great, and so many bridges were carried away, that the trackman, Doran, could not get from Sutton Flats to Abercorn to warn the Station master of the damage done the track by the rain (for it was washed out in many places between Abercorn and Emerson), and the storm had injured the

telegraph so that it would not work. The morning train for Montreal left Newport, N. Y. and passed Richford and Abercorn all right. When about half way between the latter place and Sutton the engine suddenly plunged into the yawning gap left by the bridge being carried away, the baggage and second class car shot over the engine and telescoped, and nearly every one in these cars was either killed or wounded, five being taken out dead and sixteen wounded, one of whom, Major Manson, died from the effect of his injuries. Fortunately the cars did not take fire, so that the horror of being burned was not added to that of being crushed to death.

3.—1874 was essentially a year of fires, especially in towns and cities, and Montreal came in for rather more than her share, having no less than five large fires, which did damage to the extent of over \$500,000. The first, and most destructive fire of the year occurred on the 16th of January, in Ottawa, when the old barracks in the Parliament grounds which had been used as the offices of the Intercolonial and Canada Pacific Railways were burnt, and nearly all the maps, plans, survey reports, &c. of the latter road destroyed, involving a loss of nearly \$1,000,000, and causing much trouble and delay in making new surveys. There was a suspicion that the fire was incendiary, and some ill-natured people whispered that it was set with the purpose of delaying the construction of the Pacific Railway by destroying the plans and surveys; but an investigation showed the fire to have been purely accidental. On the 15th March some burglars entered the office of Mr. John Abell's machine shop, at Woodbridge, Ont., and blew open the safe door. They did not get much for their pains, but they set fire to the place and the whole of the extensive works were destroyed, involving a loss of \$200,000 and throwing 200 hands out of employment. On the 19th April New Glasgow, N.S. was visited by a terrible fire which broke out in Frazer's tailor shop and spread over an area of five acres, destroying 43 houses, being about half the business portion of the place, and doing

Pacific Railway  
Offices burnt, Other  
fires.

damage to the extent of \$100,000. On the 9th of May a fire broke out in the factory of John Taylor & Co. Esplanade Street, Toronto, and spread to the large wholesale Grocery store of Smith and Keighley, Front Street, and to other places on Front, Esplanade and George Streets, doing damage to the extent of \$250,000. In Montreal, on the 20th of March, the Queen's Hall was burnt, loss \$50,000. About one o'clock on the morning of the 9th of August a fire broke out in Henderson's saw mill, on the Canal bank, Montreal, and soon spread to the Government flour shed near by, from whence it extended to one of the dredges just completed for the Harbor Commissioners, and the steamer *York*, which were lying in the slip alongside the sheds. The mill, flour shed, dredge, steamer, and an old barge called the *Davis* were all destroyed, the total loss being about \$250,000. A man who acted as watchman on the *Davis* was so frightened at seeing himself apparently hemmed in by fire that he jumped into the water and was drowned. On the 13th August, Ogilvie's flour mill, Montreal, was burnt, loss \$50,000; and on the 19th October the paint and oil establishment of McArthur & Sons, together with adjoining buildings, were destroyed, loss \$200,000. On the 21st July a number of houses were burnt in Ingersoll, Ont., loss \$30,000; and on the 24th twenty buildings were destroyed by fire in Trenton, Ont., loss \$75,000. On the 1st August five buildings were burnt in St. Thomas Ont., loss \$35,000; and, on the 12th, ten houses in the Tanneries, near Montreal, were destroyed, the damage being about \$20,000 and over thirty families being rendered homeless. On the 22nd September, seven stores in Windsor, Ont., valued at \$35,000 were burnt; as were also several stores and dwellings valued at \$40,000 at Cayuga, Ont., on 26th October. The most destructive fire of the year, outside of Ottawa and Montreal, broke out about four o'clock on the morning of the 13th September, in the paper mill of Messrs. John Crilly & Co. Cornwall, and soon spread to the large cotton factory of Messrs. Gault Brothers, which was entirely destroyed, involving a loss of about

\$250,000, and throwing nearly 300 hands out of employment. Extensive bush fires raged around Ottawa, Kincardine, Brussels, Paisley, Goderich, Seaforth, Mitchell, Orangeville and other places in August and September, and much damage was done.

4.—The marine disasters of the year were not so great as in some former years, and no such terrible calamity as the wreck of the *Atlantic* occurred, and the number of lives lost was small in comparison to that of 1873, only 108 being recorded. The greatest destruction of property (no lives were lost) occurred in the harbor of Quebec, on the 8th of May, caused by the breaking up of the ice-bridge, when eight steamers, ten tug and ferry boats, one ship and three schooners were crushed in the ice, and all more or less injured, the total damage being nearly \$100,000. The Government steamer *Napoleon III* was sunk, as were also the tug *Castor* and steamers *Georgia* and *Royal*, and two schooners. The sunken vessels were raised, but were all badly damaged, the schooners being total losses. The Swedish ship *Anna* was totally lost on St. Paul's Island, on the 8th September, and eleven out of a crew of eighteen perished. The barque *Cynthia Palmer*, of St. John, N.B., left Liverpool for Maitland, N. S., with a crew of ten, on 5th May, and has never been heard of since. The total number of casualties to sea-going vessels was 278, involving a loss of 108 lives, and the destruction of property to the value of \$1,856,398. On the inland waters there were thirty disasters, only one of which was accompanied by loss of life, that being the case of the American steamer *Favorite*, which was upset near Amherstburg, on the first of November, and one man was lost.

5.—One of the most important events of the year 1874 was the trial and conviction, at Winnipeg, Manitoba, of Ambrose Lépine for the murder of Thomas Scott, at Fort Garry, on the 4th March, 1870. We have already stated (Chapter XLI, pars. 4-7) the circumstances relating to the election of Riel for Provencher and his expulsion from the House on the ground that he was a fugitive

Marine Disasters.

Trial of Lépine.



from justice, the Grand Jury of Manitoba having found a true bill against him for the murder of Scott, and a Bench warrant having been issued for his arrest. At the same time true bills were found against Ambrose Lépine, who had been Riel's "Adjutant-General," and others, and Lépine and two others were arrested and tried before the Court of Queen's Bench, of Manitoba, Chief Justice Wood presiding at the October term, 1874. The greatest interest was manifested in the trial, and the Hon. J. A. Chapleau, Solicitor-General of Quebec, went to Winnipeg specially to defend Lépine, and had associated with him the Hon. Joseph Royal. The prosecution was conducted by Mr. F. E. Cornish, Crown Prosecutor, and the trial of Lépine was commenced on the 13th of October, and lasted twelve days, a verdict of "Guilty" being returned on the 26th. The jury was a mixed one, and the evidence taken was very voluminous; it is unnecessary, however, to reproduce it here, as a great portion of our account of the murder of Scott is taken from that evidence; suffice it to say that Lépine's participation in that foul act was clearly shown, and the jury could not possibly have found any other verdict than the one they rendered, accompanying it, however, with a recommendation to mercy. On the 28th Chief Justice Wood passed sentence condemning Lépine to be hung on the 29th January, 1875. Of the other two prisoners, one, André Nault, was tried, and the jury failed to agree; the other case was not pressed.

6.—Of course, it was not generally thought that the sentence of death would be carried out—

indeed it is doubtful if the jury would have agreed had it not been believed that their recommendation to mercy would be considered; and numerous petitions were forwarded to His Excellency praying for an exercise of Executive clemency. These petitions numbered 252, and were signed by 58,568 persons, mostly French. Before their receipt, however, some steps had been taken towards a commutation, or rather, at first, in the direction of an amnesty. On this question (amnesty) the Government of Sir John A. Mac-

donald had, on the 4th of June, 1873, passed an Order-in-Council requesting His Excellency to bring the matter before Her Majesty's Government "in order that such course might be taken as might be consistent with the interests of justice and best for the quiet of the country;" and, on the 24th of July, 1873, the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressed the willingness of Her Majesty's Government to take upon themselves the responsibility of dealing with the question of amnesty. There the matter rested for eighteen months; Hon. Mr. Mackenzie felt that he could not recommend the granting of an amnesty, but a Committee was appointed to try and find out whether the late Government had promised an amnesty, in which case Mr. Mackenzie would have been willing that "the faith of the Government should be kept." The labors of the Committee, however, threw very little new light on the question, for while Archbishop Taché, Father Richot and others maintained that the late Government had promised amnesty, the members of that Government were quite as positive that they had not, and none of the letters, or other documents produced, clearly established the fact. After the condemnation of Lépine, however, a very strong pressure was brought to bear on the Premier, and it was well known that there was great difference of opinion in the Cabinet on this question; and finally, as a sort of compromise an Order-in-Council was passed on 4th December, 1874, calling His Excellency's attention to the Order-in-Council of 4th June, 1873, and praying him to again bring the matter under the attention of the Home authorities. This Order-in-Council Lord Dufferin forwarded to the Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a very able despatch, dated 10th December, 1874, in which he fully reviewed the whole amnesty question, especially as it bore on the carrying out of the sentence of death on Lépine, and which concludes as follows: "It only remains for me to add that even should it be decided that the obligations imposed upon us by the procedure of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald are less com-

Commutation of  
Lépine's sentence.

promising than I am inclined to consider them, and that the Crown is quite untrammelled in its action, I still think that the various circumstances I have referred to in this despatch, require the capital sentence of Lépine to be commuted by the clemency of Her Majesty into a much milder punishment. This commutation, when the proper time arrives, I propose to order on my own responsibility, under the powers accorded to me by my instructions. On the other hand, I feel very strongly that it would shock the public sense of justice were Riel to be visited with a lesser penalty than his associate. In the estimation of all those who consider the killing of Scott a crime, Riel is held to be the principal culprit, and, as a matter of fact, whatever promises were made by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald to Riel were also extended to Lépine. If, therefore, the latter is required to undergo a term of imprisonment, it appears to me that the Executive will be precluded from exercising any clemency towards Riel, until he shall have surrendered himself to justice, and, on conviction have submitted to a similar penalty." In reply to this, the Earl of Carnarvon, under date 7th January, 1875, approved of the course His Excellency proposed to pursue with regard to Lépine, and, accordingly, on the 15th January, His Excellency caused a letter to be addressed by his Private Secretary to the Hon. Telesphore Fournier, Minister of Justice, in which he says: "It further appears to His Excellency that the case has passed beyond the province of Departmental administration, and that it will be best dealt with under the Royal Instructions, which authorize the Governor-General, in certain capital cases, to dispense with the advice of his Ministers, and to exercise the prerogative of the Crown according to his independent judgment, and on his own personal responsibility. I have it, therefore, in command to inform you that it is His Excellency's pleasure that the capital sentence passed upon the prisoner Lépine be commuted into two years of imprisonment in gaol from the date of conviction, and the permanent forfeiture of his political rights.

His Excellency desires that the necessary instrument for giving effect to this commutation be forthwith prepared." This action on the part of His Excellency received the full approval of the Imperial Government, and was generally well received by the press and public of Canada as the best possible solution of a very difficult question.

7.—It will be remembered that Article XXII of the Washington Treaty provided for the appointment of three Commis-  
Negotiations for Reciprocity.  
sioners to determine what money compensation, if any should be paid to Canada by the United States for the difference in value between the Fishery rights mutually granted under that Treaty. These Commissioners had never been appointed, and it being thought that it might be possible to make an arrangement with the United States whereby Canada might relinquish this prospective right to compensation, an Order-in-Council was passed on the 23rd of February, 1874, to the effect that the present seemed a favorable time for re-opening negotiations on the subject of a Reciprocity Treaty, on the basis of Canada giving up her claim to compensation under Article XXII; and recommending His Excellency to request the Imperial Government to authorize the British Minister at Washington to enter into negotiations on that subject with the United States. This Order-in-Council was transmitted by His Excellency to the Colonial Secretary, on the 24th February, and on the 5th March His Excellency was advised that the Earl of Derby had instructed the Minister at Washington to open negotiations. On the 9th of March Hon. Mr. Mackenzie submitted a memorandum setting forth a number of points under the Washington Treaty which he thought might be improved by new negotiations, and suggesting that the British Minister, on account of his lack of local knowledge, was scarcely competent to deal with the American Government alone. On the 21st March, the Earl of Derby addressed a letter to the Hon. George Brown, informing him that Her Majesty had been pleased to appoint him "to be Joint Plenipotentiary with

Her Majesty's Minister at Washington for the purpose of negotiating and concluding a treaty with the United States relating to fisheries, commerce and navigation." Mr. Brown at once went to Washington, and he and Sir Edward Thornton prepared an elaborate statement to submit to Hon. Hamilton Fish, and, on the 17th of April a synopsis of it was telegraphed to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs (the Earl of Derby) who replied that he saw no objection to the paper being submitted, but that the proposals should not be made as being the result of the matured decision of Her Majesty's Government, but as preliminary only; and Sir Edward Thornton was desired to explain this to Mr. Fish. The substance of the proposal was as follows: That the Reciprocity Treaty should be renewed for twenty-one years, including the Fisheries, with addition of free admission of salt, manufactures of wood, iron or steel articles, or of those jointly, agricultural implements and a few other trifling articles. To open coasting trade of lakes and river St. Lawrence. To enlarge Canadian canals. That canals of Canada and United States should be open on equal terms to both countries. That a joint commission should be appointed to improve the navigation of the River St. Clair at joint expense. That the navigation of Lake Michigan should be thrown open in perpetuity. That citizens of United States or Canada may own or navigate vessels of the other country. That there should be reciprocal admission to patent rights. That a Joint Commission should be appointed for propagating and protecting fish in the lakes and for co-operation in the establishment of light-houses.\* A very elaborate statement was submitted, giving the amount of trade between the United States and Canada, by which it was made to appear that "during the first ten years of the treaty the transactions between the countries showed a clear balance in favor of the United States of \$62,035,545." In other words, it was urged that the former Reciprocity Treaty having been more advantageous to the United

States than to Canada, therefore Canada was most anxious to renew the Treaty; a line of argument which the Americans seemed to regard as suspicious, to say the least of it. Negotiations went on for nearly a month between the Plenipotentiaries and Mr. Fish, and on the 17th June Sir Edward Thornton announced to the Earl of Derby that a draft Treaty had been agreed on, which would be submitted to the Senate—an unusual proceeding, as treaties, although requiring the ratification of the Senate, are first submitted for the approval of the President. On the 22nd of June the Senate discussed the Treaty in secret session, and decided that it was too late in the session to consider it then, and that it would be better to postpone the matter until Congress met again in December, which was done. When Congress again met the Senate decided that it was not expedient to ratify the Treaty, and the matter, therefore, fell through. On the receipt of a despatch from Sir Edward Thornton to that effect an Order-in-Council was passed on the 19th February, 1875, to the effect that negotiations for a Reciprocity Treaty having failed "no time should be lost in proceeding under the Treaty of Washington to ascertain the compensation due to Canada for the concession of the Fishery rights to citizens of the United States." Negotiations were afterwards entered upon which led to the appointment of the Fisheries Commission, which met at Halifax in 1877, and awarded \$5,500,000 to Canada.

8.—Beyond the changes in the Cabinet mentioned in Chapter XL., par. 2, the following occurred during the year: on the 1st of June, the Hon. A. A. <sup>Other events of the year.</sup> Dorion, Minister of Justice, was appointed Chief Justice of the Province of Quebec, and on the 8th the Hon. Telesphore Fournier, Minister of Inland Revenue, accepted the portfolio of Minister of Justice, and was succeeded by the Hon. Felix Geoffrion, who was the same day sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Inland Revenue. On the 30th September, the Hon. W. B. Vail was sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Militia and Defence in place of Hon. William

\*Lord Carnarvon's despatch to the Governor-General, 23rd April, 1874.

Ross, appointed Collector of Customs at Halifax. One of the most important events of the year was the arrival, on the 31st of July, of 250 Menonites, the first installment of a large number who had decided to settle in Manitoba, and who have proved a very valuable and useful class of settlers. Another important event was the inauguration, at Montreal, on the 1st of October, of the Free Postal delivery system, which has since been introduced into all large towns and cities, and has proved a great convenience and accommodation. Another event of some importance was the purchase by Hon. Mr. Mackenzie of 40,000 tons of steel rails for use on the Pacific Railway, which turned out rather an unfortunate speculation, for when the rails were delivered there was no road to put them on—indeed most of them are lying rotting and rusting uselessly at the time of writing; and as the price has steadily declined since Mr. Mackenzie has been severely blamed for making this purchase so far ahead of when the rails would be required, whereby the country has lost several hundred thousand dollars. The year generally was not a prosperous one; the Fisheries yield was about \$1,000,000 more than in 1873, but crops were only moderate, the lumber trade was very dull, business generally was poor and failures frequent, and on the whole we had fairly entered upon "Hard Times" and began to feel their pressure.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN—  
BRITISH COLUMBIA'S DISCONTENT.

1. THE ESQUIMAULT GRAVING DOCK.—2. BRITISH COLUMBIA'S PROTESTS.—3. MR. EDGAR'S MISSION.—4. FAILURE OF MR. EDGAR'S MISSION.—5. THE CARNARVON TERMS.—6. DEFEAT OF THE ESQUIMAULT AND NANAIMO RAILROAD BILL IN THE SENATE.

1.—We have already referred to the great disappointment and discontent which existed

in British Columbia at the non-fulfilment of the terms of Union

The Esquimault  
Graving Dock.

by Canada; and, after the announcement of his railway policy made at Sarnia by the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, this feeling of discontent was greatly increased. Other matters were troubling the Local Government also; it was part of the agreement with Canada that the Dominion should guarantee the interest at five per cent. on a loan to the extent of £100,000 sterling for the purpose of building a Graving Dock at Esquimault, which was thought to be an absolute necessity to the Province; but it was found to be impossible to raise the money on this security, as investors were fearful that after the expiration of the ten years the Province might be unable to continue paying the interest, or to repay the principal. The Province was also sadly in want of money for Local improvements and found itself unable to raise any on its own security. A proposition was, therefore, made by the Local Premier, Hon. Amor DeCosmos, that the Dominion Government should advance to the Province a lump sum of \$200,000 in lieu of the five per cent. guarantee of £100,000 for ten years for the Graving Dock; and also \$1,850,000 in lieu of the annual subsidy granted British Columbia under the Terms of Union, the Province giving up all claim to subsidies in the future. The first proposition was, in fact, that the Dominion should advance at once the amount which it would have to pay in ten years in the shape of interest on \$500,000 at five per cent.; and the second that the annual subsidies should be capitalized at about twenty years value, and paid at once. To the first of these proposals Hon. Mr. Mackenzie consented, and an Act was introduced and passed during the session of 1874, providing that \$250,000 may be advanced during the building of the Graving Dock at Esquimault, and it was promised that the second proposition should receive consideration.

2.—Of course, it was not to be expected that these concessions were made as an equivalent for the delay or abandonment of the railway—indeed great pains

British Columbia's  
protests.

was taken to show that they were quite independent of the railway question and had no bearing upon it; but it is extremely doubtful whether the propositions would have been acceded to had it not been for the desire to propitiate the people, and recompense them in some slight degree for the disappointment they were forced to suffer with regard to the railway. With regard to the railway, the Local Government was very urgent. On the 26th July, 1873, Lieut.-Governor Trutch addressed a remonstrance to the Secretary of State, on the breach of Terms of Union by the Dominion, as the railway had not been commenced within two years after the Union, as agreed to; and, on the 24th of November a Minute of Council was passed by the Local Government and forwarded to the Dominion Government, in which the protest is renewed, and the Minute states "that the non-fulfilment by the Dominion Government of the terms of Union has caused a strong feeling of anxiety and discouragement to exist throughout the Province." In reply to this second remonstrance the Privy Council of the Dominion, on the 23rd of December, passed the following Minute: "The Committee of Council respectfully recommend that the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia be informed that this Government is giving its most earnest consideration to the project for the construction of the Pacific Railway, an outline of which was given in a speech delivered by Mr. Mackenzie at Sarnia, on the 25th November, a scheme which they believe will be acceptable to the whole Dominion, including British Columbia, and that they hope to be able within a short time to communicate more definitely with that Province on the subject." This, of course, was far from pleasing to the people of British Columbia, and the discontent increased. On the 9th of February, 1874, the Assembly adopted a resolution "That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, respectfully requesting him to protest on behalf of the Legislature and people of this Province against the infraction of the Terms of Union,

and to impress upon the present Administration the absolute necessity of commencing the actual construction of the railway from the seaboard of British Columbia early in the present year." On the 23rd February, 1874, a Minute of the Executive Council of British Columbia was passed which endorsed the Address of the Assembly, and concluded: "The Committee feel that a strong but respectful protest against the course pursued by the Dominion Government should be once more forwarded to His Excellency the Governor-General," which was accordingly done.

3.—Meanwhile Mr. Mackenzie had determined that it would be best to send an Agent to British Columbia, and accordingly he selected Mr. J. D. Edgar, Mr. Edgar's Mission. who left Toronto on the 23rd of February and reached Victoria, B. C., on the 9th of March. A short time previous to Mr. Edgar's appointment, the Hon. Amor DeCosmos, Premier of British Columbia, had resigned, (9th February 1874) as he could not continue to sit in both the Local House and the Commons, and preferred the latter, and had been succeeded by the Hon. Geo. A. Walkem, Attorney-General, to whom Hon. Mr. Mackenzie addressed a letter introducing Mr. Edgar, in which he said: "Mr. Edgar will confer with yourself and other members of the Government of Columbia on the question lately agitating the public mind in Columbia, and will be glad to receive your views regarding the policy of the Government on the construction of the Railway. But for the meeting of Parliament in four weeks, some members of the Government would have visited your Province, but Mr. Edgar, as a public man, is well known here, and fully understands the questions he will discuss with you. I need not, I am sure, assure you of my own sincere desire to do all I can, not only to act justly but generously to Columbia. It is in your interest and is the interest of the Dominion that we should both act with a reasonable appreciation of difficulties which are unavoidable, and devise means to remove them or overcome them. We have induced Mr. Edgar to go to Columbia, as we thought



you would prefer a full conference with an Agent to a tedious and possibly unsatisfactory correspondence." On his arrival, Mr. Edgar called on Attorney-General Walkem and Lieutenant-Governor Trutch, and was received by both as the Agent of the Dominion, and had many conferences with them on the subject of making some arrangement about amending the Terms of Union, which Mr. Mackenzie had plainly stated could not and would not be carried out to the letter by the Dominion.

4.—Mr. Edgar found the Province in a perfect ferment on the railway question, as on account

Failure of Mr. Edgar's mission.

of the sparseness of the white population—which was estimated at about 10,000—everybody expected to be directly benefited by it. Mr. Edgar, in his report, says: "With the exception, perhaps, of the gold miners, who are confined to the mainland, there is no class in the Province that would not derive immediate personal advantages from the railway construction expenditure. Those in business, in trade, and in agriculture would feel the stimulus instantly; while those of means and leisure would be enriched by the increase in the value of their property." Of course, where all were so much interested, the Local Government was only representing the popular will when it endeavored to hold the Dominion Government to a fulfilment of the Terms of Union, and Mr. Edgar soon found that it would be a very difficult matter to get the Government to listen to any proposals which did not look to the immediate commencement of the road. Mr. Edgar says in his report that he did not find so much anxiety about the time in which the road was to be completed, as about the necessity for commencing it at once; and it was urged on him that as, no matter where the mainland terminus was located, there should be a road across Vancouver Island, from Nanaimo to Esquimalt, which was the finest harbor on the Pacific coast, that line should be built at once. After much negotiation—and what may be called coquetting between Mr. Edgar and Attorney-General Walkem, the former made a formal offer, on the 8th of May, of the terms

which the Dominion Government would be willing to offer in lieu of the original Terms of Union. The proposal starts with the statement that to complete the road in ten years as called for by the Terms of Union, was both a mechanical and financial impossibility; and that instead of attempting to carry out those terms the Dominion Government would be willing to agree:

1st. To commence at once, and finish as soon as possible, a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo.

2nd. To spare no expense in settling as speedily as possible the line to be taken by the railway on the mainland.

3rd. To commence at once a waggon road and line of telegraph along the whole length of the railway in British Columbia, and to continue the telegraph across the continent.

4th. The moment the surveys and road on the mainland are completed, to spend a minimum amount of \$1,500,000 annually upon the construction of the railway within the Province.

Instead of entering into any discussion of the propositions, Mr. Walkem raised the question of Mr. Edgar's authority to represent the Dominion Government any further than to "talk the matter over" and see what the views of the Local Government were; and Mr. Edgar—on telegraphic instruction from Mr. Mackenzie—shortly after left for home without having accomplished anything.

5.—The scene of action was soon changed to London, whither Hon. Mr. Walkem repaired immediately after Mr. Edgar's departure, to urge upon the Colonial Secretary that Canada should carry out the Terms of Union. Considerable correspondence and negotiation followed, and, finally, the Earl of Carnarvon offered to act as Arbitrator between the two parties. This was agreed to, and after having heard all that each side had to say, and carefully considered the best way to reconcile the conflicting views of the Provincial and Dominion Governments, His Lordship decided on the following terms—known as the

The Carnarvon Terms.

"Carnarvon Terms" as a fair solution of the difficulty:

1. That the railway from Esquimaux to Nanaimo shall be commenced as soon as possible, and completed with all practicable despatch.

2. That the surveys on the mainland shall be pushed on with the utmost vigor.

On this point, after considering the representations of your Ministers, I feel that I have no alternative but to rely, as I do most fully and readily, upon their assurances that no legitimate effort or expense will be spared, first to determine the best route for the line, and secondly to proceed with the details of the engineering work. It would be distasteful to me, if indeed, it were not impossible to prescribe strictly any minimum of time or expenditure with regard to work of so uncertain a nature; but happily, it is equally impossible for me to doubt that your Government will loyally do its best in every way to accelerate the completion of a duty left freely to its sense of honor and justice.

3. That the waggon road and telegraph line shall be immediately constructed.

There seems here to be some difference of opinion as to the special value to the Province of the undertaking to complete these two works; but after considering what has been said, I am of opinion that they should both be proceeded with at once, as indeed is suggested by your Ministers.

4. That \$2,000,000 a year, and not \$1,500,000, shall be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the Province from the date at which the surveys are sufficiently completed to enable that amount to be expended on construction.

In naming this amount I understand that, it being alike the interest and the wish of the Dominion Government to urge on with all speed the completion of the works now to be undertaken, the annual expenditure will be as much in excess of the minimum of \$2,000,000 as in any year may be found practicable.

5. Lastly, that on or before the 31st December, 1890, the Railway shall be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point

at the Western end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with existing lines of Railway through a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters.

To proceed at present with the remainder of the railway extending by the country Northward of Lake Superior, to the existing Canadian lines, ought not, in my opinion, to be required, and the time for undertaking that work must be determined by the development of settlement and the changing circumstances of the country. The day is, however, I hope, not very distant when a continuous line of railway through Canadian territory will be practicable, and I therefore look upon this portion of the scheme as postponed rather than abandoned.

6.—Both the Provincial and Dominion Governments had agreed to abide by the decision of the Earl of Carnarvon, and both expressed themselves as satisfied with the terms decided on by him. On the 18th December, 1874, a Minute of the Privy Council of the Dominion was adopted, which after acknowledging receipt of Lord Carnarvon's despatch of 17th November, transmitting the "Terms," concludes as follows: "The Committee of Council respectfully request that Your Excellency will be pleased to convey to Lord Carnarvon their warm appreciation of the kindness which led his Lordship to tender his good offices to effect a settlement of the matter in dispute; and also to assure his Lordship that every effort will be made to secure the realization of what is expected." In order that the Dominion should carry out its portion of the agreement loyally, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie introduced a Bill at the next session of Parliament for the construction of the railway from Esquimaux to Nanaimo. On its coming up for second reading, on the 29th of March, a long discussion took place, and Mr. Wallace moved the three months' hoist, seconded by Mr. Stephenson, which was defeated by 62 for, to 101 against. In Committee some debate occurred on the section empowering the Government to proceed with the work at once, without submitting the

Defeat of the Esquimaux and Nanaimo R.R. Bill in the Senate.

contract to Parliament, and Hon. Dr. Tupper moved to add to the 8th clause the words "provided always that any such contract shall have the previous approval of Parliament," which was lost on division 64 for, to 91 against, and the Bill read a third time and passed. In the Senate, however, the Bill was defeated by two votes, and as Mr. Mackenzie did not renew his Bill in the House, the first clause of the Carnarvon Terms was broken; and the discontent of British Columbia, which had been partially allayed, was not only renewed, but greatly increased.

#### CHAPTER XLV.

#### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN —SECOND SESSION, THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1875.

1. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—2. THE AMNESTY QUESTION.—3. RIEL AGAIN EXPELLED.—4. THE BUDGET SPEECH.—5. THE SUPREME COURT BILL.—6. MISCELLANEOUS LEGISLATION. PROROGATION.

1.—The second session of the third Parliament of the Dominion was opened at Ottawa on the fourth of February, by His Excellency the Governor General.

*Opening of Parliament, Speech from the Throne.*

The Speech from the Throne congratulated the House on the success which had attended the formation of the Mounted Police Force for the North-West, and on the conclusion of Treaties with the Crees and Sauteux. The Supreme Court Bill—which had made its appearance in nearly every Speech from the Throne since Confederation—was again promised; and also a new Insolvency Act. Bills for re-organizing the Government of the North-West Territories; with reference to Insurance, and on the subject of Copyright were promised; and the announcement made that gratifying progress had been made in the sur-

veys of the Canada Pacific Railway, and that measures had been taken to secure the early completion of the Georgian Bay Branch. With reference to the commercial depression it was said, "I am happy to believe that notwithstanding the general and widespread commercial depression which has prevailed over the continent, the trade of Canada is sound, and that the contraction we have experienced in some branches of industry for the past year has not been greater than might naturally have been anticipated." On the fifth the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved in the Senate by Hon. D. Wark, seconded by Hon. D. Baillargeon; and in the Commons by Mr. L. H. Frechette, seconded by Mr. Colin Macdougall. In both Houses it was adopted without amendment.

2.—The first question of importance which attracted the attention of the House was that of amnesty to the participants in <sup>The Amnesty Question.</sup> the troubles in the North-West in

1869-70. On the 8th February Hon. Mr. Holton inquired whether it was the intention of the Government to submit any proposition to the House on the subject of those troubles, and Hon. Mr. Mackenzie replied that it was. On the 11th Hon. Mr. Mackenzie moved a long resolution to the effect that an address should be presented to His Excellency praying that a General Amnesty should be extended to all participants in the troubles of 1869-70, except Riel, Lépine and O'Donohue, and to the two former after five years' banishment. The resolution quoted at length from the evidence taken before the North-West Committee of last session to show that an amnesty had been promised by the late Government; and Mr. Mackenzie tried to make it appear that the present Government was only keeping the faith which the late Government had pledged. The debate was continued for two days by Messrs. Mackenzie Bowell, Sir John A. Macdonald, Hon. Mr. Blake, Wallace, Ryan, Masson, Devlin, Mousseau, Laurier, Hon. Mr. Fournier, Hon. Mr. Cauchon, Ouimet, Frechette, DeCosmos, Desjardins, St. Jean, Pickard, Gaudet, Mackenzie, (Montreal West),

Coupal, Pope, Currier, Scriver, Rymal, Brooks, Fiset and Caron. Mr. Mousseau moved an amendment, to the effect that a full amnesty should be granted to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles, which was negatived by a vote of 23 for, 152 against. Mr. Farrow then moved an amendment to the effect that amnesty had been promised to Archbishop Taché by some members of the present Cabinet, which was lost on division; and Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's motion was then adopted—Yeas, 126; Nays, 50. In 1877 amnesty was also extended to O'Donohue—who had been previously excluded on account of his participation in the Fenian raid in Manitoba, in 1871—and so the bitterness with regard to the troubles of 1869-70 was removed. Amnesty was formally proclaimed on 25th April, 1875.

3.—There still remained one question connected with the North-West to settle, and that was the position of Louis Riel as a member elect of the House.

We have already stated the circumstances attending his expulsion in 1874, but the people of Provencher re-elected him, and it became necessary to deal with this question again. On the 15th February, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said he desired to intimate to the House the course he proposed to pursue with regard to the member elect for Provencher. He stated that on Wednesday the 10th instant, the final sentence of Outlawry was pronounced in the Court of Queen's Bench in Manitoba, and upon the same day the formal record of the sentence was forwarded to the Secretary of State. He thought it would be the most convenient method, and one that perhaps would best place upon the journals the precedent for any future action, to have that formal sentence laid upon the table of the House, and to base upon it the motion for expulsion, precisely as was done in the Imperial Parliament in the case of O'Donovan Rossa. In that case Mr. Gladstone first laid the judgment of the Court on the table, and then made his motion in accordance with the fact that was established by the judgment, namely, that he had ceased to be qualified to be

a member of the House.\* On the 24th, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie moved that the sentence of Outlawry, which had been laid on the table, be read, which was carried; and he then moved "That it appears that Louis Riel, a member of this House, has been adjudged an Outlaw for felony." In doing so he stated that he was only following the course adopted by Imperial Parliament in the cases of Smith O'Brien and O'Donovan Rossa, under similar, or nearly similar circumstances, as he had been advised that the sentence of Outlawry was equivalent to a conviction by the Court of the crime charged in the indictment. Hon. J. H. Cameron raised the objection that in the Province of Manitoba, whatever it might be elsewhere, the proceedings in Outlawry upon an indictment for felony could not be had in the manner required by the law of England. The debate was continued by Hon. Mr. Fournier, Sir John A. Macdonald, Messrs. Mills, Masson, Cauchon, Geoffrion and Baby, the question not being so much as to whether or not Riel should be expelled, but as to what was the right way to do it. Mr. Plumb then moved in amendment, "It appears on the face of the record of proceedings brought before this House that no legal or valid judgment of Outlawry has been rendered against the said Louis Riel, member for Provencher, and it also appears from the same record that the said Louis Riel, having been indicted for murder, has not been arrested nor appeared nor pleaded to said indictment nor surrendered to take trial thereon, but has been and continues to be voluntarily absent and a fugitive from justice from the Province of Manitoba. Be it therefore resolved, that the said Louis Riel shall be and he is hereby expelled from this House." After some debate in which Messrs. Masson, Fournier, Macdonnell, (Inverness), Flesher, Holton, and others participated, Mr. Plumb's amendment was put and lost, 24 for, 146 against. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's motion was then carried, 138 for, 31 against.

4.—On the 10th February, Hon. Mr. Cartwright, Minister of Finance, made his Budget

\* Hansard, p. 120.

The Budget Speech.

Speech. The expenditures for the year ending 30th June, 1874, were \$23,316,000, an increase of \$4,140,000 over the preceding year, which he explained was caused by the augmentation of the interest on the debt by \$500,000; expenses on account of the admission of Prince Edward Island, \$600,000; increased subsidy, &c., to New Brunswick, \$850,000; maintenance of Dominion railways, \$900,000; increased indemnity to members, &c., \$400,000; elections, \$200,000; North-West Mounted Police, \$200,000; Indians, \$100,000; Post office, \$300,000; miscellaneous, \$200,000; making altogether, \$4,250,000, which was a little more than the increase named. The receipts for the same period were \$24,200,000, being \$13,400,000 more than the preceding year, and showing a nominal surplus of \$880,000, from which had to be deducted a sum of \$166,000 for Ordinance lands, and \$45,000 received from the British Government on account of Boundary Surveys, both of which sums would have to be paid out. He claimed that the changes in the tariff last session had increased the revenue from Customs about \$2,000,000, the remaining \$550,000 increase being partly attributable to the admission of Prince Edward Island, and partly to Excise duties. With regard to the Estimates for 1875 the amount chargeable to income was \$24,857,488, and the estimated revenue about \$25,250,000. On Capital account, \$14,717,000 would be required, which was needed for the Intercolonial, Prince Edward Island and Pacific Railways, enlargement of the canals, and other public works. With regard to the loan for £4,000,000 sterling, lately negotiated in London, he said that the net proceeds had been a little over \$17,500,000. It was proposed to use \$10,000,000 of that to pay off maturing debt, and the remainder on public works. He defended the course of the Government in placing the loan, and claimed that a very considerable sum in interest had been saved by the transaction. Hon. Dr. Tupper reviewed the financial statement at considerable length, and was followed by Messrs. Cartwright, Domville, Mackenzie, Mitchell, Smith, Burpee,

Plumb and Goudge; after which the usual motion to go into Committee of Supply was carried.

5.—On the 23rd of February, Hon. Mr. Fournier introduced the Supreme Court Bill. The Bill as passed constitutes a <sup>The Supreme Court Bill.</sup> Supreme Court and Court of Exchequer for the Dominion, to be Courts of Record and to consist of a Chief Justice and six Judges, any five being a quorum in term. They are to be chosen among Judges of the Superior Courts or barristers or advocates of ten years standing; two of them must be taken from the Judges or barristers or advocates of Quebec; must reside within five miles of Ottawa; tenure of office same as of other Judges of Superior Courts; salaries, Chief Justice, \$8,000, of Judges, \$7,000. Two sessions to be held yearly in Ottawa, beginning on the third Monday in January, and first Monday in June. The Court to have criminal and civil jurisdiction throughout Canada, and decisions to be final, the right to appeal to the Imperial Courts being taken away except so far as it affects Imperial interest. The second reading took place on the 16th March, when a short discussion took place in which Messrs. Palmer, Taschereau, Mills, Irving, Moss, Wilkes and Cameron participated. On the motion for the third reading, on 30th March, Mr. White moved the six months hoist, which was lost, Yeas, 38; Nays, 121. Several amendments were proposed and lost; and Mr. Irving offered an amendment to the effect that the decisions of the Court should be final (which was not in the original Bill) which was accepted by Hon. Mr. Fournier, and, after some debate, adopted by a vote of 112 for, to 40 against. Some further amendments were voted down and the Bill passed its third reading.

6.—The House was prorogued on the 8th of April, His Excellency giving assent to fifty-six public and forty-two private and <sup>Miscellaneous Legislation. Prorogation.</sup> local Acts. Amongst the most important Acts passed were, an Act amending the Postal Act, providing for the free delivery of letters in cities and towns, changing the rate



of newspaper postage to one cent per pound, and introducing other changes; an Insolvency Act. One of the most important Bills was that providing a Territorial Government for the North-West Territories, entirely independent of Manitoba, the Government to consist of a Lieutenant Governor, (salary, \$7,000), and a Council of five, (salary, \$1,000 each.) A Copyright Act was also passed, and assent to it reserved. The Bill was subsequently approved.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

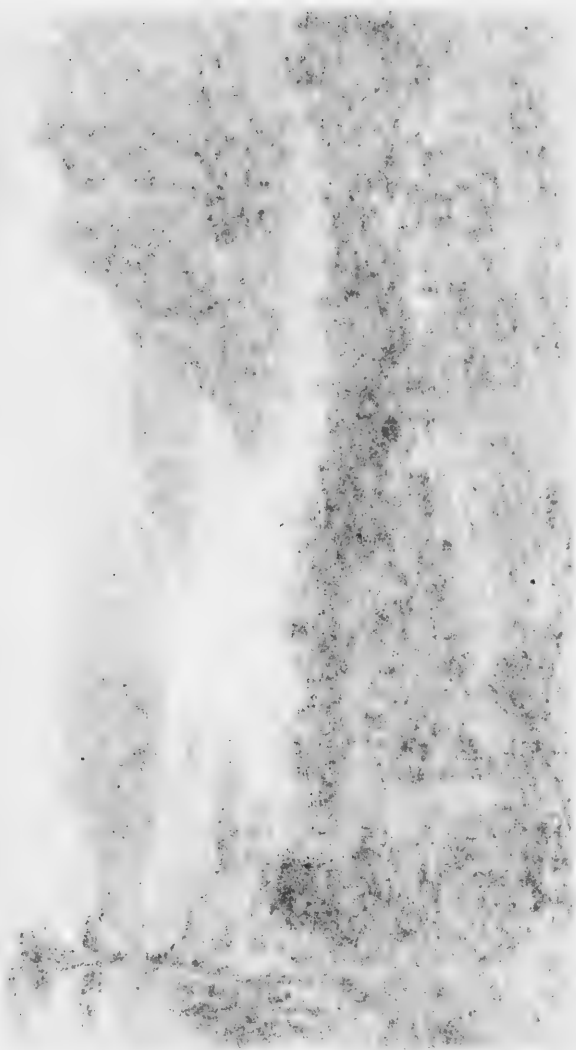
### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN— PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1875.

1. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE.—2. FIRES.—3. THE GUIBORD CASE.—4. RAILWAY AND OTHER ACCIDENTS.—5. MARINE DISASTERS.—6. OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

1.—The fifth annual meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade was held in the Railway Committee Room, Ottawa, commencing on the 19th January, and lasting four days. The President, W. H. Howland, Esq., presided. The first subject discussed was that of advising the establishment of a Department of Commerce in conjunction with the Department of Agriculture, to be presided over by a Cabinet Minister. Mr. Thomas White, Jr., moved an amendment to the effect that the Department should be distinct from the Department of Agriculture, as everything that Department had attempted in the way of statistics had been a failure. After some discussion the amendment was carried. Mr. Adam Brown moved that the question of establishing Tribunals of Commerce or Arbitration Courts be brought under the special notice of the Minister of Justice. The resolution was adopted after a short debate, which showed that the delegates felt that a system of arbitration would be far preferable to the existing costly and tedious modes of litigation. Considerable discussion

took place on the rights of telegraph companies to construct their lines along certain railroads, but no decision was arrived at. A long debate occurred on the proposed terms of the Reciprocity Treaty which Hon. Mr. Brown had been endeavouring to get accepted at Washington, some of the clauses being approved and others condemned. A motion to the effect that the Extradition Treaty between Canada and the United States should be so amended as to include fraudulent debtors was discussed, but was not adopted. Resolutions were adopted with reference to holding enquiries in all cases of shipwrecks, and also to placing fog whistles at certain points in the Gulf. A resolution was introduced by Hon. Mr. Stairs, on behalf of the Halifax Chamber of Commerce, to the effect that the stamp tax on Bills of Exchange was very troublesome and annoying, and as it yielded but little revenue, it should be repealed as soon as possible. A long discussion ensued, the arguments not being so much in favor of the tax as against decreasing the revenue and two amendments were lost, after which the motion was carried on a division by a vote of 26 to 20. Mr. Clemow, of Ottawa, read a very interesting paper on the iron resources of the Ottawa Valley, in which he argued that only a slightly protective tariff was needed to develop this industry; and moved that the paper be presented to the Governor-in-Council as the opinion of the Board. Mr. Fry moved in amendment that the paper be printed in the Minutes, and after some discussion the amendment was carried by 24 to 18. Mr. Sewell, of the Levis Board of Trade, spoke in favor of the practicability of the winter navigation of the St. Lawrence, claiming that a stout steamer could make from eight to nine knots an hour through the floe ice, and that there was no danger. He moved that the Dominion Government be petitioned in favor of assisting in the establishment of a line of winter steamers between Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, which was carried by 24 to 14. A motion was adopted without division urging the Dominion Government to reconsider its action with regard

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to the Welland Canal, and to increase the depth to fourteen feet. Mr. C. F. Fairweather, of New Brunswick, was elected President for the ensuing year, and after the usual votes of thanks the Board adjourned *sine die*.

2.—The fires of 1875 were neither so numerous or so costly as those of some other years,

Fires.

still they showed a large aggregate loss of life and property. On the 11th January Winnipeg, Manitoba, had its first great fire, several business houses and dwellings being destroyed, and damage to the extent of \$15,000 done. About one o'clock on the morning of the 25th January, the farm-house of Pierre Delude, about three miles from Boucherville, P. Q., took fire, and burned so rapidly that although he escaped his wife and eight children were burned to death, indeed so completely destroyed that all that was found of the nine persons would not have filled a common soap box. On the 9th March the Grand Trunk offices and car-shop at Point St. Charles, Montreal, were entirely destroyed, and \$50,000 worth of damage done. The largest fire of the year occurred on the 6th June, when the immense saw-mill of Gilmour & Co., situated in Hull, P. Q., and said to be the largest and most complete mill of the kind in Canada, was completely destroyed, involving a loss of \$150,000. The city of Hull was in great danger, for there was nearly 10,000,000 feet of lumber in the piling yards adjoining the mill, and if that had caught nothing could have saved a very large destruction; but, fortunately the exertions of the firemen confined the flames to the mill. Extensive forest fires raged in Nova Scotia, and on the Upper Ottawa in June, and did very considerable damage. The saddest fire of the year occurred about eleven o'clock on the night of the 4th of December, in Lajeunesse's hotel, Back River, near Montreal, when the brilliant and eloquent young Irish priest, Father Murphy, and his friend, Father Lynch, met an untimely end. They had stopped at the hotel on their way to St. Therese, and were in a room on the second floor, when a gas machine near their room exploded, and they were suffocated and

burned before help could reach them.

3.—A funeral of more than ordinary importance took place in the Cote des Neiges Cemetery, Montreal, on the 16th November

when the remains of Joseph The Guibord case.

Guibord, who had then been dead nearly six years—were finally disposed of, after much litigation as to where their last resting place should be. Mr. Guibord was a printer of standing and respectability in the City of Montreal, and a member of the Roman Catholic Church with which he was in good favor until he joined the *Institut Canadien*, a Liberal Catholic organization which incurred the displeasure of the Church by the independence of its views; and which displeasure so much increased that its members were excommunicated by the Bishop. On the 18th November, 1869, Joseph Guibord died of apoplexy, and burial with the usual ceremonies of his Church was denied him on the ground that he had died at variance with the Church. The friends of Guibord, however, were not disposed to accept without remonstrance the dictum of the Church. It so happened that Guibord had bought and paid for a burial lot in the Cote des Neiges Cemetery; and his friends claimed that he had a civil right in the land which the Church could not ignore. Accordingly the remains were deposited in the vaults of the Protestant Cemetery, and civil action was taken to force the Fabrique of Notre Dame to bury Guibord. The case dragged its weary length through the Courts for over five years, being decided both for and against the Fabrique and at last was appealed to the Privy Council. The contention in the case may be briefly stated as this: the Fabrique held that the matter was a purely ecclesiastical one and did not come within the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts at all; that the Church had an undoubted right to regulate its own spiritual matters and to say who should or should not be regarded as a member; that Guibord had died without the pale of the Church and, therefore could not be accorded Christian burial. On the other hand the *Institut Canadien* contended that the Fabrique had entered into a civil contract

with Guibord which it was bound to carry out ; it had sold and received the money for a piece of land for the specific and well defined purpose of its being used as a burial place for Guibord when he died, and that, therefore, when he did die the Fabrique was bound to carry out the contract and bury him. The Privy Council decided that Guibord had a civil right to be buried, and so ordered. The case had attracted the attention of the whole Dominion, especially in Quebec and Ontario, the former upholding the Ecclesiastical and the latter the Civil power, and "Poor Guibord's bones" had almost become a stock heading in the newspapers, when, on the 2nd of September, an attempt was made to carry out the order of the Privy Council and have what was left of Guibord buried. On that day the coffin was removed from the vault of the Protestant Cemetery and taken to the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Cote des Neiges, where a grave had been dug next to that of Madame Guibord, who had died while the case was pending. But Guibord's bones were not to rest in peace yet. The case had attracted great attention amongst the lower orders of French Roman Catholics, who regarded the order of the Privy Council as an attempt to over-ride the Church ; and, accordingly, when the funeral cortege reached the Cemetery gates it found an infuriated crowd which barred the entrance, closed the gates, and refused to allow the hearse to enter ; while some of the crowd, to make assurance doubly sure, filled up the grave. There was no funeral that day. The coffin was returned to the Protestant vault, and a strong guard of police placed in the Cemetery, it having been freely threatened that the vault would be forced, and the coffin and its contents abstracted and destroyed, so as to render burial impossible. For the next six weeks the excitement rose to a fearful pitch ; the case was now regarded as a struggle between Church and State, and it was felt that it must be made apparent that the State was supreme, not the Church ; and that the order of the highest Legal Court in the Empire must be obeyed, no

matter whom it might offend. The counsel for the *Institut Canadien*, Mr. Joseph Doutre, Q.C., waited until the formal decree of the Privy Council had been received, before making the second attempt to have Guibord buried, and when that attempt was made on the 16th November, every precaution had been taken to insure the carrying out of the order of the Privy Council, even by force of arms if necessary. The whole volunteer force in Montreal and every policeman who could be spared from duty, was called into requisition, and few of the military heroes who have been buried in Montreal, were ever escorted to the grave by so imposing a military force as that which followed the remains of the poor printer to their last resting place. This time there was no disturbance. The gates were open, the grave dug, and Guibord's coffin finally deposited in it—with rather "Maimed rights" as far as the Church was concerned, but still the order of the Privy Council was carried out and he was buried. On account of the fear that the body would be exhumed, the grave had been made much larger than usual and partly filled with cement and scrap iron before the coffin was placed in it, and after that was done the grave was filled up with the same material so that the coffin was enclosed in an immense mass of cement and iron, several barrels being used. There was no attempt at exhumation, however, for His Lordship Bishop Bourget unconsecrated that portion of the Cemetery in which Guibord lies, and as the Catholics considered that the disgrace of having an excommunicated person buried in holy ground was thereby removed, the excitement soon died out, and Guibord's bones were left to rot in peace.

4.—A railway accident of an unusual kind occurred on the Richmond, Drummond and Arthabaska Railway on the evening of the 28th September, whereby 11 persons lost their lives and 28 were injured. Shortly after six o'clock six platform cars with an engine behind them left Yamaska for Sorel, having on board about 75 workmen who had been engaged on the road. About two

Railway and other accidents.

miles from Yamaska the cars ran on to a lot of rails which had been placed across the track—it was supposed, by some men who had been refused work on the road—and the cars were thrown off the track. Most of the men succeeded in jumping from the cars in safety, but a large number were killed or injured. About nine o'clock in the evening of the 3rd February an immense mass of snow and ice slid from the top of Cape Diamond, Quebec, and fell on a frame house standing under the cliff. The house was crushed like an eggshell, and a man, his wife, four children and an old woman were buried in the ruins and taken out dead. On the 1st of November there was a heavy storm at Quebec, and while it was raging the ferry steamer *Montmorenci* attempted to land her passengers at St. Famille, Isle of Orleans, in the usual manner, that is in a scow. Forty-five passengers had got into the scow when it was dashed against the ferry boat by the waves and upset, thirteen persons being drowned.

5.—The year 1875 was a most disastrous one to Canadian sea-going vessels, the number of casualties reported being 264, involving the loss of 388 lives and property to the value of over \$2,500,000. The most appalling disaster of the year as far as the number of lives was concerned, occurred about 9 o'clock on the evening of the 4th November when the steamer *Pacific* from Victoria, B. C. to San Francisco, collided with the sailing ship *Orpheus*, and was almost immediately sunk, and out of the 238 persons she had on board only two were saved. The *Pacific* had about 600 tons of freight on board and \$178,000 in specie. The *Orpheus* did not offer to render any assistance, but sailed away from the sinking steamer which went down so suddenly that there was no time to launch the boats. The next disaster in point of magnitude was the loss of the steamer *Vicksburg*, of the Dominion Line by which 76 lives and a cargo valued at about \$100,000 were lost. The *Vicksburg* left Quebec on the 27th May with 8 cabin and 25 steerage passengers and a crew of 60, and ran into field ice in the Gulf on the 30th. About

11 o'clock on the night of the 31st, while running at half speed, she struck solid ice, and a hole was stove in her bow. She was headed for St. John, Newfoundland, from whence she was about 120 miles distant, but the water gained so much on the steam pumps that it finally put out the fires, and about six o'clock on the morning of the 1st June the boats were lowered, but only five of the crew got into the first, nine crew and three passengers into the second, and about thirty persons into the third, the remainder of the crew and passengers going down with the ship, which sunk about half-past six. The boat with five men in it was picked up by the steamer *Georgia* and carried to New York, and the one with three passengers—amongst whom was Mr. B. McShane, of Montreal—and nine crew was picked up by an American fishing vessel, and taken to St. John's, Newfoundland. The third boat was never heard of.

6.—Several changes took place in the Cabinet during the year. On the 18th May, the Hon. D. A. Macdowall, Postmaster-General, was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, and his portfolio was taken by Hon. Telesphore Fournier, Minister of Justice; on the same day Hon. Edward Blake again entered the Cabinet, and accepted the office of Minister of Justice. On the 8th of October, Hon. Telesphore Fournier was appointed one of the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court, and on the following day Hon. L. S. Huntington, President of the Privy Council, was appointed Postmaster General *vice* Fournier. The Presidency of the Council was not filled until the 7th December, when the Hon. J. E. Cauchon was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed to the Presidency of that body. On the 15th May His Excellency left Canada on a pleasure trip to England, where he remained until the 22nd October. On the 18th June, the change of gauge on the completed portions of the Intercolonial was commenced, and rapidly completed. One very noticeable feature of the year was the large immigration of Mennonites

who settled in Manitoba, being induced thereto by the favorable reports of the colony which had settled in the Province the previous year. One of the saddest events of the year was the unprovoked attack on a Catholic procession of women and children while making a "pilgrimage" in Toronto, on Sunday, 26th September, by a party of Orange Young Britons, in which a number of persons—especially policemen—were very severely injured, but fortunately, no lives were lost, although revolvers were freely used. This was one of the outcroppings of the Guibord affair, the Orangemen having the idea that the Catholics were defying the civil authority, and refusing to bury Guibord after the Privy Council had ordered his interment. It is only just to the respectable body of Orangemen to say that they strongly condemned the action of the rowdy element of the order. Trade remained dull, and times hard, and one of the most significant signs of the times was the meeting of over 100 leading manufacturers in Toronto, on the 26th November, and the adoption of resolutions in favor of a protective policy on the part of the Canadian Government as against United States manufactures.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN—CANADA AT THE CENTENNIAL.

1. HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.—2. ORIGIN OF THE PHILADELPHIA EXHIBITION.—3. A GREAT NATIONAL EXPERIMENT ENTERED UPON WITH SELF CONFIDENCE AND ENTHUSIASM.—4. THE HONORABLE CHARACTER OF THE EXHIBITION AS A WHOLE.—5. COSMOPOLITAN SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN INVITATION.—6. HEARTY RESPONSE TO THE INVITATION.—7. THE CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS. NATIONAL APPRECIATION OF THEIR SERVICES.—8. THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AND DIFFICULTIES AND THEIR INITIATORY

PLAN OF MEETING THEM.—9. PROVINCIAL ADVISORY BOARDS. THEIR SUCCESS.—10. PLANS FOR ILLUSTRATING CANADIAN INDUSTRY. THE MINERALOGICAL EXHIBIT.—11. THE LUMBER EXHIBIT. INGENIOUS AND ATTRACTIVE MODE OF DISPLAY.—12. THE ARRANGEMENTS AS TO SOME OTHER EXHIBITS.—13. THE TRANSPORTATION ARRANGEMENTS.—14. THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSIONERS AND THEIR ARRANGEMENTS FOR EXHIBITORS.—15. SYSTEM OF AWARDS AND JUDGES DUTIES.—16. THE EXHIBITION GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.—17. THE LARGE SPACE OCCUPIED BY CANADA.—18. HOW THE CANADIAN GOODS WERE DISPLAYED.—19. CANADA ON THE OPENING DAY.—20. THE INAUGURAL CEREMONIES.—21. SPLENDID RECEPTIONS AND ENTERTAINMENTS.—22. MARKED ATTENTION SHOWN CANADA BY FOREIGNERS.

1.—An International Congress must always be hailed as an event of great importance, for whether its object be the termination of some unhappy contention, or the improvement of the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, it has special claims upon the sympathies of humanity. Such assemblies will always occupy a prominent place in history, for they mark the steps by which the family of nations attempts to improve its relationships. There have been many undertakings of the kind in our time, varying in the boldness of their design, the elaborateness of their details, and the splendour of their success. In this chapter we have to record the history, and general character and results, of another of these great undertakings in which the Dominion of Canada bore a high and conspicuously honourable part, and which has done more to display to the world her vast material resources, and rapidly developing industries, to prove the energy, enterprise and skill of her people, and to elevate her in the scale of nations, than any event in her history which has occurred within the memory of men now living. To the Canadian reader of to-day, in whose mind the achievements of his country,

Historical  
importance of  
International  
Exhibitions.

at this exhibition of the world's industries, are still vividly impressed, the comprehensive sketch which appears in these pages may not have the charm and freshness which belong to descriptions of those *lustra* of the nations held a quarter of a century ago. The distance which lends enchantment to old time history will be wanting here. But the time will come,—the time, perhaps, when Canada shall be holding an International Exhibition of her own—when a vital interest, in this recent national event, will be felt by explorers amongst these repertoires of Canadian annals, and it is none the less the duty of a faithful historian to leave on record those prominent facts and features of his theme, by which alone posterity can estimate aright the part which his country has played, and the rank which has been assigned her, at an exposition of such transcendent importance to her own national interests and welfare.

2.—The circumstances under which the International Exhibition at Philadelphia was held, may be very briefly recited. On the third of March, 1871, the Government of the United States, having determined to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of their independence, created, by an Act of Congress, the United States Centennial Commission to provide for "An International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and Products of the Soil and Mine," to be held in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1876. By another Act of Congress, bearing date the 1st day of June, 1872, a Centennial Board of Finance was appointed to make the necessary arrangements for carrying out the objects of the Commission. These Acts of Congress were approved and confirmed on the 3rd day of July, 1873, by a proclamation of the President of the United States, and on the fifth of that month, the Secretary of State, Mr. Hamilton Fish, notified the same to the several foreign Ministers at Washington. On the 5th of June, 1874, an Act of Congress was approved extending invitations to take part in the Exhibition to foreign governments, and a formal invitation was forthwith sent to Her Majesty's Government through the

usual channels, and to the Government of Canada. Thus was called into existence, for the first time, a celebration of the National Independence of one of England's oldest and greatest Colonies, in which the members of the Colonial Empire everywhere were cordially invited to join, and at which they were destined to exhibit to admiring millions proofs of their rising power and greatness, of their devoted loyalty to the Mother country, and of a sympathy with the people of the United States so strong and heartfelt as to make it appear to the representatives of other races that the Anglo Saxon, in whatever part of the earth he may be planted, is ever striving for that excellence which is alike beneficial to himself and his fellow men.

3.—We can well understand that, with all the self-confidence of the American people—and the fiery trials of a cruel civil war A great national experiment entered upon with self-confidence and enthusiasm. had given them every reason to rely on the patriotism of the nation—the period immediately preceding the opening of their International Exhibition was one of no little anxiety and apprehension. There was much in the occasion selected, and its associations, to beget anything but forgetfulness of a Past that should never have been—much to test generous thoughts, mutual forbearance and conciliation, and sentiments of national kindliness. Now that the event itself is relegated to the domain of history, we know how little these sentimental objections availed in view of the practical importance and results of what was after all a great practical undertaking. It was, however, a bold and in some respects, a perilous enterprise—bold in its inception and primary design, but bolder still in those lofty aims by which its ultimate success was in a large measure to be judged. In this one particular at least it came far short of the English Exhibition of 1851. That was confessedly the most novel and daring proposition of them all. It had no precedent to refer to, no statistics to build upon. It had to be carried into execution by means invented impromptu for the occasion, while the whole world looked on, prepared to

Origin of the  
Philadelphia  
Exhibition.



condemn or applaud as the issue might determine. The Philadelphia Exhibition was more fortunate in these respects. It had in a measure the advantageous test of experience. In all its plans and arrangements, its internal economy and classification, and the innumerable minute details of so vast an undertaking, its directors had much in their favour. They had all the varied teachings of its predecessors to learn from—the knowledge of their difficulties and obstacles, and the means of surmounting them. Still, with all this experience of old world exhibitions, they could not but feel that they were entering upon a work which was to form an epoch in the life of a newer and much younger civilization—a work which was of vital moment to the Republic, and which must be accomplished in a manner not unworthy of its great progenitors. So far as this continent was concerned, it had all the vague anticipations of an experiment which, if not altogether new, was at least to be tried under conditions and circumstances very different from any which had hitherto prevailed. The leading journals of the United States, and American correspondence in foreign newspapers, had invested the Exhibition with a pretentiousness which invited almost an unsparing criticism. They teemed with glowing descriptions of what the assembled peoples of all nations would then for the first time witness under an American sky, and on American soil. It behoved the people to see that these pretensions were well sustained, that, having chosen their own time for holding the Exhibition, having selected their vantage ground at pleasure, having to face the real difficulties presented by the transportation of exhibits from points very far distant, or places altogether isolated from even telegraphic communication with the western continent, the drawbacks incident to the remoteness of the main point of attraction from other great industrial centres, and the possible chances of continental wars and other formidable complications which always menace the peace of the world, that their trial at this industrial assize of the nations, and the verdict

which would there be passed upon them, was one which had better not have been courted. All these considerations of possible risk and disaster, and many more, must have been presented to the intelligent, thinking body of the American people in their busy season of preparation, but, whether they did or not, we failed to find, either in their press, amongst the citizens of their large civic communities, or the skillful artificers and handicraftsmen of their busy hives of labour and industry, any fear of unkindly reverses, any prognostications of evil for their forthcoming Exhibition. Buoyant, full of hope, and a great deal of pardonable braggadocio, they did not stop to brood idly over misfortunes which might never come, but set about its prosecution as if complete success were already assured. The national pride was aroused, and the energy and ingenuity, the wealth and resources of the Republic, were laid under tribute to exact from the world contributions to what proved to be a very formidable rival of the far-famed exhibitions of monarchical Europe.

4.—The verdict which the American people challenged, and secured, from the whole world was one which did them the highest degree of honour—an honour in which the Dominion, from the signal success which crowned its own efforts at the Exhibition, is fully entitled to share. Like the peoples of older countries, where history has been repeating itself for centuries, the people of the United States had felt the evils and curse of war. At Philadelphia they made a splendid trial of what could be effected by the arts and virtues of peace. Ten years before they were just emerging, bleeding and crippled, from a conflict the most dreadful and sanguinary of modern times. They then proved how a nation, unused to arms, could exhibit warlike hardihood, enterprise, and fortitude, and could endure, for the sake of national unity, the greatest and most painful sacrifices. Their deadly struggle for the preservation of the Union was magnificently rewarded at Philadelphia. They there showed how a powerful,

The honourable character of the Exhibition as a whole.

because an undivided people, who had settled their own differences, could remove, for the time being, all differences and distinctions between the other great members of the human family. They, at all events, proved that they could, in an incalculable degree, promote the comfort, enlarge the knowledge, and strengthen the kindly affections of mankind towards each other; that they could produce effects much nobler and more lasting than those of war, more profitable to the world generally, and more consonant with the lessons which are derived from our common Christianity; that they could achieve a triumph of industry, instead of a triumph of arms; and, by their readiness to sign a treaty of universal amity, break down international barriers, and form an universal republic of all nations. They can, too, claim the merit of having inspired every department of human skill and labour with new motives and fresh power for the conquests which lie before them, and of having given the mind of humanity an upward impulse, the effects of which will be increasingly beneficial as the years roll on. All this was evident not merely in the vast and varied collections of the Exhibition itself, but in the proofs which these afforded of the boundless capacity for production of those who made them. As a comparative and competitive display of natural products, inventive ingenuity, industrial skill, and artistic taste—as a marvellous assemblage of interesting, useful, and charming objects—treasures of art, as well as of science and nature, the Exhibition was an absolute success. As a living, palpable record of philosophical transactions, it was invaluable, for it displayed and described not merely the triumphs of science, but showed, with the best models and most perfect apparatus of the time, the application of science to every branch of industrial art. Its highest value, however, consisted not so much in the many things which all these were intended to do, as in the one thing which they had so often done already, and to which they were there to testify—the development of man's own character with all its fertility of resource, its dogged perseverance under

difficulty, distress, and disappointment, its care of all past acquisitions, its unbounded faith in all kinds of future possibilities. No one could traverse the transepts and corridors of these magnificent Exhibition buildings, and their annexes, filled with the treasures of the congregated publics of the nations without taking a broader view of human destiny, and without having his highest hopes of the future quickened and expanded.

5.—Whatever character for selfishness the American people had to lose, it was plain to every visitor at Philadelphia in 1876, that they had no desire to make their Exhibition a mere gigantic advertisement for themselves. The arrangements for foreign exhibitors were of the most complete and liberal kind, and their whole undertaking was entered upon in a truly cosmopolitan spirit. Invitations were issued to the whole world to bring its choicest productions and compete with the most powerful representative of Democracy, and with each other, in amicable rivalry, and these were universally accepted. Germany and France, Russia and Turkey were there to contend for another mastery than that of war—for other victories than those which follow the sword and fields of slaughtered battalions. To them as to all, the summons from this side the Atlantic was a summons to the peaceful arena of a nobler competition, where the superiority or predominance of one country may be built, not upon the depression and prostration of another, but where each might strive which could do most to embellish, improve, and elevate our common humanity. It was a summons that defied the ordinary restraints of space and distance, and was heard through and beyond all the barriers of colour, creed, and nationality. It went forth to insulated and far distant centres of civilization like China and Japan—to countries many thousands of miles apart—to unmapped islands of the remote East, and the comparatively unknown and untrodden wildernesses of the far North—to the earliest seats of science and the

Cosmopolitan spirit  
of the American  
invitation.

arts, and to communities still semi-barbarous. From every climate, and every zone, came something of nature's bounteous gifts, or of man's thought and handiwork, his steady perseverance, or subtle industry. The oldest arts and the newest inventions, the rarest specimens of skill and taste—all alike challenged comparison and contrast in that microcosm of the products of all nations. Britain with her countless colonies and possessions was there to strive for the peaceful triumphs of the English race. The multitude of her busy workshops and mines at the seat of the Empire, the fields and forests of Canada and Australasia, the remote dependencies of the African continent, the rich dyes and cunning looms of Hindostan and the far East, were there to attest the wide spreading operations of those who, wherever they be, or by whatever name called, are still our fellow countrymen.

6.—Canada especially felt constrained to make a zealous response to the call of a neighboring people, and to bring into action all the resources at the disposal of an undisturbed country enjoying the full vigour of its natural strength. To the American people the Exhibition was an affair of supreme and overshadowing interest, and Canadians could not be indifferent to any scheme seriously affecting the fame and fortunes of a nation with whose industrial destinies their own were linked so closely. On intimation of the intended Exhibition being given to the Government of Canada, the matter was warmly taken up, and every effort made by the Government of the Dominion, and the several Provincial Governments, to enlist the enthusiasm of the Canadian people in the project. When the subject was brought before Parliament great interest was manifested by the members of both Houses, and a universal wish was expressed that the appearance of Canada, as one of the nations of the civilized world, at Philadelphia, should be worthy of the country and its people, as well as of the historical occasion itself. An item was placed in the estimates for the purpose, and the Hon. Alexan-

der Mackenzie, Premier of the Dominion Government, introduced in the House of Commons a resolution which was unanimously carried, appropriating the sum of \$100,000.00 in aid of the Canadian objects of the Exhibition. This sum, as the result proved, was amply sufficient to carry out the intentions of Parliament in a manner accordant with its patriotic feeling, so much so that, when the Exhibition closed, and all the attendant expenses and liabilities of the Canadian Section had been handsomely provided for, it was found that the wisdom and prudence of the Dominion Commissioners had saved a large sum out of the national funds which had been committed to their charge for Exhibition purposes.

7.—The first step towards organization was taken by the appointment by the Government of a Canadian Commission. This Commission was composed of the Hon. L. Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture, who was *ex-officio* President, the Hon. E. G. Penny, of Montreal, a member of the Senate of Canada, and Mr. Dougall Macdougall of Berlin, Ontario. Mr. Letellier, on his subsequent elevation to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Quebec, was replaced by the Hon. C. P. Pelletier, his successor in the same department of the Government. It is a fact worthy of notice, in this connection, that of these Commissioners, the two upon whom the burthen and heat of the day fell, Messrs. Penny and Macdougall, were, or had been, associated all their lives with the profession of journalism. Mr. Penny, a clever and versatile writer, had been for many years the able Editor of the Montreal *Herald*, a leading organ of public opinion in the commercial metropolis of Canada, while Mr. Macdougall had been honourably connected with the local press in different parts of Ontario, and only relinquishing his active duties as a journalist on his appointment, some years previous by his political friends, to the Registrarship of the County of Waterloo. The manner in which these two gentlemen discharged their difficult and onerous duties, as Executive Commissioners for the

Hearty response to the invitation in Canada.

The Canadian Commissioners.—National appreciation of their services.

Dominion, and the untiring energy, tact and patience, which they displayed, as representatives abroad of their Government, and generally in carrying out the objects of the Commission, were universally acknowledged. Flattering allusions were made to their services by the press of both political parties, and in the debates of both Houses of Parliament; they each received a diploma of thanks from the Government, accompanied by the Dominion gold medal, and were made the recipients of similar honours on the part of the American Government, accompanied by the International bronze medal of the United States. Mr. Joseph Perrault, ex-M.P., of Montreal, was named Secretary of the Commission, and a small, but intelligent and energetic, staff was selected to co-operate with him in carrying out the directions of the Commissioners.

8.—The task confided to these gentlemen was a very responsible one, and the difficulties which

Their responsibilities and difficulties, and their initiatory plans of meeting them.

beset them at the very outset were neither few nor unimportant. Two great obstacles presented themselves in enlisting the general sympathies of the people, and obtaining the co-operation of the industrial interests of the country, and no doubt did eventually prevent many valuable exhibits from being sent to Philadelphia. One of these was the illiberal tariff of the United States, which made it impossible to hope that any transactions with the citizens of that country could arise from the comparison of goods and prices; the other was the great financial depression which prevailed universally, and which dampened the commercial spirit, and, to a certain extent, paralyzed the industrial energies of our people. It thus early became a subject of no little anxiety to determine the manner in which the wishes of the Government should be carried out, and the method which should be adopted in securing an adequate collection and representation of the various products and industries of the country. The several Provinces of the Dominion had already made their appearance at previous International Exhibitions, but it was felt that the

manner in which Canada, as a whole, should show herself at Philadelphia, must be on a far more extended scale than at London, Paris, or Vienna. This was made necessary by the circumstances of the Exhibition taking place on the continent of which Canada forms a part, where, therefore, if she were seen at all, it must be to take rank as an important American power. Her proximity, moreover, to the place of Exhibition made it imperative that the plan adopted should be a widely comprehensive one, embracing, not a few exhibits selected by the Commissioners themselves and deemed meritorious enough for national display, but affording fair scope to the ambition of the whole body of the Canadian People. Within certain limits it was desirable that every person, anxious to exhibit at Philadelphia, should find his appropriate place there; but as it was also found necessary that provision should be made for the larger part of the expenditure, this condition manifestly demanded an authority by which some scrutiny should be exercised to prevent a large outlay on comparatively insignificant or unimportant articles. Great difficulties having been discovered in the way of inducing exhibitors to take part in the enterprise, unless guaranteed against unknown expense, it was determined to assume the whole cost of the conveyance to Philadelphia, the arrangement of and the care there, and the reconveyance to Canada, of all goods destined for the Exhibition. With a view, too, to create emulation, and induce exhibitors to offer the choicest articles and products at their command, it was also resolved to give a certain number of gold, silver, and bronze medals to Canadian exhibitors only, and, in order to secure the utmost impartiality in the distribution of these, the awards were made by distinguished foreign judges.

9.—To reconcile these very liberal and encouraging arrangements with the conditions already described, the assistance of the several Provincial Governments Provincial Advisory boards. Their success. was invited. This was at once heartily accorded, and each of the Provincial Governments obtained from its respective

Legislature a certain precuniary appropriation for the purpose of aiding the general design. An Advisory Board, composed of competent and experienced gentlemen, was named in each Province under the directions of one of the members of the Provincial Ministry, who also appointed a Secretary. The Presidents of these Provincial Advisory Boards were, for Ontario, Hon. A. Crooks, Minister of Public Instruction; for Quebec, Hon. Pierre Garneau, Minister of Agriculture; for Nova Scotia, Hon. P. C. Hill, Premier; for New Brunswick, Hon. J. J. Fraser, Provincial Secretary; for Prince Edward Island, Hon. Senator T. H. Haviland, Provincial Secretary; for Manitoba, Hon. Charles Nolin, Minister of Agriculture; and for British Columbia, Hon. W. J. Armstrong, Minister of Agriculture. Each of these gentlemen was constituted an Honorary Commissioner. To all these Advisory Boards was committed the task of deciding what articles should be accepted for Exhibition purposes, it being understood that, in extraordinary cases only, reference should be made to the Commissioners representing the Dominion. By this elastic and comprehensive plan it was hoped to obtain extended sympathy throughout the Dominion, and that hope was fully justified. The method adopted enlisted in the public service official and unofficial gentlemen of great zeal, experience, and local and technical knowledge, in all parts of the country, and connected with all departments of industry, and there is no doubt that a great deal of the success which was subsequently attained was due to the liberal support and confidence of the Provincial Governments, and the active, intelligent, and judicious co-operation of their Advisory Boards.

10.—The duty imposed upon the heads of the Canadian section of the exhibition embraced the illustration of all departments of Canadian industry. The mining, lumbering, agricultural and manufacturing interests, as well as those concerned in the rearing of live stock, were all to be suitably represented. At previous exhibitions Canada had gained a high reputation for

the scientific and complete collection of minerals which she there displayed. The extension of her territory by the addition of other Provinces, some of them rich in mineral deposits, made it extremely desirable that she should maintain this reputation in the United States. A sum of money was at once set apart for the special expenditure incurred in procuring new specimens of this kind of public wealth, while like sums were appropriated for procuring other natural and economical products from British Columbia and Manitoba, and even the extensive territories stretching away into the North-West of the Dominion, to serve as interesting illustrations of the inexhaustible riches which there awaited the courageous pioneer. The greater part of the specimens of mineral ores, &c., were exhibited under the superintendence of Professor A. R. C. Selwyn, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, to whose care and energy, in their classification and arrangement, and the preparation of a scientific and descriptive catalogue, may be attributed much of the success which was achieved in this department of the Canadian Section.

11.—The exhibition of lumber was, for a long time, the subject of much perplexity. Those connected with that highly important interest were generally anxious to exhibit a large quantity amounting to several hundred thousand feet. It was thought by them that the lumber trade of the United States would be very largely represented, and that in order to impress the spectator with the extent of our own forest resources, it would be necessary to cover a great area with this description of goods. The expense of transporting such an immense quantity of bulky material was one obvious objection to this, and the combustible nature of the material itself, if displayed in one immense exhibit, was another. Ten thousand feet of each description of lumber was finally accepted under conditions satisfactory to the lumbermen. Several large firms, engaged in the trade, furnished considerable quantities of the choicest description of sawn lumber, while the Govern-

The lumber exhibit.  
Ingenious and  
attractive mode of  
display.

Plans for illustrating  
Canadian industry.  
The mineralogic exhibit.



ments of Quebec and New Brunswick expended money liberally in procuring round and square timber, some of which was of very large size. Much interest was excited among visitors by specimens of the Douglas pine from British Columbia. Some of these were taken from trees eight feet in diameter. The plan adopted for the display of all these lumber exhibits was a novel one. They were all ingeniously put together, and built up in a prominent place in the grounds, in the form of a Canadian log house, in which alone the sawn lumber comprised about eighty thousand feet—an edifice which attracted a great deal of attention, and of which drawings were published in most of the illustrated papers of the world. At one corner of this log-house—fit emblem of the homes of many thousands of hardy settlers in the back woods of Canada—was to be seen rising gracefully up, full a hundred feet from its base, the tallest flag-staff in the exhibition—an immense and beautiful spar from New Brunswick—and, from the summit of this the broad folds of the flag of the Dominion were flung to the breeze.

12.—The arrangements which were made to ensure a proper display of some other Canadian interests were equally satisfactory and successful. One of the most important and rising branches of Canadian manufacture is that of cheese, of which no less than thirty-five million pounds were exported in the last fiscal year preceding the opening of the Exhibition. It was very desirable that a growing interest of this kind should be fairly represented, and that the best display possible should be made. Liberal assistance was given the dairymen of the Dominion, and when it was found impossible to expose their products in the Agricultural Hall of the Exhibition, and the dairymen of the United States offered to join them in the construction of a suitable building for the purpose, two thousand dollars worth of stock was acquired in the Centennial Company, and the money expended as the share of Canada in the cost of the dairy house. The collection of Canadian dairy products was entirely managed by

The arrangements as to some other exhibits.

the Ontario Dairy Association, and was universally acknowledged to be far superior to anything of the kind in the whole Exhibition. In providing for the display of Canadian horses, horned cattle, and other live stock, a rule different from that which was applied to these other exhibits was found necessary to be adopted, and the whole risk of loss or damage in the transportation of the animals to Philadelphia, and the care of them there, was thrown upon the owners. This regulation no doubt contracted to some extent the number of this class of exhibitors, but notwithstanding the possibility of loss to which they were exposed, our Canadian farmers entered the lists of competition with the greatest spirit, and demonstrated conclusively the vast capabilities of their country for the breeding of even the highest class of stock.

13.—The provisions requisite for securing an adequate representation of all the natural and industrial products of the Dominion having been thus completed, the means of transport became a pressing consideration. Satisfactory arrangements, however, were made with the different railways of the country, which were brought under the general system adopted by the railroads of the United States engaged in conveying goods to the Exhibition—a system, by the way, with which no fault could be found on the score of liberality, and the details of which were carried out in good faith, and with a manifest desire to facilitate the operations of the respective Governments. The Government steamer *Lady Head*, conveyed nearly the whole of the goods from the Maritime Provinces direct to the port of Philadelphia, where they were unshipped in the dock-yards, and transported by rail to the Exhibition grounds. On the arrival in the United States of Canadian and other foreign goods, some serious difficulties arose which required the greatest possible patience and management in adjusting, and which, at one time, threatened greatly to retard the punctual instalment of all the exhibits. These difficulties, which were eventually overcome by the for-

The transportation arrangements.

bearance of the United States authorities, grew out of the Customs House regulations of a country having a strictly protective tariff that embraced almost every article brought for exhibition.

14.—It here becomes necessary, in order to understand the manner in which the various

The Centennial Commissioners and their arrangements for Exhibitors.

Canadian exhibits were distributed and displayed at Philadelphia, and the handsome allotment of space which was filled by them there, to glance at the labours of the Centennial Commission, and the plans which they had adopted for carrying out the highly patriotic task which had been entrusted to them. The Exhibition at Philadelphia was placed under the direction of a Board of Commissioners appointed by the Federal Government, and a Board of Finance appointed by and representing the stock holders, who supplied a large part of the capital. The Board of Finance was presided over by Mr. John Welch, the present Foreign Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James, and all other arrangements, including especially those which concerned foreign exhibitors, were confided to the Commission under the Presidency of General Joseph R. Hawley, whose chief executive officer was General Alfred T. Goshorn, with the title of Director-General. In other words, the Exhibition was worked by three great departments. The first, the Centennial Commission proper, was charged with the general supervision of all the arrangements, including, however, the direct management of all the State and public ceremonies, the settlement of leading questions relating to the working of the Exhibition, and the direct superintendence of the final questions relating to the awards. To the second department—the Centennial Board of Finance—were entrusted the providing of the funds, the erection of the Exhibition buildings, and the entire control of all financial questions relating to the Exhibition. To the third or executive department was confided the practical working of the Exhibition.

15.—The system of awards, and the work of the judges, differed materially from all previous

exhibitions. The large international juries of London, Paris, and Vienna, were replaced by two hundred and fifty judges, half foreigners and half citizens of the United States, divided into numerous groups of varying strength, according to the extent of the display under each particular head. The business of the judges was to examine and report upon such exhibits as they considered worthy of award; the reports were to be based upon inherent and comparative merits; the elements of merit were to include considerations relating to originality, invention, discovery, utility, quality, skill, workmanship, fitness for the purposes intended, adaptation to public wants, economy, and cost. Each report was attested by the signature of the reporting judge, confirmed by those of his colleagues, while the awards, which comprised a uniform medal accompanied by the report, were to be finally declared by the United States Centennial Commission. It is evident that the value of this arrangement mainly depended upon the ability and care bestowed upon the judicial reports; but, as the result showed, the reports, so far as many of the groups were concerned, proved of more value to exhibitors than graduated medals without such explanations. Each exhibitor had the right to reproduce and publish the report awarded to him—the Centennial Commission reserving the right to publish and dispose of all reports in the manner it deemed best for public information, and also to embody and distribute the reports as records of the Exhibition. In addition to the reports upon individual exhibits, the judges of each group were also required to furnish a general report of the collective exhibits under their charge, embracing some notice of the early history, progress, and present condition, of the different industries.

The system of awards and judges' duties.

16.—The grounds selected for holding the Exhibition consisted of 236 acres in Fairmount Park, a large and beautiful park by the Schuylkill River owned

The Exhibition grounds and buildings.

by the city, and devoted to the recreation of the population. Here, a line of railway had been constructed, making a com-

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plete circuit of the grounds, and miniature passenger carriages, drawn by miniature locomotives, were kept running for the convenience of sight-seers during the whole term of the Exhibition. This railway was one of the novelties of the occasion, and was freely used by the many thousands who frequented the beautiful grounds in which it was built. The buildings properly belonging to the Centennial Commission were scattered around and throughout this immense and lovely area, in the ornamentation and decoration of which the wealth of the people had been lavished, and which was, for the myriads who thronged its endlessly winding walks, or wandered at pleasure over its soft green sward, and amongst its infinite lines and circles of flower beds, an object in itself of unceasing admiration and delight. The Commission at first provided five immense and magnificent buildings, viz.: the Main Building, the Art Gallery or Memorial Hall, Machinery Hall, the Agricultural Building, and the Horticultural Hall, which jointly covered an area of nearly fifty acres; but it became necessary to erect numerous supplementary buildings, or *annexes*, on account of the continuous applications for increased space from all quarters of the globe. The Main Building was in the form of a parallelogram, extending east and west 1880 feet in length, and north and south 464 feet in width, thus covering about twenty acres, and being about the same size as the famous Crystal Palace of 1851. It rose, in three steps, to a total height of seventy feet, and was flanked with majestic square towers. At the centre of each side was an entrance with a lofty façade. The roof of the transept rose above the roof of the nave, and there the four towers, 48 feet square and 120 feet high, gave a very striking and graceful relief to the great length and the whole appearance of the edifice. There was no distinctive feature about it like the ponderous dome of the Vienna palace, but the avenues were long and spacious, the light was admirably distributed, and the structure throughout was well adapted for the purpose for which it was built. The

nations taking part in the Exhibition were here assigned space, according to geographical position, in sections running crosswise of the building. The cost of the building was \$1,580,000, and it was afterwards purchased by the International Exhibition Company, and is now used as a Government exhibition building. Three hundred feet north of the Main Building, on an elevated terrace, stood the Art Gallery or Memorial Hall. This building, although smaller in its dimensions than the others, was perhaps the most magnificent structure of the kind ever erected in connection with an international exhibition. It was built of granite, iron and glass, in the modern Renaissance style, and covered an acre and a half of ground, being 365 feet long, 210 feet wide, and 59 feet high, with a basement 12 feet in height. From the central portion of the structure rose a dome of iron and glass to the height of 150 feet. Its bell-shaped summit was surmounted by a colossal statue of Columbia, twenty-four feet high, and weighing three tons. At each of the four corners of the base of the dome were groups representing Mining, Commerce, Agriculture and Manufactures. Over the main entrance were two groups representing Science and Art. Three distinctive features were displayed in the front of the building, viz.: three large doorways in the centre, a pavilion at each end, and arcades similar in appearance to those in the old Roman villas which connected the pavilions with the centre. The promenade thus formed looked outward over the grounds, and inward over open gardens ornamented with flowers, &c. The walls of the east and west side of the building were relieved by five niches for the reception of statuary. Between the pavilions, at an elevation of forty feet from the ground, extended a grand balcony two hundred and seventy-five feet long, and forty-five feet in width, from which a fine view was had of the beautiful park that stretched away to the northward. The Art Gallery was erected by the city of Philadelphia, and the State of Pennsylvania, at a cost of a million and a half of dollars, and,

having been used by the Centennial Commission during the period of the Exhibition, afterwards became an industrial museum similar to the South Kensington museum in London, England, for the free exhibition of art treasures from all parts of the Union. Although this building gave seventy-five thousand feet of wall space for paintings, and twenty thousand feet of floor space for statuary, &c., yet it failed to meet its original requirements, and a large *annexe* had to be erected affording sixty thousand feet of additional wall space for paintings, and which contained thirty galleries, each forty feet square, besides four spacious corridors. It is a fact worthy of notice that, of the nine million nine hundred and eleven thousand visitors who attended the Exhibition, this Memorial Hall received by far the largest proportion. The Machinery Hall, which was the most complete and wonderful section of the Exhibition, was fourteen hundred and two feet long, and three hundred and sixty feet wide, and was of course constructed of prodigious strength in order to bear the immense strain upon it of the powerful machinery within its walls. It covered an area of fourteen acres, and cost five hundred and forty-two thousand three hundred dollars. One wing on the southern side of the building was specially devoted to the display of hydraulic machinery; and, from a tank, sixty by one hundred and sixty feet and ten feet in depth, was seen a water fall thirty-five feet high, by forty feet wide, supplied by the different kinds of pumping apparatus on exhibition. The motive power of the machinery was supplied by a gigantic Corliss engine of fourteen hundred horse power, forty feet in height, with a fly wheel weighing fifty-six tons and having a diameter of thirty feet. This huge motor worked with an almost awe inspiring silence, and communicated its motion to about ten thousand feet of shafting, and fourteen acres of machines of all kinds, from great carpet looms, which wove at one's bidding carpets of the pattern of any choice, to the delicate little sewing machine. To the general public, Machinery Hall appeared to be more attractive

even than the Main Building, for it seemed like the unveiling of the mystery of life to see growing under one's eyes wonderful fabrics whose production to the uninitiated is always a kind of creation. The Agricultural Building, a Gothic structure in wood, covered an area of about ten acres, cost two hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and was a very handsome and commodious edifice. Here were displayed all the products of the soil, both in the crude and manufactured condition, together with agricultural implements and machinery. The space for the exhibition of live stock consisted of forty acres, and was at a considerable distance from Fairmount Park. The Horticultural Hall was a beautiful conservatory, two hundred and thirty feet long by eighty wide, built principally of iron and glass, in the Moorish style of architecture of the twelfth century. It covered an area of one hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred square feet, was built by the City of Philadelphia at a cost of three hundred thousand dollars, and was afterwards retained as a permanent conservatory by the Park commissioners. The approach to the east and west entrances were by flights of blue marble steps. The central portion of the building was occupied by the conservatory proper, which was two hundred and thirty by eighty feet in area. It was surmounted by a lantern one hundred and seventy feet long, twenty feet wide, and fourteen feet high. A marble fountain executed by Foley adorned the centre, and smaller fountains the angles, of the Hall. A gallery, twenty feet from the floor, ran entirely around the conservatory. The stairways from the vestibules leading to this also gave access to external galleries over the forcing houses, which were connected by a grand promenade above the rooms on the ground floor of the building. The forcing houses were one hundred by thirty feet, covered by curved roofs of iron and glass, and separated by vestibules. In the evening the building was lighted by three thousand five hundred burners. Surrounding this building was a garden forty acres in extent, in which were seen not only all varieties of rare plants and flora but also the

numerous methods of ornamental arrangement employed in artistic gardening. Besides these five buildings, which comprised the Exhibition proper as organized by the Centennial Commission, about a hundred and eighty special buildings were erected in all parts of the grounds at the expense of particular interests. Amongst these was the United States Government building, which covered an area of one hundred and two thousand eight hundred and forty square feet, and which was used for collections belonging to the Federal Government, and objects illustrative of the equipment of the army and navy, and of the processes employed in their civic departments. This was the most complete and best arranged exhibit in the whole Exhibition. Special grants were also made gratuitously to the various States of the Union, and to several nationalities, of building sites, and upon these almost every State and Foreign Government erected a building for the accommodation of Commissioners, or the exhibition of local productions. Canada was granted one of these sites in the best part of the grounds. Amongst the most beautiful of the foreign houses thus erected was St. George's House, built by the British Commission in a style of domestic architecture representing a period common to the history both of the English and American people, and which was furnished and decorated in the most artistic manner. The use of two handsome and handsomely furnished apartments in this house was generously granted by the British Commission to the Commissioners for the Dominion. There was but one voice throughout the United States in praise of St. George's House and its contents, and never was a national gift more appreciated than when, with the approval of the Queen, and in the name of Her Majesty's Government, it was presented to the City of Philadelphia at the close of the Exhibition.

17.—As may be well supposed, the Dominion of Canada required room in almost all the buildings above enumerated, as well as suitable space upon the ground devoted to the display of cattle and

The large space occupied by Canada.

other live stock. The application for this purpose was one of the earliest which reached the American authorities, and, as afterwards appeared, its promptitude was regarded as a compliment by those to whom it was addressed. The request was acceded to with much cordiality. Large spaces were devoted to the objects of the Dominion in all the departments of the Exhibition, and an excellent position was secured in each of them. In the Main Building, chiefly devoted to manufactures, Canada received the allotment of a space of thirty thousand square feet, which was exactly equal to that devoted to Spain and Russia together. She occupied the floor between the main avenue and the northern wall in one direction, and two cross avenues of the building in the other, was immediately next the Court of Great Britain and Ireland, and faced those of Spain and Russia on the other side of the avenue. The other British colonies adjoined her on the west side, and, along with Canada, were all clustered together close by the side of the Mother Country. The Canadian exhibit filled a space, taking all the buildings into consideration, larger than that devoted to any nationality other than the United States, with the possible exception of England. In the Machinery Hall the area of five thousand square feet, devoted to Canada, was immediately in front of one of the main entrances of the building, and consequently remarkably conspicuous. She was favoured by a somewhat similar arrangement in the Agricultural Building, her space having been allotted at the corner formed by the two main avenues, close to one of the doors. The area which she occupied here was fifteen thousand square feet. She had also appropriated spaces devoted to her in the Ladies' Pavilion, and the Carriage Hall, a complete room in the *annexe* to the Art Gallery, two compartments in the Photographic Gallery, about three thousand feet in the Dairy Building, and five thousand feet in the Pomological Hall.

18.—The plan devised for exhibiting the Canadian goods, especially in the Main Building

How the Canadian  
goods were displayed.

where most of the manufactured articles were displayed, was a very suitable one. Some of the minor Powers enclosed their contributions within screens gaudy in color, and of unassignable architectural style, but those nations which, like England and France, had studied most carefully the economies of International Exhibitions, had come to learn that the less there is to distract attention from the object under exhibition the better. Hence not only were all enclosing partitions abolished by them, but the show cases were all more or less unpretentious in appearance. Those in the English department were uniformly of ebony, relieved with gold, and were sufficiently extended to allow of each article being viewed apart from its neighbours. Those in the Canadian department were of somewhat similar construction. They were almost wholly of glass, set in rich, dark walnut frames, and thus enabled the interior space to be fully occupied by the exhibits which could be seen from all sides. In point of utility, capacity, and beauty, they fulfilled, to a large degree, all the essential conditions, and they compared, in these respects, very favorably with other cases used at the Exhibition which had been made to meet similar exigencies. At the close of the Exhibition they were sent to Ottawa, where they are now being used by the Government in the Patent Office and Museum of the Parliament Buildings.

19.—The day fixed for the opening of the Exhibition was the 10th of May, and, though all the buildings, except the Agricultural Hall, were in a fit state to receive their contents long before that time, no department was quite ready for inspection. Some of the Courts were even closed to the public. But, upon the whole, the Exhibition was in a more forward state than any of its great predecessors, except perhaps those of London. It is to the credit of Canada that no other nationality was further advanced towards completion, and better able to pass muster in the long roll-call of nations, on the day when the first American Inter-

national Exhibition was proclaimed open to the world.

20.—The ceremonies at the opening were simple but impressive, and were preceded by a sort of military pageant in the principal streets leading to the Exposition grounds. The President of the United States had arrived for the inauguration, and accompanied by Governor Hartranft of Pennsylvania, was escorted to the great centre of attraction by a large body of troops who were followed in the long procession by the Governor of Massachusetts, and a number of the Governors of other States, with their several staffs and escorts. The day was beautifully fine; the scene along the route was very animated, and, as the grounds were approached, the enthusiasm of the multitude assembled knew no bounds. When the entrance to the Main building was reached, the troops formed in line and saluted the President and his party, who filed into the great edifice amidst the plaudits of the populace, which were taken up by the many thousands on either side as the President passed up the Main aisle, and through to the grand stand in front of the Memorial Hall, where a brilliant assemblage was already awaiting the inauguration ceremonies. These were witnessed by at least one hundred and ten thousand people. The exercises began by the Right Reverend Bishop Simpson offering up an appropriate and solemn prayer, at the conclusion of which the Centennial hymn of John G. Whittier was sung by over nine hundred voices with magnificent effect. Then followed the presentation of the buildings to the United States Centennial Commissioners by Mr. John Welch, the President of the Centennial Board of Finance. A *cantata* by Sidney Lamier, of Georgia, was sung, after which there was a formal presentation of the Exhibition to the President of the United States by General Hawley, President of the Centennial Commission. President Grant acknowledged the acceptance by reading a short and appropriate address, in the course of which he extended a warm welcome to all the repre-

Canada on the  
Opening Day.

The inaugural  
ceremonies.



representatives of foreign nations, and concluded by declaring the Exhibition open. The President's speech was very heartily cheered, His Imperial Majesty, Dom Pedro II, of Brazil, who was present, rising in his seat and joining in the acclamation by waving his hat. Wagner's Centennial Inauguration March was performed by an orchestra under the direction of Theodore Thomas, and, at the conclusion of this, Bishop Simpson pronounced a short benedictory prayer, the vast assemblage standing with uncovered heads. At the hour of noon, upon a signal being given by Governor Hawley, the American flag was unfurled from the Main Building. The band and organ accompaniment. A salute of one hundred guns was fired from George's hill, while chimes were rung out from different parts. Hallelujah Chorus was rendered with orchestral accompaniment. During the performance of the chorus, the foreign Commissioners passed from the platform into the Main Building, and took up their places upon the central avenue before their respective departments, after which President Grant, accompanied by the Emperor of Brazil, and the Director General, and followed by all the distinguished guests of the day, proceeded into the Main Building, through its main avenues, where he conveyed his congratulations to a number of the foreign Commissioners who were present to receive him, and thence to Machinery Hall, from which he passed to the Judges quarters. One of the most impressive scenes of the day took place in Machinery Hall, where the President, assisted by the Emperor of Brazil, started the motive power which was to give such amazing life and action to the machinery of that wonderful building. The huge Corliss Engine was there standing as silent as the grave, but, at a given signal, the President and the Emperor each seized a crank, opening the valves, and turned them several times; at once the ominous sound was heard which gave the myriads of onlookers to understand that the engine was about to move. Then the monstrous fly wheel began slowly revolving, increasing gradually in velocity until it was travelling at full speed. General Hawley started a cheer,

which was taken up by the surrounding multitude; deafening echoes reverberated through the vast building, and as all the wheels in the hall began rapidly moving, the loud ringing of peals of bells and other demonstrations, told the world that the Centennial International Exhibition was at last fairly opened.

21.—Great distinction was shown at these opening ceremonies to the British section—the flag of Great Britain being on the immediate left of the position Splendid receptions and entertainments. assigned to President Grant during the ceremonial, the American flag being on his right. In the evening the city was illuminated, and an entertainment was given by Mr. George W. Childs, at which the President of the United States, and the Emperor of Brazil, accompanied by a brilliant staff, were present, and almost every person of distinction, American and foreign, then in the United States. This was probably the most magnificent private entertainment ever given in America. The following evening a grand banquet was given by Sir Edward Thornton, the British Ambassador at Washington, which President Grant, the Emperor of Brazil, and many other American and foreign dignitaries, attended. The Canadian Commissioners were present at these and other notable gatherings of distinguished men, which were held at intervals during the period of the Exhibition, and received on every hand the warmest congratulations on the highly creditable appearance which their country made in so many of its departments. These were particularly hearty at a reception given by Mr. Childs to Lord Dufferin on his arrival at Philadelphia. This gentleman, and Mr. A. J. Drexel, another leading citizen of Philadelphia, earned the lasting gratitude of the Canadian representatives for the valuable assistance rendered them in services of a semi-official character with the American Government. They were offered by the English Commission and accepted, positions as British Honorary Commissioners, and were distinguished by the loyal support and splendid hospitalities shown by them while acting in that capacity.

22.—But it was not merely in this round of public festivities, and the different brilliant receptions which were held in the palatial mansions of the private citizens of Philadelphia,

Marked attention  
shown Canada by  
foreigners.

that so lively a sympathy and marked attention were bestowed upon the Canadian section of this International display. The different Canadian departments were honored by visits from, and minutely inspected by, the President of the United States, the Emperor of Brazil, and all leading officials who were residing at or visiting Philadelphia, as well as by many men of great celebrity in private positions in the United States, whose names are as familiar to the world as household words. Amongst our fellow-countrymen, too, the eager and intelligent interest, which was excited by Canada's honorable participation in the event, was manifested by the large numbers who flocked to the great centre of attraction from all parts of the Dominion. It was calculated that not less than fifty thousand persons, from this side the great lakes, visited Philadelphia before the close of the Exhibition. Amongst these were His Excellency the Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governors of the different Provinces, members of the Senate and House of Commons, and of all the Provincial Legislatures, and the Premiers, and nearly all the other members of the Dominion and Provincial Ministries. Lord Dufferin spent several days in inspecting the most interesting features of the collection, paying especial attention to the various branches of the Canadian section. He was received with marked respect by the American authorities of the Exhibition, and by all the foreign Commissioners. During his stay in Philadelphia he resided at the headquarters of the Canadian Commissioners, on Walnut Street, and, after his departure, was pleased to address a letter to them, through their senior member, in which he thus expressed his satisfaction with the Canadian display:—"Lord Dufferin furthermore desires to express to you the very great satisfaction with which he has witnessed the admirable arrangements

under which the Canadian exhibits have been displayed. The whole organization of the department is most creditable to you and to your colleague, evincing, as it does, good taste, good judgment, and a thorough appreciation of the manner in which the products and the industries of Canada should be set out to the best advantage. Excellent as were the materials with which you had to deal, their effect has been undoubtedly very much enhanced by the admirable way in which they have been arranged, and I am sure it must have been a great satisfaction to you to have perceived how very much every one has been struck by the Canadian contributions, and the important part taken by the Dominion in the general display."

#### CHAPTER XLVIII.

##### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN —CANADA AT THE CENTENNIAL. (*Continued.*)

1. REVIEW OF THE VARIOUS NATIONAL EXHIBITS.—2. THE CANADIAN PAINTINGS AND WATER-COLORS.—3. CREDITABLE DISPLAY OF CANADIAN PHOTOGRAPHS &c.—4. REMARKABLE EXHIBIT BY CANADIAN ENTOMOLOGISTS.—5. THE EXHIBIT OF MINERALS, METALS, METALLURGICAL PRODUCTS, &c.—6. CANADA IN THE FRONT RANK AS A MINERAL PRODUCING COUNTRY.—7. THE CERAMIC DEPARTMENTS OF THE EXHIBITION.—8. USEFUL AND SERVICEABLE ARTICLES OF VARIOUS KINDS.—9. COMPLIMENTS PAID CANADIAN MANUFACTURERS BY THE CENTENNIAL JUDGES.—10. THE SECTION OF EDUCATION. THE GENERAL DISPLAY.—11. THE CANADIAN EDUCATIONAL EXHIBIT UNSURPASSED.—12. THE MACHINERY EXHIBIT GENERALLY.—13. THE ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DISPLAY.—14. THE CANADIAN MACHINERY EXHIBIT.—15. A SYSTEM OF MACHINE TESTING.—16. THE PRACTICAL TEACHINGS OF THE EXHIBITION TO CANADA.—17. THE EXHIBIT OF AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.—18. THE CANADIAN EXHIBIT.

1.—In passing in review the enormous number and great variety, of useful and valuable articles which were grouped together in the buildings, or were scattered in multitudinous profusion throughout the grounds of this International Exhibition, it is proper to speak of the fair conclusions which may be derived from a comparison between the products of Canada and those of other nationalities. There are, of course, a number of branches of human art in which a country, so young as our's, could not hope to compete there with the older nations of the world. This is especially the case with painting, sculpture, and ornamental industries of various descriptions, embracing jewellery, decorative works in metal, and the finer species of china, glassware, and pottery. Comparatively few of these adorned the Canadian department, although of the products of Canadian art this much may be said, that they equalled many of the examples sent from countries that lay claim to some artistic fame, and, as a whole, were superior to the collections of some others which made a more pretentious display. Among the many contributors of works of fine art England stood conspicuously and honorably forward. This was universally conceded, and was confirmed by the verdict of most of the foreign, as well as American, judges. The preeminent position taken by the Mother Country was due, in a large measure, to the contributions generously loaned by the owners of fine works of art. Her Majesty the Queen loaned several important and valuable pictures, and her example was followed by the Royal Academy, which sent a number of the diploma works of deceased Academicians, as well as by many of the possessors of private picture galleries, and by distinguished artists. Gainsborough, Reynolds, Wilkie, and other worthies of classic British art, were represented by good specimens of their work, while Frith, Faed, Holman Hunt, and other prominent masters of the modern School, were also there. By far the most extensive collection of pictures was contributed, as was to be expected, by the United States, and, although there was a great

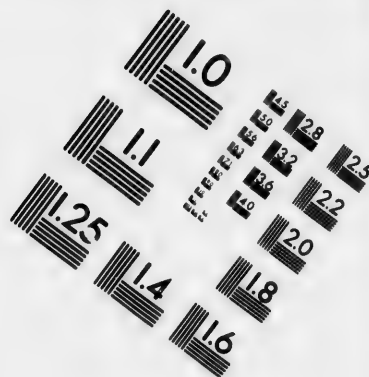
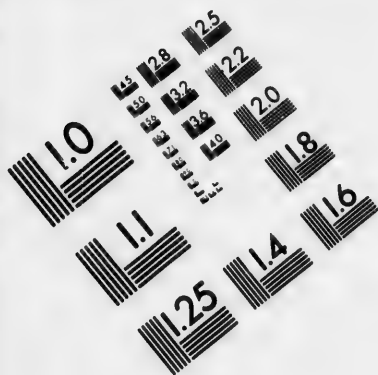
Review of the  
various national  
exhibits.

variety of aim and treatment, the standard was uniformly good, and there were not wanting evidences of home as well as foreign inspirations of a high order. The most original and interesting efforts were in landscape paintings, representing the grand features, and bold rocky scenery, of the far West. The finest efforts, however, in landscape were to be found in the Dutch gallery, where the sole end seemed to be to represent the simplest truths of nature in colour, light, and shade. The inadequate representation of the French school of painting was atoned for by the sculptors, whose bronze figures were among the most remarkable and beautiful productions in the whole collection, and received the warmest approbation. The exhibit of Italian sculpture was, on the whole, somewhat disappointing, the aim of the sculptors apparently being to represent curious distinctions of surface texture in cloth, or linen, or knitted fabrics, and difficult undercutting of network suggestive, more or less, of a mere materialistic art. The Austrian pictures were very striking in the direction of colour, and amongst them were some remarkable works, gorgeous in many hues of brilliancy, or subtle and refined delicacy. In religious art the noblest contributions were sent by Spain. The art of etching, which in the hands of genius is a fascinating method of expressing original thought and feeling, combining the utmost freedom with the greatest refinement, was well represented by exhibits from France, England, Austria, and the United States.

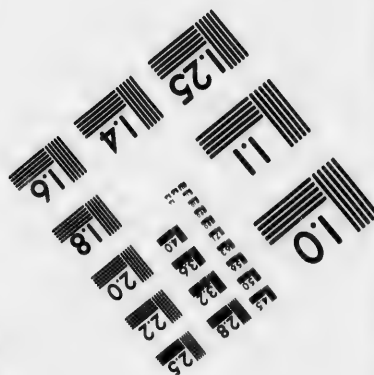
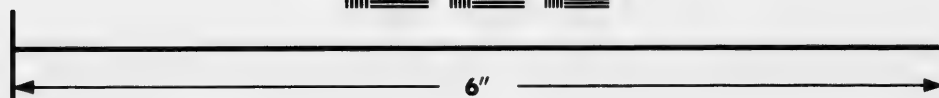
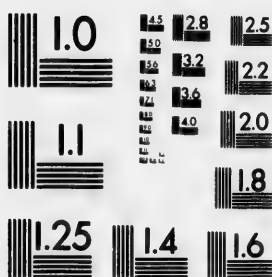
2.—In painting, our display, if not large, was very creditable in average excellence, considering it was the contribution of, perhaps, the youngest art country in the world, and while comparison with old countries, such as England, France and Germany, was not to be expected, the Canadian works did not suffer disparagement along side those of the United States, Sweden and Norway. They showed, at least, that we possess in our own land, material out of which may be built a school of art both original in character, and respectable in merit. The landscapes in oil by Fraser, Perié, Verner, Martin, Cresswell, Forbes,

The Canadian paintings and water colors.





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and Jacobi, were very much admired, and elicited commendations from many of the most discriminating judges. The water-colour drawings—most of them belonging to members of the Ontario Art Union, a very promising society of artists that is being fostered by the Government of that Province—were of exceptional merit, and not a few of these, especially those showing the distinctive characteristics of Canadian scenery, were highly praised. The water-colours by Millard, O'Brien, Matthews, Baigent, Fowler—who was awarded a medal—Cresswell, and Jacobi, formed the finest display in that department in the whole of the *annexe* to the Art Gallery. W. C. W. Cope, a member of the Royal Academy, was requested by the Canadian Commissioners to inspect the works of art from the Dominion, and to adjudge the extra awards given in the shape of medals. He did so and spoke in high terms of the "very good busts" and the "remarkable display of Canadian landscapes."

3.—In Photography, the specimens exhibited by our artists were not inferior to any that graced the building. The splendid display from the establishment of Messrs. Notman and Fraser, of Toronto and Montreal, was larger and more varied than any in the Exhibition, occupying a wall space of about 1100 feet, and being valued at \$12,000. The principal points of excellence remarked, in the portraits exhibited by this firm, were the artistic and graceful freedom of posing, combined with pictorial representation; this, together with the effective treatment of light and shade, and the splendor and depth of tone, and boldness of relief, placed their work in the highest rank of art produced by photography. It was from the appreciation of their work that the United States Centennial Commission did Canada, through them, the high honor of entrusting the sole duty of photographing the Exhibition, and its principal exhibits, and it is not surprising that the rare excellence of our display, in this department, was specially noted and received congratulatory remarks from the people and the press of all other countries.

Creditable display  
of Canadian  
photographs, house  
decorations, &c.

In sculpture, for the purpose of house decoration, our department contained what was universally acknowledged to be the finest piece of workmanship in the building—a highly ornate and much admired marble mantle from a Montreal manufactory, while some specimens of panelling, consisting of imitations of various woods and marbles, with medallions, birds, &c., also from Montreal, were not surpassed by the work of any competitors. The prizes taken by Canada in the departments representing the fine arts were six in number.

4.—In this connection it may be proper to mention the very remarkable collection of insects sent by the Entomological Society of Ontario—a collection which for comprehensiveness

Remarkable exhibit  
by Canadian entomologists.

and scientific arrangement, could not be surpassed, and was without a rival in the whole exhibition. Infinite pains and trouble were expended by our entomologists in obtaining and preparing this marvellous collection, which came from all parts of the Province some of the material used being the accumulated result of many years of patient labor. When complete the collection was a very large and handsome one, and was replete with interest and instruction. In every department the best system of classification was followed, and, to insure the greatest accuracy in naming, all doubtful specimens were submitted to the best informed specialists on the continent. The whole collection filled eighty large cases which were disposed in a double row on a suitable stand, eighty-six feet in length, erected in the Canadian department of the Agricultural Hall. In these cases were prominently displayed all the insect pests which inflict injuries on the crops of the agriculturalist and horticulturalist, as well as those which are friendly to the farmer and fruit-grower by preying on the foes which attack their products. The specimens were all in an excellent state of preservation, but the feature which attracted the chief attention of those interested in this branch of science was the thorough and correct manner in which so many thousands of specimens were classified and

named. Worked up in this painstaking manner the collection gave valuable information to all seeking it, not only in regard to the species themselves, as far as their identity and relative position in the system of classification were concerned, but also as to their geographical distribution throughout our country—a branch of entomological knowledge of great importance. The economic value of such a collection—which is still preserved, as far as possible, unbroken and well cared for, in the society's rooms in London—is incalculable. While marking an era in the progress of entomology in Canada, this Centennial effort, which redounded so much to her credit, formed a groundwork on which might be built up observations of the greatest value; while the facilities afforded beginners for naming the specimens, which have been the subjects of their study, must have the effect of greatly stimulating intelligent research in this important department of natural science, in which there is still so much to learn, and which is so intimately associated with the progress of successful agriculture.

5.—In glancing at the minerals, metals, and metallurgical products of the Exhibition, one of the first impressions created by a general survey of the specimens sent there was, that certain minerals, in the possession of which Britain and her colonies, including the Dominion, were conceived to be exceptionally favoured, are in point of fact to be found in great abundance all over the world. The United States had already given ample proof of wealth in the means of supplying their own demands for iron and steel, but if the many huge blocks of iron ore, and immense masses of coal, were to be accepted as the criterion of the resources of Canada, that which the United States has accomplished in later years bids fair, when circumstances permit it, and the necessity for the establishment of iron works arises, to be imitated in our own country at no distant day. No one could fail to be impressed with the belief that a country capable of furnishing such great quantities and varieties of economic ores of different kinds, as were to be

seen from the Lake Superior and other districts, and of exhibiting such sections of fossil fuel as were there shown from Nova Scotia, British Columbia, and the Saskatchewan, was possessed of boundless mineral wealth. In regard to some foreign exhibits, that of iron for example, it was very apparent that whatever the indirect inducements may be, it is generally speaking those of a direct commercial character which determine the conduct of manufacturers in connection with exhibitions like that of Philadelphia. The expense and trouble of preparing and superintending the arrangement of the necessary specimens, at a point several thousands of miles distant, deterred many from the task. Great Britain, producing half the pig iron in the world, was represented in a country consuming nearly one-fifth of the earth's productions by comparatively few firms, of whom but a small number occupied a position of any importance. This was also pretty nearly the attitude of Germany, of France, and of Belgium; all apparently expected no practical consequences to themselves to result from the necessary outlay. Sweden was differently circumstanced, and acted accordingly. She was most creditably represented, and in a manner worthy of her ancient repute as a source of some of the best iron known in commerce, and her exhibit altogether was conspicuous by the scientific character of its arrangement. But while, with this exception, the European seats of this great trade were inadequately represented, and while England, the largest iron making country in the world, abstained from exhibiting in a country where no customers were to be expected, Canada showed more foresight by pursuing a different policy, and set the Mother Country and every other nation an example in this department of the Exhibition which was freely acknowledged.

6.—In minerals of all kinds, metals, and metallurgic products generally, she took a front rank. Nature has been very prolific in giving us most of the ordinary metals and ores, together with valuable deposits of limestone, building stone, salt, etc. In all these there was

The exhibit of minerals, metals, metallurgical products, &c.

Canada in the front rank as a mineral producing country.

a large number of entries from all parts of the Dominion, although probably the most important part of the exhibits was that of iron. The iron ore shown from the mines near the Ottawa contained sixty-nine per cent. of metal, about double the quantity that can be obtained from the ores of Norway and Sweden. It is stated that one of these mines alone has at least one million tons of ore that is easily accessible. Of our metallurgical products, some of the best were the billets of iron from the Ottawa Iron and Steel Manufacturing Company, which are specially adapted for the manufacture of steel, and, as stated by experts, there is no better ore for this purpose in the world than that which is obtained in Ontario. The billets referred to were only under the Catalan forges for two and a half hours from the raw ore, yet they showed, in a remarkable manner, their adaptability for the manufacture of steel by the ring of the metal. This was taken advantage of by tuning the billets to ring a chime—a source of amusement and astonishment to the thousands who were attracted by the musical sounds. The whole geological department of Canada was highly approved. The collection was made in a most systematic manner, and the result was that it furnished the means of appreciating at once the geological structure and mineral wealth of the country. It of course mainly commended itself to persons of scientific tastes and knowledge; the experts who visited it declared it to be one of the most complete and best arranged collections of the kind of which the Exhibition could boast. The gold column in the Canadian section, indicating the quantity of that metal mined in British Columbia, was a source of curiosity and no little astonishment to many visitors. This column represented a mass of gold of the value of thirty-seven million dollars, obtained within the preceding thirteen years. Among the specimens having economic value, the wonderful mass of plumbago, and the preparations illustrating its varied applications to the arts, shown by the Dominion Plumbago Company, were particularly noticeable. There was one single block of this mineral which

weighed more than 2800 pounds—the largest piece of the kind ever known to be mined. This exhibit was pronounced unequalled in the history of plumbago, and the exhibitors were awarded the highest honors of the Exhibition. One specimen of lithographic stone presented the *facsimile* autographs of all the Governors of Canada, both French and English, from the time of Champlain, in 1612, to that of Lord Monck, in 1862, with the exception of two of the French Governors in the first half of the seventeenth century. In this connection it may be stated that a case of petroleum oil, and its products, from a London manufactory, was also among the more interesting and beautiful attractions of this part of the Canadian department to visitors from all parts of the world. It obtained the highest International award and the Canadian gold medal. In the geological department, Canada carried off twenty-eight International prizes. Thus did we proclaim to the world the existence of our mineral resources, and announced to this great industrial congress, by visible signs as well as in plain language in the admirable catalogues prepared by Professor Selwyn and his clever assistants, that we possess untold mineral wealth which only awaits capital and human skill to render it available for the general use of mankind.

7.—One of the most wonderful and fascinating departments of the Exhibition, as a whole, was that of the ceramic and glass wares, comprising porcelain, stone wares, terra-cottas, mosaics, and ceramic wares of every description—a display most extensive and important, and covering a very wide field. As was to be expected, the Exhibition of Oriental, that is of Chinese and Japanese, porcelain and pottery was on a large scale, and full of interest, and was the most important contribution to the ceramic department put together by any one country. So far as the European products were concerned, although there was rather a paucity of invention, either of new processes of manufacture, or new applications of material, nevertheless some

The ceramic department of the Exhibition.

of the contributions served to illustrate what has often been observed of the almost inexhaustible fertility of the potter's art. The exigencies of some new process, the sudden development of some hitherto restricted trade, the mere shifting of the wind of fashion, all may be met, and sometimes are so met, by novel efforts on the part of the potter, and serve to prove that the most ancient art of the world has still many untried resources, and many fields still open to originality and enterprise. Of late days the wider spread of accurate investigation, in geology and mineralogy, has greatly aided the manufacture by the discovery of new veins of clays, and of other minerals available for its process. The careful analysis of many clays, and other researches of experimental chemistry, as well as the precise observations of scientific collectors, has also widened the field of labour. In this department Canada had its contributions which were important, not so much from their extent—although that was not to be despised—as from the evidence they afforded of the abundance of excellent natural material, and of the industrial skill shown in its use. In referring to Canada's part in the general display, Mr. R. H. Soden Smith, F.S.A., who was Chairman of the board of American and foreign judges in this department, remarked:—"In Canada the manufacture of the more finished descriptions of pottery is of very recent growth, but already shows signs of a skill and energy, on the part of the manufacturers, which promises well for the future, and which could not fail to be regarded by Englishmen with special interest and satisfaction. Both granite and cream-coloured wares of good quality, and workmanlike style, were exhibited, as well as bricks of excellent manufacture, artificial stones, crucibles, specimens of terra-cotta, &c. The success attained is the more remarkable as the manufacture of some of these wares, so important for household use, has not been long established. A great and most creditable advance has been made by the enterprising Canadian manufacturers, and that in a brief period." We may, in addition to this, remark that the development

of this industry has been wonderfully rapid, and even admitting, to the fullest extent, the advantage which our people have had from workmen trained in Europe, nevertheless the results already obtained reflect great credit on the energy, enterprise and ability brought to bear on the manufacture. In this, as in other departments of Canadian handicraft, the self-reliance of our people has strikingly come out in the progress of the industry. Some have entered upon it without any previous knowledge or training, and yet, by sheer perseverance, readiness of resource, and aptitude to learn, have triumphed over their early difficulties and losses, and accomplished, in a short time what, in the opinion of the most competent judges, must be considered a remarkable success.

8.—It was, however, in articles of prime necessity that Canada was likely chiefly to excel, and in these she took high rank among the other manufacturing nationalities. In leather of all descriptions, including the finer classes, in boots and shoes, in tweeds, knitted goods, and domestic cottons, in stoves and stove-ware, tools of all kinds, printed books and stationery, and similar articles, she compared most favourably with any other nation that appeared at Philadelphia. Taking the single article of boots and shoes, as an example, we may state, that one Toronto firm sent a collection which was not equalled in the whole exhibition for variety, embracing so many different kinds and styles and made in so many descriptions of leather, foreign and domestic. This exhibit caused quite a sensation, especially amongst the lady visitors, who were delighted with the delicacy and exquisite workmanship of the ladies' wear, and large crowds were daily gathered round the glass cases in which it was contained. A large number of the articles were sold as samples for the Australian market. In this branch of manufacture the sewing machine is now being freely utilized. The Canadian sewing machines were a very creditable display—many of our manufacturers, who had at previous exhibitions established for themselves so high a

Useful and serviceable articles of various kinds.



reputation, being able to maintain it in an even more meritorious manner at Philadelphia, while a large collection of musical instruments of various kinds proved the successful efforts that are being made by our manufacturers in this branch of the arts. In ready-made clothing, too, Canada made a very successful display, one of our exhibitors obtaining the International diploma and bronze medal. So in some other useful and serviceable articles, such as edge tools, Canada was a conspicuous and very honourable competitor—her display being second to none in the building. They were especially noticed and commented upon by gentlemen of high experience in Great Britain, who were acting as Centennial judges, as were also several large assortments of iron goods of various kinds, including a rare assortment of skates, shown by the Starr Company of Halifax. A collection of saws, from a manufactory in St. Catharines, Ontario, was a very prominent exhibit, and was one of the great attractions of the Canadian Court. It was contained in an immense glass case, with a black velvet back, in which the bright implements were tastefully arranged. It comprised every description of saw in general use, and was universally admired for the beauty, finish, and excellence of the material. There were many Canadian firms who exhibited numerous varieties of tools for industrial purposes, and large orders from different parts of the United States, and even from countries so far distant as Australia, were the direct consequences of all these different exhibits. Then again in woollen goods of all kinds, shown by Canada, it was acknowledged frankly by competitors from various parts of the world, that she took the first place, though, of course, she did not show broadcloths, nor other similar goods of the very finest texture. Her display of cottons, although not large, was very excellent. In cotton, linen, and other similar fabrics, the largest proportion was supplied, as was to be expected, by the United States. Great Britain and other continental nations, were restrained from making so extensive and varied a display of these manufactures as they might

have done, by reason of the excessive protective tariff. The inevitable result was to prevent so complete a comparison as might otherwise have been made, and thus to frustrate one of the most desirable and valuable purposes of an international exhibition. In some classes, however, the textile manufactures of all countries were well represented, and although the collections of some were more extensive and diversified than those of others, there was sufficient in all cases to show the progress made by the different competitors, and their capabilities, as well as to afford valuable opportunities for comparison.

9.—On this account, therefore, if on no other, the very creditable place which was universally assigned to Canada's display, in this particular department, is all the more remarkable, and many high compliments were passed upon it. Mr. Isaac Watts, late Secretary to the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, one of the English judges at the Exhibition, and the Chairman of the judges in this department, praised Canada's exhibit very highly. He said: "The textile fabrics contributed by Australia, New Zealand and the colonies generally, with one exception, were neither numerous nor important, but Canada has made a remarkable display, and one which excited surprise and admiration. In articles of clothing, and in cotton and woollen fabrics of various kinds, Canada has proved to be in many respects in advance of the United States. The superior qualities of the woollen tweeds and cassimeres, the heavy cheviots and check regattas, the heavy twilled domet flannels, the pure Nova Scotia woollen blankets, the plaid flannel shirtings, twilled jeans, calicoes, heavy sheetings, etc., was unquestionable, and they were unsurpassed by any similar goods in the Exhibition. The British judges, having undertaken to make the special and additional awards offered by the Canadian Commission to exhibitors from the Dominion, had ample opportunities of estimating the progress that has been made, and the degree of perfection which has been attained. Canada, especially

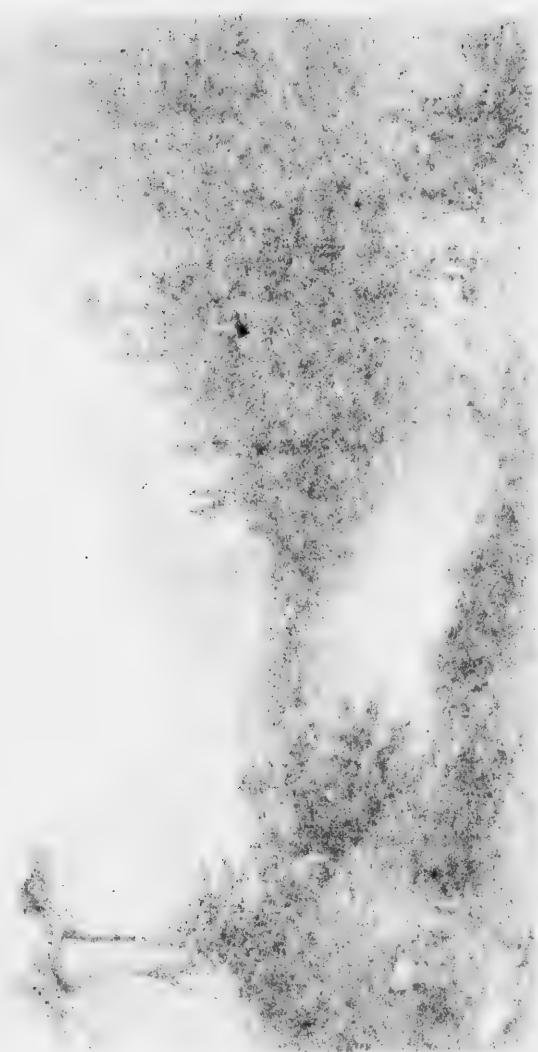
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in some of her manufacture, is entitled to pre-eminence." Many other competent judges at Philadelphia passed encomiums similar to this. The Canadian goods exhibited were generally conspicuous for fine workmanship, elegance of design, and harmonious combination of colours, and they repeatedly called forth expressions of pleasure and satisfaction. The vast progress of the United States, as shown by their exhibits of a similar kind, was undoubtedly great. Judged alone, and in relation to former periods, it proved that a high degree of perfection had been attained. The collections from other countries, however, though less extensive, indicated a progress no less remarkable, and, therefore, the pre-eminent place taken by our own country was all the more honourable. On all sides development and progress were strikingly manifested, and, if this was more conspicuously shown in some cases than in others, we can well believe that all would be inspired with new life and impulses, which could not fail to induce fresh efforts to excel in the peaceful but glorious achievements of industry and commerce.

10.—The section of Education, in any International Exhibition, is one of transcendent importance as indicating in many ways, the intellectual expansion and progress of the world. At Philadelphia there was scarcely one civilized country unrepresented; the limits of the Exhibition in this respect were very wide; and, although some countries were by no means adequately represented, the representation as a whole was perhaps as complete in every way as could be expected. A few countries from which, under different circumstances, we should have looked for an exceptionally excellent appearance, seemed coy and backward in presenting themselves; and this was all the more to be deplored in that elementary education having taken its place as a science, it was of the highest importance to collect and examine in such a place the experience of many nations. The exhibits of Great Britain, for example, formed no criteria by which to estimate accurately her educational

standing. They consisted of some valuable photographs of the London Board Schools, writing frames for the blind, a multiplicity of school registers, maps, a military model apparatus for illustrating drill movements, books and engravings, and a number of interesting objects from the South Kensington Museum. France was represented chiefly by books. Germany submitted a large collective exhibit of her book trade and printing industries—the only other noticeable feature in her division, being the fullness and excellence of her geographical exhibit. Norway, though sending little, showed an interesting collection of materials for a free school. Austria made a poor return to the United States for what they had sent to Vienna in 1873. Italy furnished music, didactic treatises, and microscopic anatomical preparations, and was surpassed by Brazil, which made a very fair display of work done by pupils in the schools of Rio Janeiro. Of those countries which put forth a systematic effort to show the existing state of education amongst them, notice was first arrested by Sweden with its specimens of work from its schools of home industry, and its national high schools, its fine collective exhibit from the technical elementary schools, and its primary school-house—a one story frame building, fitted with all the accessories of brick furniture, books, charts, &c., which was placed in the exhibition grounds by the Royal Swedish Commission. The most noteworthy exhibits of Belgium were types of school furniture, approved by the Belgian Government, and examples of the writing method approved by the State. The Netherlands furnished a limited but worthy illustration of their highly developed system of School Boards and school inspection. Switzerland made a particularly good exhibition. A careful selection of reports, from the Boards of Education in nine Cantons, revealed the thorough organization of the Federal schools, while a large number of "obligatory and facultative" text-books and apparatus, used in elementary and high schools, showed the admirable provision made for the young as clearly as the pupils' work showed the

The section of Education. The general display.

good use made of that provision. The statistical part of the Swiss Section was scarcely surpassed, and afforded a noble monument to the free institutions of the mountain republic. Spain, though behind hand in education, gave the impression of a land anxious to advance, and struggling towards the light. The Russian exhibits furnished evidence of careful instruction in schools, especially in the sciences relating to mechanical engineering. Japan has for several years displayed a remarkable anxiety to procure the best school models, and has been very successful. Some of the best elements of the Western system of education have been incorporated in her public schools. The Japanese building was rich in books of elementary science, maps, and plans of schools, school furniture, almanacs, histories, and newspapers, and pictures illustrating their mode of instruction. Teaching by the eye is a strong point with the Japanese. The Argentine Republic, all things being considered, also made a creditable appearance. All these countries, however, were subordinate to, and overshadowed by, the display from the United States, which was very extensive, and for which the most complete preparations were made. Every State in the Union was authorized to appoint a Commission for the purpose of securing the best appearance possible, and large sums were voted to send a collective exhibit of statistics, literature, and students' work. The principal States sent each its Superintendent of Public Instruction, who remained at Philadelphia, with his staff, nearly the whole term of the Exhibition to offer explanations of novel apparatus, and of the various systems pursued. There were two *Kindergarten* schools, and a model school, in daily work in the Exhibition grounds, while visits to schools in the adjacent city were constantly organized.

11.—We have been thus particular in pointing out the positions taken in the section of education by the different great countries of the world, and their place as compared with that of the United States—the great rival of Canada—in order to indicate more accurately the position

of Canada herself. The place taken by this country in the great International competition was one of which her people have every reason to feel proud. It was one of the most striking displays in the whole Exhibition, excited marked interest amongst the thousands of visitors from all other countries, and called forth the highest encomiums from the press and prominent educationists in all parts of the world. The Canadian exhibit was made by the Ontario Department of Education, was under the superintendence of Dr. Hodgins and Dr. May, of that Department, and consisted of a large and varied collection of school material, apparatus, and other appliances, specimens of pupils' work, and a number of very fine photographs and models of school buildings. The whole exhibit was so arranged as to show that the development of the intellectual and physical faculties, and the acquisition of scientific and other knowledge, is more easily acquired by the use of different kinds of apparatus, than by any other method of instruction. This was so successfully effected that, in all the vast array of examples of the triumph of industry and art from different nations, no country was crowned with more successful results, or exhibited more wonderful proofs of intellectual progress than was manifested by our educational exhibit at Philadelphia. The plan devised for securing this was a most striking one. The maps were displayed on an ornamental wall, one hundred and ten feet long and thirty feet high, so constructed that an increased amount of space could be utilized. The wall was surmounted by a very handsome cornice with massive walnut pillars and pedestals; in the centre was the main archway, and at the summit of this was displayed the Royal Arms of Great Britain—the largest in the Exhibition—beautifully carved and gilt; underneath were shields in relief of the arms of the Dominion and of Ontario as well as a large ornamental shield of the arms of the Education Department itself. Two smaller archways at the sides were also adorned with appropriate symbols representing the advance of education, and on the principal pillars were

The Canadian  
educational exhibit  
unsurpassed.

life-size busts of Her Majesty the Queen, and the late Prince Consort. In front of the wall alcoves were built, thus multiplying over ten times the quantity of original wall space. The principal wall was covered with geographical and physical maps elegantly mounted, whilst the walls of the alcoves were covered with charts and diagrams illustrative of the various branches of science. From the blending of the colours, and the perspective back-ground being of a neutral tint, the maps, charts, &c., were thrown out in bold relief, greatly enhancing their attractiveness; and, from the fact of the wall being so much elevated above the other articles displayed in the Canadian department, it formed an exhibit very pleasant for the eye to rest upon, and added very much to the general effect of the whole Canadian court. The apparatus, globes, books, object lessons, &c., were displayed in large glass cases fitted up specially to suit this class of goods, and, on the top of these cases, were life-size busts—copies from the originals in the South Kensington Museum—of several royal personages, and men distinguished in literature and science. From the prominent position, and the excellence of the display, of this whole educational collection, it became a source of great interest to general visitors. The Educational Court was thronged daily with thousands, many of whom previously were actually ignorant of the geographical position of the Province, and who were surprised to find it so far advanced in educational matters. To those who were particularly interested in education, and also to those who were seeking information for emigration and other purposes, was presented a special report relating to the educational institutions of the country. It is almost unnecessary to explain here how we succeeded in winning this victory, by our display, over that of all other countries, or to show in what special sections of the department we excelled. One of the principal designs of the Canadian educational exhibit was to show the tools, so to speak, by which the teacher's work is successfully performed. The United States educationists, who were the largest representa-

tives of education in the whole exhibition, did not do this; their chief exhibit consisted of pupils' work. They had hundreds of bound volumes containing specimens of writing, composition, arithmetic, &c., and as the sequel proved, those were of little interest, except to persons from the immediate localities represented, and who, in many cases, were personally acquainted with the pupils. Foreigners, as a rule, would not take the time to examine these books, and, when they did so, a few specimens satisfied their curiosity. It is a well known fact that the great attraction to visitors in the Machinery Hall was to see the machinery at work; they were only partially satisfied with knowing that certain articles could be produced, but were anxious to see how the work was accomplished. It was precisely the same in regard to education; they were not so much interested in the pupil's work, as in examining the appliances used in teaching. As compared with our most formidable competitor, the United States, the display made by Canada was all that the most enthusiastic Canadian educationist could desire. The different States of the Union spared no expense in preparing their educational exhibit; the State of Pennsylvania alone spent \$15,000, and erected a special building for the purpose. Other States also contributed largely, as we have seen, for their own special exhibits; yet it was generally acknowledged, even by the people of these States themselves, that our representation was the most complete in the whole Exhibition—of the most value for educational purposes, and of the most interest to visitors. As compared with the Mother Country the opinion of the Editor of one of the most influential journals in England was that, "the only thing which redeemed the British exhibit was the splendid collection from the Educational Department of Ontario," and similar opinions were expressed by other leading British newspapers. So much was it appreciated for its excellence by our fellow subjects at the Antipodes, and by educationists from foreign countries, that duplicate copies of maps, apparatus, models, &c., manufactured in Toronto,

under the direction of the Educational Department of the Province, were ordered by the representatives of the Governments of Victoria, New South Wales, Japan, the United States, and other countries. We can well believe that no honours were better deserved than when this educational exhibit was awarded the Canadian gold medal by the English judges for the Canadian department, and the International medal and diploma by the Centennial Commission of the Exhibition.

12.—We have before referred to Machinery Hall and its contents—the most marvellous feature of the Exhibition. The display of machinery at Philadelphia was a great event in the history of applied mechanics; as a whole it was a magnificent effort of refined mechanism, rich in new ideas, full of fresh instruction, and most encouraging in promise for the future. Past inventions were presented under new and unlooked for arrangements, the old ideas leading to fresh devices. It was most suggestive in presenting new forms to materials, new constructions containing original combinations of matter in alliance with force or mechanical energy. There were novel applications of ingenious mechanism to useful purposes in art and manufactures, all conducive to the saving of labor, or the economy of material, and all striving to attain excellence in production combined with good proportion in strength, harmony, and beauty in outline. This department of the Exhibition had a strongly marked American character, and could hardly be regarded as an International competition. Other civilized countries took part therein, but the aggregate did not equal one fourth of the articles exhibited from the United States. There was also marked evidence of patriotic spirit in the prodigious efforts made by individual citizens and firms to sustain worthily the mechanical reputation of their country. It will of course be readily understood that the majority of such articles exhibited by all countries, the United States included, were not distinguished for originality, or even

The Machinery exhibit generally.

feature of the Exhibition. The display of machinery at Philadelphia

for novelty, but rather, as in former International gatherings, for their good qualities in respect to design, material and workmanship. The greatest change was observable in the products of those nations that were formerly the least advanced. It was impossible to resist the conclusion that a great change was going on in the relative position of different countries at these machinery gatherings. There is an equalizing force at work producing an equalizing tendency, and this equalizing tendency of exhibitions has to be taken into account in estimating their active force as agents for advancing civilization.

13.—The English display, although smaller in quantity than at former exhibitions, was considerably richer in originality, and in everything that marks thought and progress. One could not fail to notice, however, the great fertility of invention displayed in the United States, and the excellent workmanship obtained by the joint effect of their machine tools, machinery, and skilled workmen. Compared with the English machinery, that of the United States seemed somewhat lighter, and although not deficient in strength, perhaps not so well adapted to purposes where great steadiness of action, and freedom from vibration are required; but the ingenuity of device and fertility of mechanical resource were marvellous. The aim at improvement took two different directions, one being that of obtaining simplicity and cheapness of construction, putting the cost of making as a secondary importance; the other being the endeavour to obtain high perfection in the details, and great economy of working, treating the cost of construction as of less importance. The one, in a word, was aimed at cases where engines and machinery are employed for temporary purposes, the other at cases where continuous working is the object. As a whole, Machinery Hall could not fail to give any intelligent observer a high opinion of the mechanical genius of the American people. There was great inventive power, and a ready and fearless adaptation of the means to the end sought. In considering the

The English and American display.

display of numerous and varied contrivances, one could not fail to remember that many of these came from distant parts of the country, and had to be contrived out of such materials and with such means as were available on the spot. But in the machines and apparatus from favoured establishments and localities, the workmanship was admirable, and every working part down to the minutest detail bore evidence of the highest thought and study. The proximity of American machinists to the place of exhibition would be sufficient to account somewhat for their superiority; still, in versatility and power of adaptation, they evidently took the first place in the world.

14.—Canada was fortunate at Philadelphia in having her position assigned at the chief entrance to Machinery Hall, where the majority of visitors had to pass through the space containing her products. The classes of machinery exhibited by her embraced almost every branch. The exhibit, although, comparatively speaking, small, was very well selected; but, for causes which have already been indicated, and which operated in the case of other competitors as well, it was an inadequate representation of the enormous capital, skill and energy employed in the construction of machinery amongst us. Notwithstanding this, a large number of the Canadian articles exhibited were spoken of, by judges of the greatest practical knowledge and experience, as being of high value, not only on account of the excellence of their finish and the solidity of their parts, but for the novelty of their construction, and the ingenuity of the contrivances brought to bear in adapting them to their several purposes. As a single example of this, one of our inventors, who was exhibiting at Philadelphia, was enabled to place throughout the great Pennsylvania Railway, as well as in many foreign countries, a valuable invention for facilitating the removal of railway carriages from their trucks, either for the purpose of changing the gauge of the wheel, or for repairs. There were a number of other such conspicuous articles in Machinery Hall, which com-

manded much attention, and even admiration. Of motors there was a great profusion, both for water and steam, and a large and attractive display of steam and other pumps, on the latest and most improved system of construction. We have as yet merely indicated the Canadian exhibit of machine tools. In the finer department of these, both for metal and wood, Canada came out nobly, and was on all hands assigned a very high position. The machine tools, for metal, were principally after the English style, inclining rather to Leeds than to Manchester. Perhaps the most perfect of these exhibited was a large slotting machine of fine proportions, most consistently carried out in all the details, with every part in good keeping with the other, which is a rare virtue, and seldom manifested by those makers who can only imitate. The most conspicuous Canadian exhibit in this department, however, was a radial drilling machine, of real exterior beauty, arranged in such a manner that the drilling spindle could be twisted every way, so as to point forward or backward, or in any direction, and still retain all its automatic faculties. Specially noticeable also were a massive screw-cutting and side lathe, a grand moulding machine for all sorts of wood-planing work, and not a few excellent machines for wood-working, by different makers. All these were much admired for their respective designs, their materials and workmanship, and the perfection of the adjustment of all their joints.

15.—One remarkable circumstance in connection with the machinery exhibit at Philadelphia, as a whole, should be noted. The different machines A system of machine testing. were subjected to a course of rigid testing, in order to ascertain their mathematical accuracy. This had not been done at any previous exhibition, although strong recommendations in favor of it had been made in some of the European official reports. The great advantage and value of this system of testing are very obvious. Machine tools, for example, with their collateral adjuncts, when considered as the agency by which other kinds of machines are

The Canadian  
Machinery Exhibit.



to be produced, lose a great part of their value when they are mathematically inaccurate. Unless true circles, straight lines, parallelism, and absolute truth, inherently exist in themselves, they are not capable of imparting those conditions to the materials upon which they operate. Inaccuracy in any machine lowers the quality of its work, and indirectly increases the cost of production enormously. At Philadelphia an official invitation was sent to every exhibitor of machines, and tools for working metal, wood and stone, to test his exhibit, as already described. The Americans were evidently prepared for the invitation, for, as if by concert, almost every American firm of high standing volunteered. There was no response from any other nation, except Canada and one French firm, and Canada passed through the trial most creditably.

16. — For some unexplained reason, no collection in Machinery Hall was more freely

The practical  
teachings of the  
Exhibition to  
Canada.

commented upon than our own, or had any apparent fault pointed out so repeatedly; and, it may be safely added, no nation derived more benefit from the practical teaching of that great educator, the Centennial Exhibition, than did "this Canada of ours." Canadian machinery has a character of its own; unlike some of the European nations, theory has not gone before practice, from the circumstance that our engineering knowledge and experience have not reached the foundry and smithy through the technological college, nor the class room, but rather through the teachings and promptings of necessity, and from free intercourse and contact with the Mother country, and our enterprising neighbours on the other side of the great lakes. Hence it is that the Canadian style, so to speak, is a mixture of the English and American, with rather more of the latter than the former, and with a strong trace of original thinking interspersed throughout all. The Canadian exhibit at Philadelphia, under different and more favorable circumstances in our trade relations with our neighbors, would have been much larger and more complete in every way. As it was it compelled the warmest praise from the highest authorities at the Exhibition. Sir

John Anderson, one of the English judges, a civil engineer of high standing, and the Chairman of the judges in the machinery department, spoke of the Canadian exhibit in terms of the highest commendation. In his official report to the British Government this gentleman makes the following remarks: "Great Britain and Canada occupied the best position in the Machinery Hall. If we were to take the Canadian Exhibition in connection with the British, and consider them as one, in the same manner as was done in the United German Empire, then indeed the extent was greater than all the rest in the world exclusive of the United States. \* \* \* \* Canada made a good display in machine tools which, to some extent, veiled over the short comings of the Mother Country. There were thirty exhibitors from Canada, and no other country produced a stronger feeling of surprise, by the extent and excellence of the general machinery exhibit, than did that colony. All were prepared to see a brilliant display by the United States, and none of the European nations did so much as might have been expected. The Canadian exhibition, when considered in relation to the number of its population, and to the comparatively short period that had elapsed since she gave herself resolutely to engineering, was truly noble. Although one of the youngest competing nations in machinery, yet it contained many admirable specimens which would have done honour to any country. There was a freshness and youthful vigour manifested, both in design and execution, that foretold the future giant." That a young country like Canada should have sent to the world's Exhibition machines of such a high class, which were not only considered remarkable by other nations, but were deemed worthy of the closest inspection and criticism by machinery experts, is one of the most striking signs of the times. Machine making knowledge is extending in all directions, and it really appears as if engineering would soon be as common as carpentry has been in times past.

17.—The exhibition of agricultural implements was confined, with a few exceptions, to

The exhibition of  
agricultural  
implements.

the United States and Canada. It was a fact, freely commented upon by English visitors to Philadelphia, that the leading manufacturers of Great Britain were not represented, and the reasons assigned for this were the high American tariff, the great expense of transportation, and the impolicy of exposing the inventions of British manufacturers for six months to the thousands of enterprising American machinists. These reasons may be valid as far as they go, but we believe they were short-sighted on the part of any country, and the wisdom of disregarding them was amply shown, as we shall see, in the case of Canada, to whom, also, they in a large measure applied. The Philadelphia Exposition drew together people of all nations and languages, eager for information, and many anxious to carry back to their distant homes such machinery as appeared most suitable for their varied necessities. Foreign manufacturers, by their absence, left the field of enterprise open to the exhibitors who were represented, especially to those of the United States who were the principal contributors. The English manufacturers, especially by this policy of abstention from competition, endangered their past monopoly of the Great South American trade, while they prevented what would have proved both interesting and instructive, a comparison between the two great exporting countries of the world.

18.—Considerable difficulty was experienced, as we have seen, with our own manufacturers at the outset, but these were, to a certain extent, overcome by the liberal inducements to exhibit held out by the heads of the Canadian section of the Exhibition. The result was that we had at Philadelphia a collection of agricultural implements sufficient in number and quality to prove the high state of excellence we have reached in that important mechanical department. The Canadian exhibit attracted close attention, and secured the cordial praise of all who examined it. Our people had to compete with a very numerous and varied collection of implements of the same class from other manufacturers. But, though the imple-

The Canadian  
Exhibit.

ments sent by the United States were in some cases of an excessively high finish, intended merely for show, the Canadian machines, most of which were made for actual work, were admitted to be at least equal to any in the Agricultural Hall. And there was not wanting evidence of this. The practical proof of their excellence, combined with their cheapness, was to be found in the desire which a number of prominent gentlemen from Australia manifested to purchase them, and to procure for the inhabitants of their colonies the opportunity of seeing implements of so much simplicity and utility, and capable of being produced at so reasonable a cost. Several of the Commissioners, too, from Australia who were large agriculturists, and of great experience, felt constrained to purchase a number of Canadian implements for the use of their respective Governments. One of these gentlemen, Mr. R. W. Cameron, of New York, a native Canadian now established in that city as a merchant, performed important services in this respect, both to the Colony which he represented and to this country. Mr. Cameron, largely we believe, from patriotic motives, by the purchase of or liberal advances upon these goods enabled quite a number of our manufacturers of agricultural implements to test the Australian market. It is not for us to speculate upon the success of the attempts made at Philadelphia, and, since that, at the Sydney Exhibition in New South Wales, to inaugurate a trade between Canada and the Antipodean parts of the Empire, but this much may be said that, but for the opportunity afforded our manufacturers of showing their productions at these two places, there is no reason to believe that any prospect of such a trade would have been opened up. It is, at all events, a matter of good augury that those acquainted with agricultural life in the Australian colonies are confident that not a few of our Canadian agricultural implements will be found suitable and saleable in those distant markets. To the general advantages to be derived by Canada in this respect, some reference was made, in his report to the British Government, by Mr. John Coleman, an English gentleman

of acknowledged reputation for his knowledge of agricultural machinery, and who was Chairman of the Board of judges in that department of the Exhibition. Mr. Coleman said:—"Great credit is due to the Canadian Government for having encouraged their somewhat unwilling exhibitors to come forward by the offer of a large number of special medals, of different value, the adjudication of which was confided to the English judges. The very creditable display of Dominion products, in the agricultural department, was due in great measure to this liberality. We cannot doubt that American trade, and in a lesser degree the Canadian also, will experience a beneficial stimulus in their foreign relations from the Centennial Exposition—a matter of great importance at a time when, as far as the home trade is concerned, production has overtaken, and, in many cases, overrun, demand. Nothing conveys a better idea of the vastness of the country, and its agricultural resources, than the fact that enormous manufactures of agricultural machines, amounting in some instances to tens of thousands annually, have hitherto found a home market."

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN— CANADA AT THE CENTENNIAL. (*Continued.*)

1. CANADIAN EXHIBITS OF GRAINS.—2. CANADA IN THE POMOLOGICAL HALL.—3. THE DIFFERENT CANADIAN FRUITS EXHIBITED.—4. OPINIONS OF AMERICAN POMOLOGISTS ON THE CANADIAN EXHIBIT.—5. THE WINE EXHIBIT.—6. THE DAIRY PRODUCTS OF THE DOMINION. THE CHEESE EXHIBIT.—7. SUPERIOR QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF THE CANADIAN CHEESE.—8. THE BUTTER EXHIBIT.—9. LIVE STOCK DEPARTMENT. CANADA'S ADMIRABLE EXHIBIT.—10. CANADIAN HORSES.—11. HORNED CATTLE.—12. CANADIAN SHEEP.—13. CANADIAN SWINE.—14. CANADIAN POULTRY.—15. THE CANADIAN MEDALS AND THE SYSTEM OF THEIR

AWARD.—16. CONCLUSION OF THE JUDGES' LABORS AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AWARDS.

—17. A THRILLING SCENE.—18. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS' SERVICES TO THE COLONIAL COMMISSIONERS.

—19. CLOSING CEREMONIES OF THE EXHIBITION.—20. RETURN OF THE CANADIAN EXHIBITS.—21. SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT RESULTS TO CANADA OF THE EXHIBITION.

—22. WARM PRAISE OF CANADIAN SECTION OF THE EXHIBITION.

1.—The Canadian exhibit of grains was in an eminent degree satisfactory, and the qualities of many of them were pronounced <sup>Canadian exhibits of grains.</sup> by good judges to be of the very highest order. Amongst the representatives of different nationalities at Philadelphia there was a friendly exchange, as far as possible, of specimens of the principal grains of their respective countries. Canada participated in the benefit of this—all the foreign Commissioners, whose countries were exhibiting products of this class, freely extending to her their good offices whenever these were sought. Count Bielsky, the Russian Commissioner, was particularly generous in handing over to the agent of the Ontario Government, who merely wished a specimen, a large quantity of a certain quality of wheat which was supposed to be of remarkable merit for our climate. Quite a number of specimens of grains, considered by good authorities to become of particular value to the farming interest of the Dominion, were procured in this way. These collections proved invaluable, not only for the purpose of comparisons, but for experiments as to their adaptation to our climate, and their comparative value from a commercial standpoint. The Ontario Government was indefatigable in securing these specimens, which they have since had classified and fitted up in glass cases that may be seen in the Parliament buildings at Toronto. They are there kept in sample bottles, properly labelled, and form an interesting memorial of the Exhibition, in addition to their great worth as a collection.

2.—In fruit the Dominion of Canada occupied a place in the Pomological Hall very much larger than would be her fair share, judging by her geographical proportions and her population, compared with that of the United States. The Canadian fruit display, which was made by different Associations in Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia, and which occupied the whole north side of the Pomological Hall, was one of the most attractive sights in the Exhibition, and was all the more creditable to our fruit growers on account of their having fallen upon a season exceptionally unfortunate in many respects. The plum crop, usually so abundant and of such fine quality in different parts of the Dominion, had, from a variety of causes, been to a great extent destroyed; the pear crop was unusually light; and the extreme heat and drought, which were universal—the “heated term” especially having been of very long duration—had very seriously affected the apple crop in all parts of the country. Notwithstanding these serious drawbacks, however, the Associations of fruit growers in the different Provinces set to work with the most laudable determination to secure a creditable representation of the fruit products of the Dominion; the obstacles in their path only served to make them redouble their exertions, and the result was a display that was in the highest degree creditable to them, and that secured universal praise and admiration. The fruit was sent to Philadelphia at different times as it ripened, but it was not till the month of September that there was anything like a full or complete representation from the Dominion. In that month, and for a considerable period extending into the month of October, the Exhibition was at its best, and, excepting in grapes, in the growth of which California far exceeds any other part of the North American continent, there was nothing in the Pomological Hall to excite the envy of Canada, while in some other varieties of fruit she stood unrivalled. As an evidence of this we may state that, on the 14th of October, the day when the Exhibition in the

Pomological Hall was closed, our display remained substantially the same, new samples having taken the places of those which perished, as far as practicable; and after that a choice selection of our fruits was placed on exhibition in the Agricultural Building, where it remained for examination until the close of the Exhibition in the month of November following. The statistics of the attendance of visitors shows that Pomological Hall was a very attractive place of resort and, if the generous testimony of the American press, and the opinions of unprejudiced visitors, competent to form a just estimate, from all parts of the United States, are of any value, the Dominion exhibit was the most instructive and comprehensive of all those shown at the Exposition.

3.—Notwithstanding the unfortunate failure of our plum crop, to which allusion has been made, our collection of plums was the largest and most complete of any; indeed the whole display of plums from all quarters of the United States, gathered into one, did not equal in merit that from the Province of Ontario alone. In apples, we had to contend with the products of the virgin soils and brighter suns of the South Western States; and though at the middle of September, by reason of our more northern climate, our winter apples were not so fully developed, nor as highly coloured, yet in variety, value and completeness, our collection was never once surpassed; and as the season advanced, and the middle of October drew on, our display of apples stood confessedly at the head, both for beauty of specimens and intrinsic worth. In pears and peaches we were excelled by but very few collections, notwithstanding the fact already mentioned that the season proved very unfavorable to these fruits, and the further fact that but a portion of our country is adapted to the growing of many varieties of peaches or pears. Our display of grapes was also the most complete of any. We could not, in open air culture, equal, as has been stated, the grapes from California, but with that exception, our specimens were as fine in appearance as those shown from

Canada in the  
Pomological Hall.

The different Canadian fruits exhibited.

climates supposed to be more favored than our own. No State in the Union displayed as full and exhaustive a collection of hardy, out-door varieties of grapes. It may be remarked, however, that the Californian grapes were all from European sources, while it was understood that most of those grown on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains are derived from indigenous vines. The Californian fruits, as a whole, were much larger than those from the Dominion, or indeed from any other place, but they lost in flavor the advantage which they might be supposed to have in size. A remark somewhat similar applies with truth to one or two of the Western States, but in general the apples, pears and plums of Canada were equal, even in appearance and size, to those of the United States, to say nothing of their uniform superiority in flavor. The Canadian exhibit altogether, was a subject of astonishment to thousands of visitors who had evidently no idea that such fruit could be grown in this country.

4.—A distinguished American Pomologist who wrote an exhaustive *critique* on the display in Pomological Hall, closed his paper, which was published at the time, with the remark that "Decidedly the best show, taking into consideration variety, quality, number and taste, is that from the Dominion of Canada." Another equally high authority, writing in the New York *Graphic*, referred to the Canadian exhibit in the following terms: "Probably the finest show of various fruits is made by the Fruit Growers' Associations, of Canada. It would be impossible to do justice to the entire collection. As a representative collection it could not be surpassed, and the arrangement and classification reflect much credit on the officers of the associations. It must be doubly gratifying to them that this very beautiful display of Canadian fruits attracts such universal attention. Their exhibit has contributed much to the beauty and attractiveness of the Pomological department, and they are to be congratulated upon the fruit-producing capabilities of their soil and climate, and the taste and enterprise of

their fruit-growers." There is abundance of similar testimony from various sources, but all by our most formidable competitors themselves, in favour of the excellence of the Canadian exhibit—a generous acknowledgment that, at the Centennial Exhibition, Canada took the lead in the extent of her exhibit, and the variety, quality and flavour of her fruit. Our display in this department was valuable in many respects. It did much to enlighten the people of other lands, and even many thousands of our American neighbours, in regard to the true character of the productions of Canada. It served to dissipate a very prevalent impression that we dwell in a cold, frozen and inhospitable region of the great American Continent—one where the tiller of the soil may hope, during the short summer, to be able to wrest from the ungenerous earth scarcely enough to maintain life during the long, dark, dreary winter, but where he may never hope to taste, much less to raise for exportation, the luscious fruits of temperate climes. In the Pomological Hall, at the Philadelphia Exposition, Canada did more to break down unfounded prejudices, and to disseminate throughout the world correct information, in regard to the true nature of our climate and soil, and the excellence and beauty of its productions, than would have been done by an army of emigration agents, or by a whole circulating library of information on the climatology and productions of the country.

5.—Closely related, in some respects, to the fruit exhibit was that of wine, an article which, of all those shown at Philadelphia, was perhaps the most largely exhibited, as to the number of specimens, and variety of description, and as to the number of nationalities which sent this kind of merchandise. There was scarcely a country represented that did not send its contribution, and Canada was by no means backward in entering the lists of competition with the famous vine growing districts of the old world. In this article she alone had ten or twelve varieties. Some of them excited very gratifying surprise

Opinions of  
American  
Pomologists on the  
Canadian Exhibit.

The Wine Exhibit.



on the part of competent European and American judges, and were pronounced by them to be superior as *vins ordinaires*. The Wine Growers Association of Ontario were prominent exhibitors in this department, and their brandies were specially commended.

6.—We have before referred to the assistance rendered the dairymen of the Dominion, by the Canadian Government, in surmounting what at first appeared to be a formidable obstacle in the way of their obtaining a proper display of Canadian dairy products. To the dairymen themselves, however, belongs the principal credit of achieving at Philadelphia an unprecedented success in their exhibition of this growing branch of Canadian industry. They entered into competition with the dairymen of the United States and other countries, with the greatest zeal and determination, and the result was, as we shall see, to crown their exertions with the highest honors of the Exhibition. The display of the whole dairy products shown at Philadelphia was made in a building on the grounds specially erected for the purpose. It was a model butter and cheese factory with ample room for display, and for a complete outfit of apparatus, and was built at a cost of ten thousand dollars. This sum was raised by the United States' dairymen by private subscription in several of the large States of the Union, and also by legislative aid. The Canadian Government contributed two thousand dollars. Exhibits of cheese were sent from Ontario—this department being solely in charge of the Ontario Dairymen's Association—and from different parts of the United States at intervals, from the month of July to the month of October inclusive. No difficulty whatever was experienced in securing exhibits from our own dairymen; they contributed month after month from their best stock, and thus kept up the excitement which Canada created among the dairymen of other countries. The associations in the United States showed far less alacrity, and, even after the building was erected, special exertion had to be made by the Bureau of Agri-

culture of the Exhibition to secure a fair representation from the United States. This gave a certain stimulus to the American associations, yet they did not altogether exhibit so large a quantity of cheese as our Canadian dairymen.

7.—The number of United States' exhibits was only one hundred and fifty-one; the Canadian exhibits numbered one hundred and ninety-five, whilst three Western Canadian towns alone

Superior quality and quantity of the Canadian cheese.

shipped to the Exhibition nearly thirty per cent. more cheese than was shown by all of the United States associations put together. The total quantity exhibited in the dairy house was two thousand and eighty-six packages, weighing fifty-five and a half tons. Of these there were from the United States one thousand and twelve packages, weighing over twenty-six tons, while from Canada there were one thousand and three packages weighing over twenty-nine tons. Other countries contributed sixty-five packages estimated at five hundred pounds. The statistics of the Dairy House prove also beyond question that our average monthly exhibits were greater in quantity than those of our neighbours. There was not a single month during the Exhibition, that cheese was not sent from Canada to keep up the display, and, from first to last, it was universally conceded to be very excellent; at no time did it appear at a disadvantage, but the foremost position secured for Canadian cheese at the opening of the Exhibition was successfully held until its close. The result was that Canada shone out better in the dairy department than in any other of the great agricultural departments of the Exhibition, splendidly leading in this branch of agriculture the competition of the world. In this competition it should be remembered that the United States exhibitors had a decided advantage. They represented some of the largest and best cheese factories in existence, and their experience was much greater in every way than that of our own dairymen. Notwithstanding this, the highest point of merit they obtained was ninety-six, whilst the highest point obtained by Canada was one hundred—a result which

The dairy products of the Dominion. The cheese exhibit.



shows a pronounced victory for the dairymen of this country. If any other evidence of the superior energy and skill of our people in this department were wanting, it is to be found in the official reports of distinguished American dairymen, who were very cordial in their praise of the Canadian exhibit, and in the large number of prizes awarded to Canadians by the Centennial judges, who were with one single exception, American citizens who honorably discharged their duty without partiality. One hundred awards were recommended in this branch of dairy products, and of these forty-five were for the United States, forty-nine for Canada, and the remainder for other countries. Canada thus gained the highest award of merit for cheese given in the competition with the whole world, and this, too, at the largest International Exhibition that has ever been held.

8.—The display of butter was much smaller altogether than that of cheese. The United

The butter exhibit. States and Canada were of course the principal exhibitors, but Portugal, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and Denmark were also represented. Our own exhibit was comparatively speaking small, reaching only to some seventeen hundred pounds out of nine thousand one hundred and fifty pounds from all other countries; but, in proportion to their number, the prizes taken by Canadian butter makers were very numerous. There were one hundred and twenty-three exhibits from the United States, to which twenty-three prizes were awarded, and sixteen from Canada which obtained five prizes. The official reports of the judges of the Centennial dairy show, were almost unanimous in conveying two valuable inferences or lessons in regard to this part of the Exhibition. One was that the long keeping of the fresh butter exhibited seemed to prove that salt does not preserve butter, but that the keeping quality in butter depends more on the milk than on the salt used in its manufacture. The other lesson was in regard to the relative superiority of factory and creamery butter as compared with dairy butter. The former was generally re-

garded as inferior to the latter, but it was a remarkable fact that, at the June and October displays at Philadelphia, the most perfect flavor and the indications of the longest keeping quality were found in the butter of factory make. The samples there shown have thus evidenced an important and striking advance in this branch of the dairy interests.

9.—Of all the departments, however, of this great international competition in which Canada most excelled was that of live stock. We have before referred to the rule which the Canadian Commission felt obliged to adopt with respect to this class of Canadian products, and which was different from that applied to other exhibits, viz.: of throwing all risk or damage upon the owners. This rule, as we have said, contracted the number of exhibitors in this department, but, as the result proved, it did not prevent the hearty co-operation of a large number of Canadian stock breeders in carrying out one of the great objects aimed at—of making Canada famous as a cattle breeding country, and thus advancing, to an incalculable degree, the reputation of our agriculturists. The spirit of emulation shown by them was an honour to the Dominion, and is worthy of the highest praise. At great risk, and without a chance of profit, they at once decided to send their most valuable animals to Philadelphia, and they succeeded, even beyond the most sanguine expectations, in receiving awards, and showing, at the World's Fair of 1876, that their country is capable of raising horses and cattle equal, and in some respects superior, to those which were exhibited from other and older countries.

10.—The horses were sent to Philadelphia in the latter part of August, the cattle in September, and the sheep and swine in October. About one-third of Canadian horses. all the horses exhibited came from Canada, and, out of sixty-eight shown by her, fifty-two carried off prizes. A considerable number of these were sold to American and other foreign purchasers, and realized very large prices. There is no country that excels our own in agricultural

Live stock department.  
Canada's admirable exhibit.

horses either for general symmetry, strength, or action, and, of all the classes on the grounds, this was decidedly the best—nearly every Canadian agricultural horse that was exhibited being awarded an International medal. Our whole exhibit of horses was highly creditable. The animals were universally admired, and caused much discussion as to their excellence—a circumstance which drew attention to the remarkable fact, that some of the best horses shown by the United States' exhibitors were raised and purchased in this country.

11.—In horned cattle, although the Canadian animals did not bear so large a proportion to those of the United States as in horses, yet all the various breeds were represented, and a large number of prizes were taken relatively to the number of animals. The number of exhibits was seventy-two, and the number of International prizes thirty-three. The proposals of the American Commissioners embraced the offer of sweepstake prizes for the best bull and the best cow on the grounds. There is little doubt, we think, from the most reliable information that can be obtained, that had those sweepstakes been given, the prize for the best bull must have been adjudged to a Canadian, even if Canada had not also carried off that for the best cow, of which there was also a very favourable prospect. The judges, however, declined to make this award, and, although a remonstrance was addressed to the American authorities on the subject, and an express order was in consequence issued to the judges to determine the sweepstakes, it was afterwards discovered that they had left the city without doing so. This was the only instance on record, so far as Canada was concerned, in which any thing like an unworthy jealousy was apparent in recommending the International awards, but, if there was such a feeling, it was confined exclusively to the judges in that class, and was disapproved of by the Exhibition authorities; indeed, it is a subject of congratulation that, in a task so extensive as that of adjudication on the merits of so vast an assemblage of valuable articles, causes

of fair complaint were not more numerous.

12.—The Canadian sheep shown were of the long or medium-wooled varieties, and compared favourably with the other Canadian animals. The American Canadian sheep. exhibit in this class consisted of seventy-two sheep; about forty of that number were bred in the United States, and of these few were considered by the judges as deserving of notice, and none worthy of prizes. The rest had been recently imported from England. These latter obtained twenty-one awards, and the first prize in the Inter-States competition. The position which our Canadian stock occupied was so superior that, but for the importations of a famous English agriculturist, Canada would have swept everything before her in the breeds which she cultivated. As it was, however, she gained a large number of International medals, and, in the long-wooled varieties, carried off the sweepstakes award as against England and the United States. Of the breeds cultivated in Canada, the whole number of representative animals brought under the notice of the Centennial judges was one hundred and seventy-five. Of these Canada showed fifty-six, consisting of Lincolns, Leicesters, Cotswolds and Southdowns. For these she received twenty-four awards, besides the two sweepstake prizes already mentioned, and the Inter-States award for the best flock of six ewes and one ram of the long-wooled breed. England was represented by forty-seven sheep all from first-class breeds. She took thirty-five prizes, and one sweepstake prize for the best ram of any age of the middle-wool breeds.

13.—In swine the Dominion was well represented. The number of grown animals shown was twenty-seven—some of them Canadian swine. accompanied by litters. Twenty-nine prizes were awarded—some of the animals taking more than one prize, while the Canadian swine also carried off the sweepstakes, and were thus successful in the competition against the world. The animals that were sold realized more than double the price at which they were valued in Canada.

14.—The Canadian poultry exhibit was also very creditable. While some breeds of fowls from the United States were generally supposed to be superior to those from Canada, in several others it was as generally admitted that Canadian fowls held the first rank. Large numbers of American visitors, and several of the leading journals of the country, freely acknowledged that the Canadian exhibit contained a greater average of really first class stock than their own. So far as numbers were concerned, Canada took the lead of any single State. The American fanciers excelled chiefly in the larger, and the Canadian in the smaller, breeds. No sweepstake prize was given for poultry, and consequently the Canadian birds did not come into direct competition with the world. This is to be regretted as, in the opinion of competent judges, there is little doubt we could have taken every prize in many varieties, and stood well in the rest. As it was, the choice of the Canadian exhibits had been very carefully made, and a large share of the honours fell to their lot. The medal was the same for all awards; but the judges distinguished three classes of merit, and we are thus able to arrive at the relative excellence of the two displays. Out of one hundred and thirty-three Canadian exhibits, not including pigeons—in which the Americans swept all before them—one hundred and twenty-nine received the highest mark of merit, while the United States' exhibitors had only two hundred and twenty-two highest marks out of four hundred and thirty-four. Fifty-one prizes were obtained for Canadian poultry, and each prize was for an exhibit comprising more than one bird.

15.—Reference has been made to the inducements, in the way of prize medals, which were offered by the Canadian Commission to exhibitors from Canada. The liberality of our Government in this respect had an important effect in stimulating competition amongst our own people, and it is proper that some account should be given of the manner in which these medals were distributed. The prize medal

The Canadian medals and the system of their award.

scheme, which was very successful in its results, originated with the Dominion Commissioners, who, with the sanction of their Government, offered gold, silver and bronze medals to their own exhibitors, and promised that these should be awarded, under certain specified conditions, by foreign judges. In order to carry out this design they sought the aid and co-operation of the British Commissioners, Colonel Herbert Sandford, R.A., and Professor Archer, F.R.S., who were asked to nominate English judges for the purpose. The scheme which was submitted to these two gentlemen, and which was substantially approved of by them, was this: The articles exhibited in the Canadian section, with the exception at first of live stock, dairy products, new fruits, and fermented and distilled liquors, were divided into several classes, including one for unenumerated articles. A judge was asked for each class, and he was requested to name the persons to whom a definite number of bronze and silver medals should be awarded. Each judge was further requested to distinguish amongst the persons to whom silver medals were awarded any whom he thought deserving of one of the number of gold medals which were limited to five—those receiving the gold medals to abandon the silver ones. Early in June a meeting was held at St. George's House to consider the request of the Canadian Commission and at this meeting, which was attended by the British and Canadian Commissioners, and by all the British judges, a ready response was given to the proposal, which was accepted with ardent manifestations of pleasure by those to whom it was addressed. In awarding these medals the judges were governed by considerations of the skill and ingenuity exhibited in the manufacture or production of the articles submitted to them, and of their value and importance in the arts of life. To avoid failure on the score of liberality, the judges were authorized to increase the number of medals in any class, if they believed that the merits of the articles shown justified such addition. The above scheme applied at first only to such articles as formed a portion of the permanent

Canadian exhibits throughout the Exhibition season. It was subsequently made to embrace other products in the Canadian section, such as life stock, dairy produce, wines, malt liquors, &c.,—the medals in the live stock department being awarded in like manner by Centennial judges from England. All these gentlemen were requested, whenever they might deem it necessary to associate themselves with experts, and this request was freely acted upon. The great body of Canadian exhibitors owe many thanks to the English judges for the great pains and care with which they exercised the charge committed to them—a charge which they accepted with great cheerfulness, and carried out with the most conscientious desire to do justice to all who were in any way interested in the results of their labours. The total number of Canadian medals thus awarded was four hundred and eighty-seven, which included thirteen gold, one hundred and seventy-four silver, and two hundred and thirty bronze medals. There were besides these, five honorable mentions in sixteen classes, and in the live stock department. So far as the International competition was concerned, we may state that in manufactures and machinery of all kinds, including books and educational appliances, models of vessels, musical instruments, railway plants, &c., Canada obtained one hundred and seventy prizes. The total number of International medals taken by Canadian exhibitors was five hundred and sixty-four, which shows a large percentage upon Canadian exhibits, as compared with the percentage of prizes on the aggregate of the world's exhibits, at this great International Exhibition.

16.—The year 1876 will be long remembered for the extreme heat of the summer months; the "heated term" was one of the most severe ever experienced in the United States. The labours of the Centennial judges, which required great and constant attention, both physical and mental, were carried on unremittingly during the whole summer, but they were amply rewarded when, at the completion of their

Conclusion of the judges' labours, and announcement of the awards.

arduous duties, the Centennial Commission revised their reports, and announced, with considerable ceremony, the number of awards granted to each competing nation. The ceremony of the announcement of the awards took place in the judges' hall, on the evening of the 27th of September, in the presence of a large and select assemblage. Upon the platform were the American authorities of the exhibition, and some of the most distinguished men from all parts of the United States. The body of the hall was filled by the official representatives of all nations, some of them in brilliant uniforms, and with numerous stars and orders glittering upon their breasts. The galleries were thronged with a galaxy of ladies from all parts of the world, superbly dressed, and animated with the enthusiasm of the occasion, which was made, if anything, more inspiring by all the accessories of magnificent music. Senator Morrill presided, and eloquent speeches were delivered by a number of American gentlemen present.

17.—The great scene of the evening, however, occurred during the distribution of the various national awards. Beginning with <sup>A thrilling scene.</sup> the Argentine Confederation, the List of Nations was called, and, as the representatives of each stepped forward to receive the roll of his country, the audience took advantage of his appearance to give complimentary applause. This was very hearty indeed in honor of Brazil, Japan, Russia, France, Austria and Germany; but when Col. Sandford, the English Commissioner, who appeared in the rich uniform of blue and gold of the British artillery service, was called forward to receive the roll for the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, there was a roar of applause, followed by shout after shout, the entire audience rising to their feet in honour of Old England. The effect was electric, and after the Commissioner, bowing to the audience, had retired, the audience took up the theme again, and, with a second demonstration as hearty as the first, called him out a second time. It was some minutes before the audience became suffi-

ciently quiet for the ceremony to proceed, and then the roll of the British Colonies was called, the special compliment being given of calling each British colony separately—an honour not done in the case of any other country. Each Colonial Commissioner was received with warmth, which, in the case of Canada, was particularly hearty, the applause rising almost to enthusiasm, and being long-continued, as the Hon. Senator Penny, the Senior Commissioner for Canada, stepped from his place in the brilliant throng to the front of the platform, and received from the hands of General Hawley the exceptionally honorable record of the Dominion of Canada. The scene on this occasion, in the judges' hall of the Philadelphia Exposition, was a true index of the spontaneous feelings of the American people. The efforts made by the Mother country and her colonies to enrich the exhibition in every one of its departments, and the conspicuous part which they took in the whole Centennial celebration, afforded striking evidence of the deep sympathy which they felt in the progress, social, moral and industrial, of the United States. It produced the liveliest satisfaction in all parts of the powerful Republic whose people were there commemorating the greatest event in their national history; it tended to cement more closely the ties of friendship and brotherhood, and was appreciated and hailed with an enthusiasm which, we are bound to believe, was the natural, heartfelt promptings of the national heart.

18.—From the opening of the Exhibition to its close, the official representatives of Canada and the other British colonies were constantly brought in contact with the official representatives of the Mother Country, who were unceasing in their endeavours to render them all the assistance in their power. These services, it was felt, required some acknowledgment however formal, and, in addition to a complimentary banquet which was tendered the British Commissioners and given in their honor, a letter of thanks was addressed by the Colonial Commissioners to the Earl of Carnarvon, the then Colonial Secretary

in the Imperial Government, in which their sense of those services was appropriately expressed. In this letter, which was signed by the different Colonial Commissioners headed by those from Canada, the writers say: "We desire, before separating, to convey to your Lordship our sense of indebtedness for many courtesies, and much valuable aid, received from the British Executive, and from their Secretary and staff throughout the performance of our duties. The attention so shown to us has both facilitated our independent action, and well sustained that perfect unanimity which so happily prevails in every portion of Her Majesty's dominions, and has thereby enabled us fittingly to manifest in this city, to the people of this country, and to its multitudes of foreign visitors, that, whatever may have happened one hundred years ago, the United Kingdom and the Colonies are now firmly joined in the closest bonds of friendship." In his reply, which was conveyed through the Governors of the different colonies, the Earl of Carnarvon, after expressing the great pleasure which the communication had given himself and those to whom it particularly referred, adds: "This letter has afforded the highest satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government, and I am charged to express their warm appreciation of the valuable labours of the Colonial Commissioners, which have so essentially contributed to the worthy representation of the British Empire at the Exhibition."

19.—The closing ceremonies of the Exhibition took place, as originally intended, on the tenth of November. There was no diminution in the crowds of visitors up to the end, but the authorities resisted the natural temptation to keep the Exhibition open a few days longer, as it would have been difficult to have carried out any such arrangement, in the case of any of the nationalities, with due regard to the return of their various exhibits before the winter weather set in. On the evening previous to the closing of the Exhibition, a grand banquet was given by the Centennial Commission to the various Foreign Commissioners, and several hundred

Acknowledgment of the British Commissioner's services to the Colonial Commissioners.

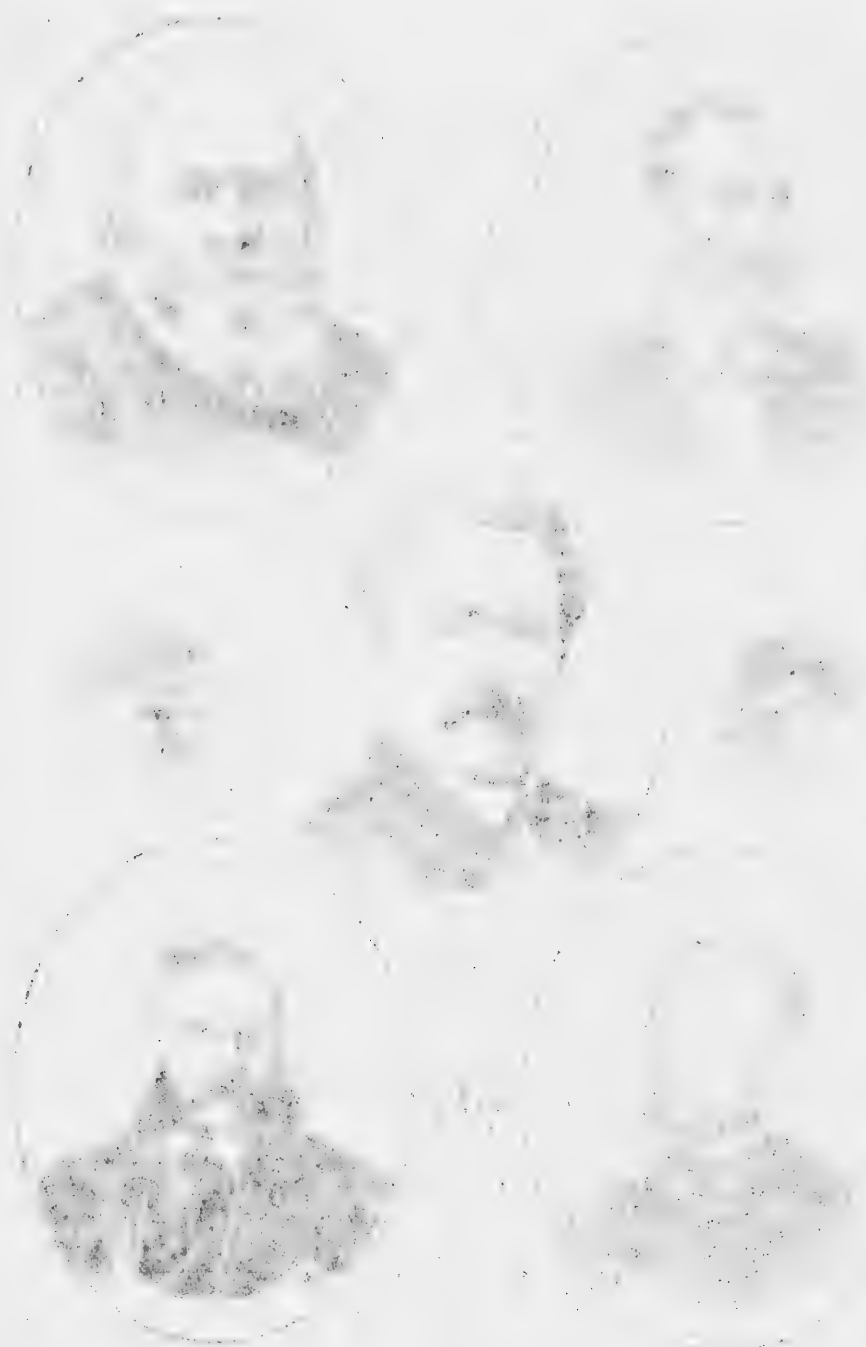
Closing ceremonies of the Exhibition.

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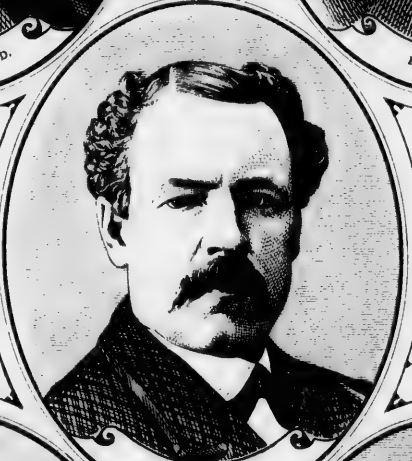
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JOSEPH WHITEHEAD.



HON. J. SHEVYN.



JOHN COSTIGAN.



W. H. BROUSE, M.D.



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distinguished guests from all parts of the world. General Hawley, the President of the Commission, presided, and, on giving the toast, "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Her Colonies," made some most flattering allusions to the assistance that had been given to the Exhibition by the great interest which had been taken in it by British exhibitors from all quarters of the globe. Sir Edward Thornton, the British Ambassador, who was present, remarks in his despatch to the British Government on the subject: "The toast was received by all who were present with an enthusiasm such as I have never seen displayed during my residence in this country, and every time mention was made either of Her Majesty, or of the British nation, it elicited overwhelming applause; indeed the United States' Commission unhesitatingly admit that much of the success of the Exhibition was due to the assistance and countenance given to the enterprise by Her Majesty's Government, and the British exhibitors from the United Kingdom, and from her colonies." On the following day the Exhibition was formally closed by the President of the United States. Owing to the unfavourable state of the weather the ceremonies, instead of being conducted as intended in the open air, took place in the judges' hall, where, in addition to the President, the members of his Cabinet and of the diplomatic body, the foreign Commissioners, and a large assembly of other officials were present. A military guard of honor was provided, on this as on other State occasions, by the First Troop of the Philadelphia City Cavalry, a corps which was raised one hundred and five years ago, which formed General Washington's body guard in the great revolutionary war, and which has maintained its organization, full numbers, and equipment ever since its formation.

20.—Immediately after the close of the Exhibition the work of dismantling, packing and despatching was pushed forward with the greatest possible vigour. Notwithstanding this, however, considerable delays occurred in returning the Canadian

Return of the  
Canadian exhibits.

exhibits from Philadelphia. These were caused mainly by the obstacles which were thrown in the way of repacking and shipping by the rules of the United States Customs Department. Although the Exhibition closed, as we have said, on the tenth of November, it was the twenty-second of the month before any of the exhibitors were allowed to dispose of their goods for shipment, and, after they had begun to do so, many difficulties occurred at each stage of the process up to the actual point of reshipping. The consequence was that the Canadian department was not closed till the 29th of December, by which date everything might have been at home had the obstructions referred to not intervened. As it was, however, on the first of January following, when every Canadian package had left for its destination, fully two-thirds of the British goods remained, and several of the other foreign countries had hardly commenced shipping, so that Canada, who, at the opening of the Exhibition, was one of the farthest advanced in her preparations, was the first of all the assembled nations to close her department in Philadelphia.

21.—The grand results to the Dominion of the honourable and conspicuous part which she played in this first American International exhibition can scarcely be over-estimated. However much or little her people have as yet experienced of the material benefits of her splendid display and competition, on an occasion that will always be memorable in her history, the moral effect of her patriotic exertions, and the success with which they were crowned, cannot be gainsaid. Taken throughout, there can be no doubt that the Exhibition at Philadelphia has had the effect of enhancing the feelings of self-respect and patriotism of many thousands of Canadians who visited it, and who saw that, except in some special classes of productions sometimes depending wholly upon the climate, or other accidental circumstances, Canadian industries were in no respect behind those so much vaunted in the United States. They had reason, indeed, to believe that, while they

Some of the more  
important results to  
Canada of the  
Exhibition.

produced articles of as great excellence, they produced them at lower prices than their rivals, and that nothing prevented a valuable trade in many articles between the two countries except the excessively high American tariff. At the same time, the Exhibition has afforded proof that the demand for useful articles is not limited to a single nation, and has given cause to hope that, if our products are debarred from a particular market, they may nevertheless find a ready sale in other parts of the world. Nothing could be more encouraging than the manner in which many of our manufactures were sought by our fellow-subjects at the Antipodes, and we may hope that other nations have already been found, or will be found hereafter to be, not insensible to the possibilities of profitable Canadian trade. In many visitors to the Exhibition, not belonging to the British empire, the display made by Canada excited, not only lively interest, but great astonishment. Canadians were repeatedly assured, as well by the citizens of the United States, as by highly intelligent visitors from other countries, European and American, that until they saw the variety and perfection of the goods in the Canadian department, they had formed no just idea of the country from which those articles came. They were, of course, aware that the Dominion had a place on the maps of the world, and of North America, but they had no conception that what they had regarded only as a strip of land, of inhospitable climate, and remarkable chiefly for ice and snow, could be capable of furnishing domestic animals of the greatest perfection, all the grains used for food in equal plenty and excellence, generous wines of a quality by no means despicable, and a variety of manufactures which extends throughout all the articles necessary for the use, if not for the ornament and luxury of life. In this respect, even if no direct pecuniary advantage should arise from the Exhibition, there can be little doubt that its value must be incalculable. Hitherto when Canada has appeared at an International Exhibition, in the famous capitals of the old world, it has been as the exhibitor of a

few articles which, excepting lumber and cereals, were looked upon as curiosities. At Philadelphia, in 1876, she met for the first time the nations of the world as a nation, and held her own with all but those of the very first class, giving indications at the same time, of an ambition in due course of taking her place amongst the most powerful and prosperous nations in the civilized world.

22.—Highly flattering notices of the Canadian section of the Exhibition appeared in most of the languages of the world, through articles in the press.

Warm praise of Canadian section of the Exhibition.

Whole pages of compliments of this character might, if necessary, be reproduced here. We shall offer but two, one a remark by a distinguished foreigner, the President of the Centennial Commission, than whom no one had better opportunities of forming an intelligent and unbiased judgment, or was more competent to express it. On the occasion of a public reception of Canadian school teachers by General Hawley, in his official capacity, he said that: "Canada had done more for the success of the Centennial Exhibition than any eight of the States of the American Union, with the exception of New Jersey and Pennsylvania." This generous, and, we believe, strictly truthful statement by an American citizen, who honorably represented his country at Philadelphia, and performed signal service for her there, may be fully supplemented by the opinion of an illustrious British citizen of noble birth, who, till recently, represented so worthily his Royal Mistress, our gracious Sovereign the Queen, in this great western dependency of her Empire. On his return to Ottawa, after visiting the Exhibition, His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada, was presented with an address by the corporation of that city. Lord Dufferin's reply was what might have been expected from that able and accomplished nobleman, and its eloquent peroration will form an appropriate conclusion of Canada's historical record at the American International Exhibition of 1876. Lord Dufferin said:—"In conclusion, gentlemen, I cannot help adding

one word of congratulation on the admirable appearance made by Canada at the Centennial Exhibition, from whence I have just come. Whether we take into account the variety of our products, their intrinsic value, the degree to which they are destined to promote the expansion of our wealth, trade and commerce, or whether we consider the admirable method and completeness with which they have been displayed under the supervision of our Commissioners, we must be equally struck with the effective share which Canada has taken in enhancing the attractions of the Centennial show. There can be no doubt but that these proofs of our resources and prospects have made the most favourable impression upon our neighbours in the United States. In many respects they acknowledge, with a generosity which well becomes them, that we are their masters; and the many prizes we have taken away, especially in the agricultural competitions, have completely borne out their appreciation of our eminence; indeed, I may say I am never allowed to enter the United States without being made to feel with what kindly feelings we are regarded by that great people whose own extraordinary development is one of the marvels of the age. Wherever I go, I never fail to meet with the greatest courtesy and consideration, which I gladly recognize as a tribute, not to myself, but to the Canadian nationality I represent, whom the people of the States are always anxious to honour in my person. At no period in the history of the world have those bonds of sympathy and affection, by which the members of the great Anglo-Saxon race are indestructibly united, been drawn closer or rendered more sensibly apparent, than at the present moment. The many proofs given by England of her friendly feeling towards the people of the United States, have found their crowning expression in the noble way she has associated herself with them in celebrating the Centennial year of their existence as an independent community; and nowhere has her Imperial dignity been more fitly or appropriately displayed than beneath the lucent

roof of the Philadelphia Exhibition, where she sits enthroned amid her native treasures, and surrounded by the crowd of loyal colonies through whose intervention she not only extends her sceptre to the four quarters of the world, but has everywhere built up free institutions, and laid deep the foundations of an imperishable freedom. Facing her in generous emulation stands the United States, backed by the wealth of her virgin territory and the inventions of her ingenious artificers, and, as you traverse the building from end to end, you almost forget to remember whether you be English, Canadian, Australasian, American, from Africa or from India, in the proud consciousness that you are a member of that great Anglo-Saxon race whose enterprise has invaded every region, whose children have colonized two continents, whose language is spoken by one-third of civilized mankind, whose industry throngs the markets of the globe, and whose political genius has developed the only successful form of constitutional government as yet known to the nations of the earth.\*

\* We feel that this sketch of the Centennial would be incomplete without something more than the "mere mention" of the American gentlemen who so freely and earnestly assisted the Canadian Commissioners, and we, therefore, append the following short sketches of them:

Mr. George W. Childs was born in Baltimore in the year 1829, and is essentially a self-made man. At a very early age he entered the United States navy, where he remained fifteen months. When just fifteen, he left Baltimore for Philadelphia, where he obtained a situation in a publishing house, in which he at once proved his admirable business qualifications. He represented his employers very successfully at the annual trade sales in New York and Boston, and, at the end of four years, started in business for himself in a small room of the building then occupied by the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia. Soon after, he was offered a partnership in the publishing house of R. E. Peterson & Co., the name of the new firm being Childs & Peterson. Some of the most saleable and profitable books which have ever appeared in the United States were published by Mr. Childs' firm, his intuitive sagacity and good judgment in this respect going far to establish the fortunes of himself and his partner. In 1864 he purchased the *Public Ledger*, a splendid newspaper property, of which he has ever since been the owner and controlling spirit, and in the publication of which he has amassed an immense and ever-increasing fortune. The *Public Ledger* was started in 1836, by three journeyman printers, as a penny daily newspaper. It was a great success, and, amongst his intimate friends, it was no secret that young Childs, while yet a boy of eighteen, and when the prospect of the accomplishment of his wishes seemed impossible, set before himself, as an object to be achieved, the proprietorship of the *Ledger* establishment. He said to Dr. R. Shelton Mackenzie, nine years before the event occurred, "If I live, I will become the owner of the *Public Ledger*." In 1864, the paper reached a critical stage in its existence. Mr. Childs purchased it, against the strong advice of his friends, for something over \$350,000. He at once doubled its price and advanced the advertising rates, and, although these changes were for a time perilous, the course of the paper, under its new and able management, soon made it an almost unexampled monetary success. It soon gained an immense circulation, and is



## CHAPTER L.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN—  
THIRD SESSION, THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1876.

1. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—2. THE DEPRESSION IN TRADE.—3. THE BUDGET.—4. DEBATE ON THE BUDGET.—5. MOTION IN FAVOR OF PROTECTION VOTED DOWN.—6. PROTECTION FOR FARMERS.—7. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD'S MOTION IN FAVOR OF PROTECTION DEFEATED.—8. THE GRASSHOPPER PLAGUE IN MANITOBA.—9. PROROGATION. ACTS PASSED.

1.—The third session of the third Parliament of the Dominion was opened by His Excellency the Governor-General on the 10th February. In the Speech from the Throne His Excellency referred to his recent visit to England ; to the

now one of the best newspaper properties in the world. The new *Ledger* building, erected and fitted up under its proprietor's personal directions, is a model printing house, and probably, in all respects, the most perfect and complete establishment of the kind in existence. The policy of the paper, under Mr. Childs' control, has given it a very wide influence, and made it universally respected in the United States. Its independent, high-toned character, and straightforward integrity of purpose, are strongly characteristic of its proprietor, whose name is honourably known both at home and abroad. Few men have gained such a princely fortune in the business of publication, and none have used it more worthily. Mr. Childs is a large-hearted, generous man—a philanthropist in the broadest sense of the term. He dispenses his great wealth in a thousand charitable and beneficent ways, and is constantly devising new schemes of open-handed liberality and benevolence towards his fellow-men. His magnificent entertainments, during the period of the Philadelphia Exhibition, are well known to foreigners all over the world ; but he will be longer remembered by the poor and indigent of Philadelphia, for his kind and considerate thoughtfulness of them at that time. Hundreds of poor women, and several thousands of pauper children from the different charitable institutions of that great city, were repeatedly sent by Mr. Childs, happy-hearted, to Fairmount Park, and furnished with comfortable dinners while there enjoying the sights of the vast World's Fair. At the conclusion of his labours as an honorary British Commissioner, Mr. Childs received, from the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Lord President of the Council in the British Government, a letter heartily thanking him for his valuable services to the British section at the Exhibition.

Mr. Anthony J. Drexel was born in Philadelphia in the year 1827. His father was a banker in that city, and early enlisted him in the same pursuit. At the age of fifteen he entered his father's office, and, ever since, he has been actively engaged in the banking business in which he has long held a distinguished position. He now ranks as one of the first bankers in the world, being at the head of prominent banking houses in New York and Paris, as well as in Philadelphia. Mr. Drexel is well known for his fine business abilities, his high personal character and stainless reputation; not less than for his great wealth and his large, although wise and discriminating, charities. In the City of Philadelphia, his name is suggestive of everything honorable, liberal and public spirited. For many years he has been a zealous and powerful promoter of every benevolent or philanthropic scheme ; no man has spent his wealth better, or

continued depression in trade, and the bountiful harvest. He congratulated the members on the approaching completion of the Intercolonial railway ; mentioned the opening of the Prince Edward Island railway as an epoch in the history of that Island, and regretted no progress had been made in the settlement of the Fisheries compensation. Effect had been given to the Superior Court Act by appointing the judges and officers.† Bills to amend the law relating to Common Carriers ; respecting Life Insurance Companies ; to provide for collecting statistics of crime ; to provide for consolidating the statute law ; for the enfranchisement of Indians ; and respecting insolvent Banks, would

used his influence more worthily. One of his most recent public benefits has been the erection, in the suburbs of the city, of 385 houses for working people. These he enables them to acquire on terms extremely favorable, having a thoughtful regard always for the means and circumstances of individual purchasers. In this practical, helpful way he encourages the humblest artisan in his native city to secure a comfortable home. Between Mr. Drexel and Mr. Childs there has subsisted a long and firm friendship ; they have fought the battle of life ably and successfully side by side—the capitalist, in past crises of his friend's business career, having been ever ready to lend the support of his credit and wealth to Mr. Childs' well-considered undertakings. With all his acknowledged abilities, and his eminent public and social position, not the least conspicuous of Mr. Drexel's virtues are his innate modesty, and retiring and unobtrusive disposition. At the Exhibition his substantial services to the British, including the Canadian, section, were thoroughly appreciated, and, like his American colleague, he deservedly received the warm thanks of the Imperial Government.

Mr. Roderick W. Cameron, above referred to, and whose portrait appears in these pages, was born at Glenelg, County of Glengarry, July 23th, 1825. He is of Highland parentage, his father having been a clansman of the famous clan whose name he bore, and his mother a McLeod, a native of the Island of Skye. Mr. Cameron's father was a hero of the old school—a United Empire Loyalist who, after linking his fortunes with Canada in a very troublous time, was mainly instrumental—along with a number of other Highland gentlemen whose descendants are now living in Glengarry—in founding the old North-West Company which was afterwards merged in the Hudson's Bay Company. He finally settled in Glengarry, and represented that County in the old Parliament of Upper Canada which sat at York, now Toronto, from 1820 to 1824. His son, Mr. R. W. Cameron, received his early education in the country of his birth, and in 1852 went to New York to engage in the shipping business, and, in that year, was the first to establish regular communication by packet ships between the United States and the British colonies of Australia and New Zealand. The trade has since grown into large proportions under Mr. Cameron's able and energetic management. He has been for many years the owner of a fleet of first-class ships plying between different American ports and the Australian and other British colonies, and has latterly turned his attention with, we hope, some success to cultivating a trade between Canada and those Antipodean colonies. Mr. Cameron was, as we have above stated, one of the Commissioners for New South Wales at the Philadelphia Exhibition ; he also represented that colony, in a similar capacity, at the Paris Exhibition of 1878. He is a bright example of the great success achieved by the business enterprise, ability and integrity of not a few Canadians in the United States. Although a citizen of the Republic, he is a warm friend of British interests, and has proved in many ways his strong attachment to his native country and her people.

† On the 8th October 1875, the following gentlemen were gazetted Judges of the Supreme Court of the Dominion : Hon. William Buell Richards, Chief Justice, Hon. Messrs W. J. Ritchie, S. H. Strong, J. T. Taschereau, T. Fournier and W. A. Henry, Puisne Judges.

be submitted. The depression in trade had seriously affected the revenue; and it was necessary to curtail the expenditure. Correspondence with regard to the Pacific Railway would be laid before Parliament. A deputation from the Manitoba Government had visited Ottawa with a view to some re-arrangement of the Income of the Province, which was not sufficient for ordinary expenditure, and propositions concerning this would be presented. On the 11th the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved in the Commons by Mr. Casey, seconded by Mr. Taschereau. No amendment was offered, Sir John A. Macdonald remarking that the Speech was "a most harmless printed document." Considerable discussion, however, took place with reference to a speech which the Postmaster-General (Hon. Mr. Huntington) had delivered at Argenteuil in which he had violently attacked the Catholic religion; and Hon. Mr. Mackenzie took occasion to repudiate the Postmaster-General and to declare that the Ministry in no way held itself responsible for the "most unfortunate speech" of the Postmaster-General. The Address was then adopted. In the Senate, the Address was moved, on the 14th, by Hon. Mr. Paquet, seconded by Hon. Mr. Leonard, and adopted unanimously.

2.—The first debate of the session—except that on the Address—took place on the 16th

The depression in Trade.

February, on a motion by Mr. D Mills: "That a Select Committee composed of Messrs. Burpee, (Sunbury), Carmichael, Currier, Charlton, Dymond, Delorme, Platt, Sinclair, Workman and the mover, be appointed to inquire into the causes of the present financial depression." He entered at some length into the question and attributed the depression to a great extent to our intimate trade relations with the United States, where there was very great depression. Sir John A. Macdonald thought the motion was really one to inquire into the state of the nation, and, therefore, equivalent to a motion of want of confidence. He thought that the motion should be suspended until after the Finance Minister had made his Budget speech. Mr. Young thought

that the country was in the position of a solvent trader who had bought a large and good stock at fair prices, but found some difficulty in disposing of it, and favored the appointment of the Committee, as did Messrs. Dymond and Workman. Messrs. Irving and Kirkpatrick opposed the appointment of the Committee. Mr. Wood strongly advocated a Protective policy, and Mr. Thompson (Welland) was equally strong in favor of Free Trade. The debate was continued on the 17th and 18th, and participated in by Messrs. Tupper, Norris, Bowell, Patterson, Currier, Oliver, McGregor, Rochester, McDougall (Elgin), Gilmour, Jones (Leeds), Davies, Orton, DeCosmos, Bunster and others. Mr. Blaine moved to substitute "Manufacturing and Commercial" instead of financial in the motion, which was accepted by Mr. Mills. Hon. Dr. Tupper moved to add "Mining," and Hon. Peter Mitchell "Shipping" which was agreed to and the motion as amended carried.

3.—On the 25th February Hon. Mr. Cartwright made his Budget Speech. The revenue for the year ending 30th June, 1875, was \$24,648,715; expenditure, \$23,713,071; balance, \$935,644. There had been a very marked decrease in the volume of trade, the imports having fallen off \$7,785,512, and the exports, \$11,464,949. The revenue for the current year threatened to fall very much below the estimate, as it showed nearly \$2,000,000 less in the first seven months of 1874-5 than for the same period in 1873-74. It attributed the depression to over-importation, fall of the price of lumber in the United States markets, general extravagance and speculation, long continued depression in the United States, and general financial trouble throughout the world. He estimated the receipts for the current year at \$23,250,000, and the expenditure at a little less; which was a reduction of nearly \$2,500,000 on last year. He declared that he did not think that either the late or present Government could be fairly charged with having caused the existing depression; and with reference to means of relieving it said, "There is no use in concealing that the Government have been im-

The Budget.

portuned from many quarters to declare themselves in favor of a high tariff." He then went on at length to argue that the depression although great, was only temporary, and that this was not the time to make radical changes which may inflict serious permanent injury on the country. He held that the true financial policy of the country was to have what was substantially a revenue tariff, which was the policy to which the Government meant to adhere, and he hoped that by pursuing a policy of justice to all, prudence and economy they would be able to tide over the existing depression.

4.—Hon. Dr. Tupper reviewed the Financial policy of the Government at considerable length, and severely blamed them for not attempting to afford any relief from the great commercial depression under which we were suffering. The expenditures were increasing and the receipts decreasing, and still the Government had nothing to propose. He thought that what Canada needed was a broad, liberal National Policy, which would be founded on principles beneficial to the whole country, and not any fine spun theories as to the relative advantages of Free Trade and Protection. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie was willing to admit, as he had before admitted, that absolute Free Trade was impossible; and although, in theory, he was a Free Trader, he believed that the only policy suited to Canada was a tariff based on the requirements for expenditures—in other words, a Revenue Tariff. The debate was adjourned to the 28th, when Mr. Irving moved a long resolution to the effect that it was necessary, under existing circumstances, to revive differential duties; and that a rate not less than ten per cent. should be added to the existing rate on all foreign manufactures of the classes of goods which could be produced in Canada. Mr. Charlton opposed any charge in the tariff. Mr. Workman moved in amendment to the amendment, "That this House deeply regrets to learn from the speech of the Honorable Minister of Finance, on Friday last, that the Government has not proposed to this

Debate on the  
Budget.

Lionise a policy of Protection to our various and important manufacturing industries; and that the large amount of capital now invested in these industries, and their present depressed condition, render such a policy necessary to restore them to a condition of prosperity." Mr. Workman's amendment was ruled out of order. Mr. Devlin spoke strongly in favor of Protection, and Mr. John Macdonald (Toronto) pointed out the anomaly of a Committee being appointed to inquire into the state of the manufacturing interests while the Government refused to do anything to relieve them. Sir John A. Macdonald said that the announcement of the Government that there would be no change in the tariff had taken him by surprise. He characterized the motion of the honorable member for Hamilton (Mr. Irving) as a protest against the Government in favor of his constituents; but said that if the intention had been to make Protection look ridiculous the honorable gentleman could not have framed his resolution better. He advocated a broad National Policy, and was of opinion that the Government should take some steps towards relieving the existing distress. A vote was then taken on Mr. Irving's amendment, which was defeated, 3 for, 174 against, and the debate adjourned.\* The debate was continued on the 3rd by Messrs. Young, Bunster, McDougall (Elgin), Dymond, Appleby, Rochester, Davies, Plumb, Pope, Cartwright, Mackenzie, Vail and Holton, after which the motion to go into Committee of Supply was carried.

5.—On the 7th, on the motion to go into Committee of Supply, Mr. Workman moved the amendment which had been declared out of order during the Budget debate (see preceding paragraph). The motion was seconded by Mr. Devlin, and supported by Messrs. Domville and Colby. Mr. Palmer did not think that a Free Trade policy was practicable in Canada, and although he could not vote for the motion as it stood, still he would support any motion to

Motion in favor  
of Protection  
voted down.

\* The three who voted for the motion were Messrs. Irving, Devlin and Wood.

revise the tariff in such a manner as would afford relief to the manufacturers. He contended that it was a mistake to say that protection to manufacturers would injure farmers, as he thought that no one industry could flourish without benefitting others. Mr. Brown thought that all the Canadian manufacturers needed was to be allowed to enter into fair competition with the Americans. Mr. Sinclair was of the opinion that the resolution was framed wholly in the interest of a small clique of manufacturers, and Mr. Cook hoped that it would receive so decided a negative as to kill all hope of a Protective Tariff forever. Sir John A. Macdonald thought that the resolution did not go far enough, and although he should vote for it, intended to introduce a more comprehensive motion himself at a future stage. He believed that agriculture and manufactures should go hand in hand, and the tariff be so re-adjusted as to foster both. He charged the Government with inconsistency, and said that in not coming forward to the relief of the country, they had lost an opportunity which may never return to them. Mr. Workman's motion was then put and lost, Yeas 64, Nays 119.

6.—On the 21st February Dr. Orton moved for a Select Committee on the Agricultural interests of the Dominion. He spoke of the unfair operation of the American tariff, and claimed that while we were admitting American farm produce to free competition with our own productions, the Canadian farmers had been forced to pay over \$25,000,000 into the United States Treasury since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, in the shape of duties. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie objected to the appointment of the Committee. He thought that: "The farmers are quite able to take care of themselves; they are the most prosperous class in the country, and the nostrums the hon. gentleman would prescribe for their protection I do not think they will have on any account."\* The debate was continued

by Messrs Masson, Archibald, McCallum, Patterson, Stirton and Casey, and adjourned until 22nd when Messrs. Plumb and Smith (Peel), advocated the appointment of the Committee, and Messrs McDougall (South Renfrew) and Burpee (Sunbury) opposed it, and the debate was again adjourned. On the 8th March, the debate was resumed by Mr. Wallace (Norfolk) who, as representing a farming constituency, was perfectly certain that the farmers desired to change the existing state of things between Canada and the United States. Mr. Trow had travelled very extensively in Western Ontario, and also represented a farming constituency, but he had not heard any farmers asking for protection against American competition. The only kind of protection the farmers wanted was against the weevil, the Hessian fly, and the Colorado bug; if the mover of the resolution, being a medical man, could prescribe some remedy for these evils he would be doing the farmers a much greater service than by any Protection motion. The debate was continued by Messrs. Gordon, Huntington, Pope, Bowell, Mills and Rymal, after which, some slight changes in the Committee which had been proposed by Hon. Mr. Mackenzie having been made, the motion for a Committee was carried without division.

7.—On the 10th March, on the motion to go into Committee of Supply, Sir John A. Macdonald moved in amendment that "This House regrets His Excellency the Governor General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the readjustment of the tariff, which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business deplored in the gracious Speech from the Throne, but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries, as well as to the agricultural products of this country." In a long and able speech he reviewed the question of the necessity for a change in the tariff at the present time, and advocated the adoption of a broad National Policy, which,

Sir John A. Macdonald's motion in favor of Protection defeated.

\* The result of the General Election of 17th September, 1878, showed that Mr. Mackenzie was right in his opinion that the farmers of Ontario were "quite able to take care of themselves;" but most woefully wrong

in his idea that they did not want their products protected against American competition.

while affording protection to our manufacturing and agricultural interests, would, also, furnish a sufficient revenue for conducting the business of the country and proceeding with the important public works which had become absolutely necessary. He held that the reduction in expenditure claimed by the Finance Minister in his Budget speech was not a genuine reduction, as it was only accomplished by postponing or abandoning public works which the country needed. He quoted from English and American authorities to show that the countries whose products were protected were competing with Free Trade England in her own markets and beating her; and already it was prophesied that in less than ten years the very people in England who clamored for Free Trade and Free Bread, would be demanding a return to the Protective policy under which England had grown to be great and powerful. He said he had no hope that the present Government would change its policy after the very pronounced opinions of some of its members, but he desired to appeal beyond the Government, beyond the House, to the sober second thought of the country. Hon. Mr. Cartwright deprecated anything like a retaliatory policy towards the United States; and defended the policy of the Government, claiming that they had made some very important reductions in expenditures. He denied that the Government had ever held out any promises of a readjustment of the tariff; and held that the adoption of a Protective policy would only be to further the interests of a few manufacturers at the expense of the general public. Mr. Masson supported the resolution; Dr. Brouse preferred Reciprocity to Protection; Mr. Laurier favored Protection but thought the resolution went too far, and Mr. Mousseau charged Mr. Laurier with inconsistency, after which the debate was adjourned. On the 14th the debate was resumed by Mr. Fleming who opposed Protection and specially objected to frequent charges in the tariff. Mr. Wallace did not think the question was one of Protection or Free Trade at all, but of a readjustment of tariffs. He thought there

must be something radically wrong in the fiscal policy which made us go 3,000 miles for coal while we had such large deposits in the Dominion, import iron while we had the finest iron in the world right under our feet, and wool when we could grow much more than we needed. Mr. Bertram said that we had prospered under our present system, and it should be continued. Mr. McNab and Mr. Bunster supported the resolution. Mr. Kirkpatrick thought the tariff should be readjusted, and claimed that the Finance Minister had led the country to expect that it would be. Messrs. Mitchell, Colby, Macdonald and Norris supported the resolution and Messrs. Archibald and Carmichael opposed it, after which the debate was again adjourned. On the following day Messrs. Borden, Cameron (Smith Ontario), Mills, Casey, Oliver, Mackay, Kirk and Hagar opposed the resolution, and Messrs. White (Hastings), Plumb, Wood, DeCosmos and McCallum supported it. Hon. Dr. Tupper reviewed at length the policy, or want of policy, of the Government; and claimed that the country at large showed that it wanted Protection, for in nearly every case where a candidate had declared himself in favor of moderate Protection, he had been returned. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie defended the course of the Government, and ridiculed the idea of the country at large wanting Protection. After some further debate, the House divided, and Sir John A. Macdonald's resolution was defeated, Yeas, 70; Nays, 116.

8.—The summer of 1875 was a most disastrous one for the young Province of Manitoba, which was just beginning to feel the beneficial effects of immigration. The grasshopper plague in Manitoba. The grasshoppers literally "ate up every green thing," the settlers lost all their crops and were in great danger of starving through the winter, and did not save enough for seed. In this plight the Executive Council of Manitoba applied to the Dominion Government for a sum of money with which to procure provisions for the winter, and seed corn for the spring. The sum asked was \$60,000, as a loan, and the Dominion Government promptly advanced it.



## CHAPTER LI.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN—  
PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1876.

1. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE.—2. TERRIBLY  
DESTRUCTIVE FIRES.—3. MARINE DISASTERS.  
—4. CABINET CHANGES. CHANGE OF POLITI-  
CAL FEELING.—5. LORD DUFFERIN'S VISIT TO  
BRITISH COLUMBIA.—6. OTHER EVENTS OF  
THE YEAR.

1.—The sixth annual meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade was opened at Ottawa on the 18th January, the President, Mr. Fairweather, <sup>Dominion Board of Trade.</sup>presiding. Forty-nine delegates were present, representing eighteen organizations, whose aggregate membership was 2,083. The first business, after reading the annual report, etc., was the adoption of a resolution introduced by Mr. Adam Brown, of Hamilton, that the Dominion Government be petitioned to urge on the British Government the advisability of an amendment to the existing Treaty of Extradition with the United States so that it should include all criminals, except persons accused of political offenses. Mr. Mingay (Kingston) urged the appointment of Government Bank Inspectors, but the motion was lost on division; as was also a motion by Mr. Desjardins that the Government be asked to grant a subsidy to establish a line of winter steamers between Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. A resolution in favor of the compulsory inspection of butter, petroleum, hides, ashes, beef and pork, was lost; and one, proposed by Mr. W. H. Howland, in favor of an uniform system of grain inspection adopted, as was also a motion that the Government be recommended to establish a Canadian Lloyds. A long discussion took place on the motion of Mr. Adam Brown that the Government be petitioned to replace the ten per cent. duty on Tea and Coffee imported other than direct from the place of production, which had been repealed by the Mackenzie Administration. The arguments tended to show that the removal

Supplies and seed were forwarded in the fall, but, unfortunately, the Red river froze much earlier than usual—the ice forming on the 3rd, and navigation being entirely closed on the 18th November—and a large portion of the goods could not reach Winnipeg by boat. This involved winter transportation, which added greatly to the cost, and used up so much of the \$60,000 that Lieutenant-Governor Morris was forced to make an application for an additional \$25,000. This was done by letter under date 16th March, and on the following day Hon. Mr. Cartwright submitted a message from His Excellency transmitting a supplemental estimate for \$25,000 for relief of the distressed settlers. The matter was at once referred to Committee of Supply, and the item passed.

9.—Parliament was prorogued on the 12th April, His Excellency giving assent to thirty-nine public and thirty-six private and local Bills. Amongst the most important Acts passed was one granting \$26,746 per annum for six and a half years to Manitoba, so as to raise the annual subsidy to \$90,000. An Act permitting witnesses before Parliamentary Committees to be examined under oath; an Act with regard to corrupt practices at elections; an Act providing for the collection of criminal statistics; an Act providing for the bridging of navigable streams under certain conditions; an Act relating to the maintenance and management of Indians; an Act amending the Dominion Lands Act; an Act creating the District of Keewatin out of the territory lying north of the International boundary, west of Ontario, south of Hudson's Bay and east of the westerly boundary of Manitoba. The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba to be *ex officio* Lieutenant-Governor of the new district, the Governor-in-Council appointing a Council of five or ten to assist him. An Act amending the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Acts, providing for taking evidence by Commission, &c. An Act amending the Insolvent Act of 1875, and another providing for the winding up of the affairs of insolvent banks.

Prorogation. Acts passed.



of this duty had broken down the direct trade between Canada and China, and thrown the business into New York without reducing the retail price, or benefiting the consumer. The resolution was adopted 26 for, to 11 against. A resolution recommending the Government to construct the Caughnawaga Canal was introduced by Hon. John Young and carried. A long and interesting debate took place on the subject of the depression in trade, and a resolution, introduced by Mr. Adam Brown, to the effect that the Government should adopt a "National Commercial Policy," and take measures to protect the capital invested in our manufactures, was adopted by a vote of 23 to 14. Several other subjects were discussed, and Mr. Andrew Robertson, of Montreal, elected President for the ensuing year, after which the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

2.—Never before in the history of Canada had there been a greater succession of extensive fires in towns and cities than occurred in the year 1876, and only once since—the burning of St. John, N.B.—has such complete destruction overtaken any Canadian city as occurred to St. John's Que., and St. Hyacinthe, Que., in this year. On the 12th April, the stores of Messrs. Molleur and McDonald, St. John's P. Q., were burned, and damage to the extent of \$70,000 done. The town had been singularly free from fires for some years, and this large destruction partially aroused the people to a sense of their almost entire want of protection against fire, and they very nearly bought a steam fire engine, unfortunately, they did not quite buy it, and the next fire rendered the services of one unnecessary for some time—at least until the town could be rebuilt. Another fire broke out about 8 o'clock on the morning of the 18th June, in a lumber pile in Bousquet's Saw Mill, and spread very rapidly to adjoining buildings. There were little or no appliances for mastering the flames, and the fire soon got beyond control, and burned until the whole business portion of the town was destroyed, 225 houses being laid in ashes, upwards of 400 persons rendered houseless, and

Terribly destructive  
fires.

damage to the extent of over \$1,000,000 done, only about \$400,000 of which was covered by Insurance. Unfortunately two persons were burned to death and seven seriously injured. On the third September a similar disaster overtook the flourishing town of St. Hyacinthe, about 35 miles from Montreal, and in a few hours what had been one of the most prosperous towns in the Province of Quebec was little more than a heap of smouldering ashes. The fire broke out about 1.45 p.m. in a shed in rear of the office of the *Courrier du Canada*, occupied by a man named Maxime Blanchette, and spread rapidly. Here, also, as in St. John's, there were no appliances for coping with a large fire and it was soon beyond control. Montreal, Quebec and Levis were telegraphed to for help and responded as speedily as possible. In less than an hour after the telegram had been despatched to Montreal for help, a portion of the Montreal Fire Brigade, with the steamer "A. Bertram" was at work on the flames—the run from Point St. Charles to St. Hyacinthe having been made by the Grand Trunk in 32 minutes. It was nearly 5 o'clock before the Montreal men got to work and they had a fight of four hours before the fire was under control, by which time the entire business portion of the town was destroyed, over 300 houses being in ashes, 500 persons homeless and \$1,500,000 of damage done, only about \$250,000 worth of which was covered by Insurance. Not a single bakery was left, and large quantities of bread and other provisions had to be sent from Montreal and other places. The largest fire which had occurred for years in Quebec broke out about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th May, in Scott Street, St. Louis suburb and raged with great fury for several hours, 411 houses being destroyed, and damage down to the extent of \$500,000, nearly \$300,000 of which was covered by Insurance. The suburb was thickly populated, and it was estimated that over 1,000 people were rendered homeless, the majority of whom were poor persons, unable to bear the loss. Several other town and cities suffered severely from fire during the year, and extensive bush fires raged

in several parts of the country, but these three disasters at Quebec, St. John and St. Hyacinthe made all other fires look small by comparison.

3.—Although there were several severe gales on the coast, and on the lakes during the year,

*Marine disasters.*

and the loss of both life and property was heavy, still there was no one great marine disaster, the largest loss of life occasioned by accidents to seagoing vessels being 68 by the foundering of the schooner *Katie* on her way from Port Hawkesbury, P. E. I. to Boston; and 80 in the ship *Lake St. Clair*, which foundered at sea on a voyage from New York to Glasgow. The total number of casualties to sea going vessels was 403, involving the loss of 381 lives, and the destruction of \$2,755,996 worth of property. On the inland waters of the Dominion there were 11 disasters and 13 lives lost, 6 by the loss of the barque *F. C. Street* in Lake Ontario, in May, while on her way from Port Colborne to Toronto; and 7 by the foundering of the *Maggie Hunter* in October, while going from Oswego to Toronto.

4.—Only two changes in the Cabinet occurred during the year. On the 7th October the Hon.

*Cabinet changes.  
Change of political  
feeling.*

David Laird, Minister of the Interior, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, and on the 24th the Hon. David Mills was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed to the vacant portfolio. On the 13th December the Hon. R. E. Caron, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, died, and on the 15th the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture, was appointed his successor. The vacancy in the Cabinet was not filled until the 26th January, 1877, when Hon. C. A. P. Pelletier was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Minister of Agriculture. During the year there began to be a very perceptible change in public opinion on political matters, and all who were not prejudiced or purposely blind began to think that Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's lease of power was likely to prove very much shorter than had been anticipated when he came back from the General Elections of 1874 with eighty of a majority, unless he changed his

policy very materially, and admitted that however good Free Trade principles may be in theory they are bad in practice as far as Canada is concerned. What has since become known as "The Conservative reaction" had set in, and a strong disposition towards Protection was growing up. The first practical illustration of this was given on the 5th July, in North and South Ontario, where Messrs. W. H. and T. N. Gibbs run for the vacancies caused by the death of the two Liberal members, Messrs. Gordon and Malcolm Cameron. In South Ontario Mr J. D. Edgar was the Reform candidate, and three Cabinet Ministers, Messrs. Mackenzie, Cartwright and Huntington stamped the Riding in his interest. But he was defeated, and the Hon. T. N. Gibbs, who adopted as his platform "Our own markets for our own people," was returned by forty-one majority by the same constituency in which he had been defeated in 1874, by one hundred and fifty-one. It was in this summer that political "picnics" came into fashion, and the Conservative party had a number in Ontario which helped their cause materially.

5.—During the summer their Excellencies paid a visit to British Columbia, and this naturally leads us to refer to the continued discontent there with regard to the railway. On the rejection of the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway Bill, by the Senate near the close of the Session of 1875 nothing was done with reference to re-introducing the Bill; but, during the summer of 1875, surveying parties were at work on Vancouver Island locating the road, and some of the famous 40,000 tons of steel rails, which Mr. Mackenzie had so inopportunistically bought just at the moment the price was about to fall, were shipped to Esquimault and Nanaimo; and the natural impression was that the Canadian Government intended to carry out the Carnarvon Terms, and would reintroduce the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway Bill at next session of Parliament. The Government had no such intention, however; but the funds in the Treasury were running low and Mr. Cartwright had to raise a new loan, and it so happened—whether

*Lord Dufferin's visit  
to British Columbia.*

by accident or design we cannot say, the Dominion Government said accident, the British Columbia Government design—that the new policy proposed towards British Columbia was not promulgated until the loan had been affected, although the Order-in-Council had been passed some two months previously.\* On the 29th September, 1875, a report of the Privy Council was approved by His Excellency, in which it was held that the Terms of Union did not stipulate that the railway should be built to Esquimaux, but simply to the Pacific coast; the proposal to build that road had only been made to British Columbia as compensation for delay in building the main line; that the road was purely a local one and should be built by the Province, but the Dominion Government would be willing to ask Parliament for a grant of \$750,000 to assist in building the road if British Columbia would be content to wait for an indefinite period for the completion of the main line. This report, although passed on 29th September, was not forwarded until the 10th November; and the proposal was at once indignantly refused by the British Columbia Government, which claimed that the Carnarvon Terms should be carried out. A long and vigorous protest against the bad faith of the Dominion Government was made by the British Columbia Council to the Colonial Secretary, and, on the 28th March, 1876, Mr. DeCosmos moved a long resolution in the Commons setting forth that Canada had twice solemnly pledged her honor to commence the road and had not done so, and concluding "this House is of the opinion that the Government should forthwith

promptly commence and vigorously and continuously prosecute the work of the actual construction of the said railway in British Columbia in accordance with its solemn pledges to that Province." He reviewed the whole circumstances of the case at considerable length and held that the Dominion was in honour bound to carry out its agreement. The motion was debated at some length and defeated by a vote of Yeas, 7; Nays, 154. More correspondence passed between the Colonial Secretary and the Dominion and Local Governments without any nearer approach to a solution being reached, each side holding to its position, the Dominion Government practically saying that it did not intend to attempt to carry out the exact terms of Union, but would build the road how, when and where they pleased; and the Local Government claiming the completion of the bargain which had been made with them. Matters were in this condition when His Excellency, on the advice of his Ministers, determined to pay British Columbia a visit. Their Excellencies left Ottawa on 31st July, for San Francisco, from which port they were conveyed to Victoria in *H. M. S. Amethyst*. The city was handsomely decorated and the reception was a fine one. The feeling on the railway question found expression in many of the mottoes on the arches, under one of which, bearing the inscription "Carnarvon Terms or Separation" His Excellency declined to pass, and as the Committee declined to alter the motto he had his carriage driven another way. Their Excellencies spent a month in the Province visiting New Westminster, Yale and other places, and made themselves very popular. On the railway question His Excellency was guarded until the morning before his final departure from Victoria, when he delivered what has since become known as his "Great British Columbia Speech," in which he calmly and dispassionately reviewed the whole railway question, and tried to convince his hearers that it was not the policy of his Ministry to abandon the railway, but that it was an impossibility to build it at once. This very able speech had temporarily a good effect

\* "The delay in the transmission of the Minute of Council now under consideration deserves notice. It was passed on the 29th September last and was detained at Ottawa until the 10th November—some seven weeks—owing, as alleged by the Under Secretary of State, 'to the fact of the officer whose duty it was to furnish a copy of the Order-in-Council to this Department for transmission . . . having inadvertently omitted to do so.' To the Dominion Government this detention proved most opportune. By a signal coincidence they were during this period engaged in negotiating a heavy loan in England, \$7,250,000 of which, it is publicly reported, they succeeded last October in borrowing on the Imperial Guarantee, in which the Province is specially interested, as it was mainly given to aid in the construction of the Pacific Railway. Owing to the detention alluded to, the Provincial Government were not afforded an opportunity of protesting in the proper quarter against the Guarantee being used under existing circumstances." Extract from Minute of British Columbia Council, 4th January, 1876.

on the temper of the people, who were beginning to tire of Mr. Mackenzie's bad faith and openly advocate secession from the Union. His Excellency returned to Ottawa on the 23rd October, and after a brief rest paid a private visit to the Centennial.

6.—Amongst the other important events of the year may be mentioned the adoption by the Boston Board of Trade and by the National Board of Trade of resolutions in favor of Reciprocity; and the formal opening of the Intercolonial Railway on the 1st July. On the 12th July there was an Orange riot in St. John, N. B., in which one man was shot, and there was some little disturbance in Montreal, but nothing serious. On the 22nd July 800 Icelanders arrived at Quebec on their way to Manitoba where they had secured a reservation. Towards the end of the year they were severely afflicted with small pox and suffered a great deal. One of the "events" of the year was the visit of the Montreal Lacrosse Team to England accompanied by a Team of Caughnawaga Indians, for the purpose of playing exhibition games and introducing our National sport into the Mother Country. They were well received wherever they went, and had the honor of playing before Her Majesty at Windsor; and it is a curious coincidence—and may be used as an illustration of the difference between the Canadian and American systems of treating the Indians—that on the very day (25th June) on which these two teams of white and red men were playing together in friendly rivalry for the amusement of their Queen, the red men of the United States were engaged in fierce combat with the soldiers of their country, and the deadly tomahawk of the Sioux was dying the Western prairies with the life-blood of Custer and his men.

## CHAPTER LII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN—  
FOURTH SESSION, THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1877.

### 1. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. THE SPEECH

FROM THE THRONE.—2. THE BUDGET.—3. DEBATE ON THE BUDGET.—4. DEBATE ON THE TARIFF.—5. THE INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.—6. PACIFIC RAILWAY.—7. PROROGATION. BILLS PASSED.

1.—The fourth session of the third Parliament of the Dominion was opened at Ottawa on the 8th February by His Excellency the Governor-General who in his Speech from the Throne referred

Opening of  
Parliament. The  
Speech from the  
Throne.

to the pleasure he had experienced by his visit to British Columbia; to the prosecution of the surveys for the Canada Pacific, and of work on the Welland and Lachine canals, and the advisability of deferring for the present other public works contemplated at Confederation; the Extradition Treaty with the United States and the completion and opening of the Intercolonial Railway were referred to; and pleasure expressed at the creditable position taken by Canada at the Centennial Exhibition. Regret was expressed that nothing had yet been done towards appointing the Fisheries Commission under the Washington Treaty. Acts were foreshadowed amending the Joint Stock Companies Act; the Life Insurance Companies Act; navigation of Inland waters; Customs; Geological Survey; Weights and Measures, &c. The Address in reply to the Speech was moved in the Senate on the 9th by Hon. Mr. Hope, seconded by Hon. Mr. Haythorne and carried. In the Commons by Mr. Guthrie, seconded by Mr. Bechard. After a short discussion, in the course of which Sir John A. Macdonald characterized the Speech as "A meagre Bill of Fare," the Address was carried without division.

2.—On the 20th February Hon. Mr. Cartwright made his Budget Speech. The revenue for the past year had been \$22,587,000, and the expenditure, \$24,488,000, showing a deficiency of \$1,901,000, which he attributed to two causes, first, that the continued depression in trade had caused the revenue to be much less than had been expected; and second, that there had been several extraordinary expenditures during the

The Budget.

year which were not likely to occur again. The exceptional charges were \$134,000 for boundary surveys; \$210,000 for Centennial expenses; \$980,000 for public works; \$250,000 for changing the gauge of the Intercolonial and substituting steel rails for iron, making a total of \$1,574,000 out of the \$1,901,000 which he considered may be fairly treated as exceptional expenditures. He had no idea that this large deficit was likely "to become chronic," but was due to the depression in trade from which we must shortly recover. The falling off in revenue had been almost all in Customs receipts, which had fallen from \$15,351,000 to \$12,823,000, being a loss of \$2,500,000 in one year, which was something enormous and unprecedented. He reviewed the financial position for the past ten years, showing that bank circulation had increased from \$14,000,000 to \$26,000,000, or nearly 100 per cent.; deposits from \$29,689,000 to \$70,450,000, being 130 per cent., while the deposits in Government Savings' Banks had grown from \$1,686,000 to \$7,178,000, or fully 400 per cent.; shipping had increased 65 per cent., and the exports of the four original Provinces had increased from \$45,000,000 to \$65,000,000, or forty-five per cent. He argued from this that although the country was suffering at the moment it had increased very greatly in material wealth; and thought that "we have seen probably the worst of the present depression." He entered at considerable length into details as to the loan he had lately effected in London, which he claimed had been accomplished on very favorable terms, and with the arrangements now made he did not think that the ordinary expenditures would, in future, much exceed \$23,000,000 per annum. The estimates for 1877-78 amounted to \$23,167,000, which was an increase of \$136,000, of which \$86,000 was for Indians. The Excise and Customs duties he proposed changing were the abolition of the Excise duty on coal oil, and the reduction of the duty on imported oil from fifteen to six cents per gallon. On malt it was proposed to place a tax of one cent per pound, and three cents per gallon on beer. The duty on cotton

and linen thread to be raised from ten to seventeen and a half per cent.; on cigars a specific duty of fifty cents per pound and twenty per cent. *ad valorem*; perfumery, twenty-five per cent. From these and a few other slight changes, he expected to realize about \$500,000 additional, which he thought would be sufficient to cover any decrease in the revenue.

3.—Hon. Dr. Tupper quite agreed with the Finance Minister that the financial condition of the country was greatly to be <sup>Debate on the Budget.</sup> deplored; he went further than that, and thought that it was a source of much mortification that a Finance Minister should have to disclose such a state of affairs, and not be prepared to offer any remedy. Referring to the decennial period just closed, as the Minister of Finance had done, he said it was divided into two periods—seven years of almost unprecedented and unexampled prosperity, and three years of what the Finance Minister had most properly called "deep distress;"—and the dividing line between these two periods was very clearly marked by the accession to power of the present Administration, and a change in the financial policy of the country. He then compared the two periods, claiming that during the first seven years of Confederation the Government of which he had been a member had been able to meet all expenditures liberally—even extravagantly, it had been charged—and to spend \$13,000,000 on public works out of current receipts, besides placing \$3,000,000 to the credit of the Sinking Fund, which was equal to a reduction of the debt by \$16,000,000. This was accomplished with only a fifteen per cent. tariff; but he held that fifteen per cent. then gave greater protection to the manufacturer than twenty per cent. would now, on account of the changed condition of the labour market in the United States; besides which, it had been the policy of the Government to keep raw materials entering into manufactures on the free list, especially in the case of machinery which could not be purchased in Canada, and which was required for manufacturing purposes. When the Government found they had



more revenue than they required, they did not reduce the slight protection afforded manufactures, but rather increased it by removing the duties from tea and coffee, which was a step in the interest of the employes of manufacturers. With regard to the sixty-five per cent. increase in shipping, mentioned by the Finance Minister, he (Dr. Tupper) thought it was one of the strongest arguments which could be produced in favour of the policy of the late Government in keeping articles which entered into ship-building on the free list. He referred to the Washington Treaty, and the advantages which had accrued to Canada by the free admission of fish to United States markets. Referring to the attempt to adopt a "National Policy" in 1870, and to the imposition of duties on coal, salt, wheat, &c., he said "the one short year of its continuance was sufficient to enable parties interested in the development of the great coal mining industries of this country, to point triumphantly to the fact that no such injurious results followed as had been predicted, but that the American duties on coal were immediately reduced from \$1.25 to 75 cents, the duty on potatoes, of which there was a considerable export from the Maritime Provinces, was largely reduced, and so was that on lumber and other articles, and instead of the policy resulting, as predicted by hon. gentlemen opposite, as an injury to the revenue, the result proved to be entirely the reverse, and, while Canada derived \$800,000 of revenue upon those articles sent by the United States into this country, we saw an immediate amelioration of the tariff which existed then, in favor of Canadian industries." He referred to the policy of the late Government with regard to railways and public works, and compared it with that of the present Administration, greatly to the prejudice of the latter. He denounced the policy of the present Government when in Opposition in causing the repeal of the protective duties on coal, &c.; and in defeating the Pacific Railway policy of the late Administration, a policy which he claimed would have caused the expenditure of \$100,000,000 of foreign capital in Canada, and have stimulated an immigration

which would have built up the North-West. He reviewed at length the tariff changes which had been made by the present Administration, and claimed that by taxing machinery and raw materials which entered into manufactures, and imposing duties on ships and ship materials, they had struck heavy blows at important industries. When more revenue was wanted the Government instead of continuing the fostering policy of the late Administration had imposed duties on tea and coffee, thus increasing the cost of living to the poor man. He claimed that the tariff had been so framed, that instead of affording any relief from the commercial depression, it rather intensified it by imposing every conceivable burden, and repressing every industry. He criticised severely the manner in which the last loan had been placed on the London market and the terms obtained and said, "The fact is this, and the people may as well understand it, that at least two per cent. on two and a half millions sterling has been taken out of the pockets of the people of Canada and distributed among the happy parties who had the good fortune to obtain this loan." He commented unfavorably on the proposed tariff changes, arguing that any changes in that direction should be made on the basis of a broad National Policy which would protect our own industries; and concluded by prophesying that the mistaken and unpatriotic policy of the Government had lost them the confidence of the country, and that they would not be able much longer to continue their downward course. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie replied to the Hon. Dr. Tupper characterizing many of his statements as exaggerated and inaccurate, and ridiculing the idea of a "National Policy" as something which the Opposition did not dare to define, but contented themselves with vague statements about "fitting protection," without saying what that fitting protection was. Sir John A. Macdonald replied to Hon. Mr. Mackenzie after which the motion to go into Committee of Supply was passed.

4.—On the 2nd March, on Hon. Mr. Cartwright moving that the House go into Committee of



Debate on the Tariff.

Ways and Means on the tariff resolutions, Sir John A. Macdonald moved an amendment: "That the said resolution be not now read a second time, but that it be resolved that the House regrets that the financial policy submitted by the Government increases the burden of taxation on the people, without any compensating advantage to Canadian industries; and further, that this House is of opinion that the deficiency in the Revenue should be met by a diminution of expenditure, aided by such a readjustment of the tariff as will benefit and foster the agricultural, mining and manufacturing interests of the Dominion." He said that he believed there was a very general dissatisfaction throughout the country at the changes proposed in the resolutions, which only increased taxation without affording any protection to our struggling industries. He specially objected to the heavy tax put on malt, which was much greater than that on spirits; and on ale, which made the duty on that light and wholesome beverage "seventy per cent. higher than any other country in the world." He thought that so long as intoxicating drinks were used, it was best to encourage the use of the lighter and most innoxious kinds in preference to whiskey and other spirits. He objected to the specific duty of five cents per pound on tea; he thought it was a harmless and useful beverage, the use of which should be encouraged, and he more strongly objected to the manner of levying the tax which made the poor man pay as much on his twenty-five cent tea as the rich man did on his which cost one dollar or more per pound. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie defended the policy of the Government, and held that a time of depression was not the proper time for a reconstruction of the tariff. He attacked the "National Policy" idea and held that Protection was one of the relics of the Dark Ages, while Free Trade showed the advance of human freedom. The debate was adjourned until the 6th, when Mr. Charlton defended the policy of the Government, and attributed the existing depression to the late war in the United States which had caused an

enormous inflation of values and we were now suffering from the reaction. Hon. T. N. Gibbs criticised the policy of the Government and showed how it had killed the direct trade with Brazil in sugar, and with China and Japan in tea. Mr. Plumb supported Sir John A. Macdonald's amendment and Mr. Ross (Middlesex) opposed it. Mr. Wood said that he heartily supported the Government in their general policy, but differed from them in their commercial policy. He could not support the amendment because, "It was a general omnibus including everything in the country, and might mean anything or nothing, just as circumstances might require." He advocated a 20 per cent. tariff, and concluded in moving in amendment to the amendment "That, inasmuch as it is deemed necessary to raise an additional revenue, it is the opinion of this House that the interests of the country would be better served by imposing additional duties upon such goods and wares as may be produced in Canada, thereby affording increased protection, while securing the additional revenue required." The debate was continued by Messrs. Colby, and Thompson (Welland), Sir John A. Macdonald—who read a letter from Mr. George Stephen, one of the largest manufacturers in Canada, saying that manufacturers generally were in favor of a tax of 75 cents a ton on coal, provided it was made part of a general tariff reform,—and Mr. John Macdonald (Toronto) and again adjourned. The debate was continued on the 9th, 13th and 15th when Mr. Wood's amendment to the amendment was lost, Yeas, 78; Nays, 109. Dr. Orton moved an amendment to the amendment to the effect that the tariff should be so re-arranged as to relieve Canadian farmers from the one-sided and unjust effects of the United States' tariff. The debate was continued on the 22nd when Dr. Orton's amendment was lost, 74 for, to 113 against. Sir John A. Macdonald's amendment was then lost, Yeas, 70; Nays, 119; and Hon. Mr. Cartwright's motion on the first resolution amending the tariff adopted, Yeas, 120; Nays, 69. On the further consideration of the tariff resolutions, on 3rd April, Mr. Wallace moved

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an amendment that the duty on tea be made *ad valorem* instead of specific, which was defeated by 114 to 65, and the resolutions adopted without division.

5.—The matter of the Government printing in New Brunswick having been giving to the

The Independence  
of Parliament.

*Freeman* newspaper, of which Hon. Mr. Anglin, Speaker of the House, was Editor and proprietor, had been attracting the attention of the press for some time; and, on the 7th April, Mr. Mackenzie Bowell brought the subject before the House by moving that the holding of the contract by the Speaker was a breach of the Independence of Parliament Act. Mr. Mackenzie complained of the factious disposition of the Opposition; and said that as soon as the matter had been brought under the notice of the Government the contract had been cancelled. Mr. Blake suggested that the matter should be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The debate was adjourned to the 9th, when Mr. Bowell's motion was defeated.—Yeas 72; Nays 111. Subsequently, on a motion by Mr. Casey, the matter was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The Committee did not report until the last day of the session, and before the report could be read the House was summoned for prorogation, the Opposition protesting against this manifest desire to shield the Speaker. During recess Hon. Mr. Anglin resigned, and was re-elected. The question of infringement of the Independence of Parliament Act, which rendered members liable to a fine of \$2,000 a day for illegally sitting and voting in the House became a very serious one during the session. Members on both sides of the House were charged with having contracts with the Government, and upwards of thirty were so charged. The matter became so serious that at last a Relief Bill indemnifying members from pecuniary liabilities for sitting and voting when they had been under the belief that they were legally entitled to do so, was passed.

6.—On the 20th of April, in Committee of Supply, on the item for \$1,524,000 for the

Pacific Railway, Hon. Mr. Mac-  
kenzie entered into very full  
explanations of the proposed route, and the reasons for selecting it. The route from Fort William, on the Kaministiquia, was through a country much more easy of access than the Nepigon route. The spring opened earlier, and the work would be comparatively light. The country between Thunder Bay and Red River, except in the valley of the Kaministiquia, was generally of a rough character, though land would probably be available for settlement to a much greater extent than was commonly supposed. One hundred and sixteen miles from Lake Superior westward was under contract for \$1,307,793—without the rails. From Selkirk, on Red River, to Keewatin, on Winnipeg River, a distance of seventy-seven miles, was let. The total amount contracted for was \$3,302,568. To this had to be added steel rails, at a cost of \$1,385,775; engineering, \$342,750; rolling stock, \$457,000; right of way, \$65,000; and station buildings \$50,000;—making the entire cost of 228½ miles \$5,603,003, or a little less than \$25,000 per mile. The route through British Columbia would not be finally decided until after the summer's survey of 1877. There was no doubt that the Peace River country was the finest part of the whole North-West; but further surveys through that and Pine River Pass would put back the railway two or three years. Mr. Roscoe strongly protested against any further delay in locating the line in British Columbia. Mr. DeCosmos urged the superiority of Bute Inlet as the terminus on the mainland, over Burrard Inlet, and pointed out many errors fallen into by the Premier with regard to the population, fertility, etc., of the route to the latter point. The item was agreed to, and also \$100,000 for surveys.

7.—Amongst the other important subjects discussed was that of opening the proceedings of the House with prayer, which was introduced by Mr. John  
Promotion. Bill  
passed.  
Macdonald (Toronto) and referred to a Committee, whose recommendation that a form of prayer to be read by the Speaker be adopted



was accepted. The question of granting to W. B. O'Donohue the same Amnesty which had been extended to Riel and Lepine was brought up by Mr. Costigan on 12th April, and, after a long discussion the motion was negatived by 105 to 60. Parliament was prorogued on the 28th April. His Excellency giving assent to eighty-six Bills. Amongst the most important Acts past were, one relating to the Government of the North-West Territories; one relating to Ordinance and Admiralty lands; one constituting the Geological Survey a branch of the Department of the Interior; one amending the Customs Act, 1867; one providing for the Inspection of petroleum; one with reference to weights and measures; one with reference to cutting and measuring timber; and several Acts relating to harbors, piers, steamboat inspection, pilots &c. An Act against betting and pool selling was passed rendering persons offending liable to imprisonment for not more than a year, and a fine of not over \$1,000. Acts were also passed against gambling in public conveyances and against gambling houses. An Act amending the Insolvency Act of 1875; and also an Act relating to Life Insurance Companies, and another with reference to issuing letters patent were passed.

### CHAPTER LIII.

#### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN. —PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1877.

1. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE.—2. FIRES.—3. BURNING OF ST. JOHN, N.B.—4. ORANGE RIOTS. HACKETT SHOT.—5. MARINE DISASTERS.—6. THE FISHERIES AWARD.—7. OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

1.—The seventh annual meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade was opened in the Railway Committee Room, Ottawa, on the 17th January, the President presiding, and the usual number of delegates present. The session was shorter

than usual, only lasting two days, and the number of subjects discussed was somewhat limited. Amongst the most important matters discussed was a motion by Mr. Stairs that the Dominion Government be petitioned to re-arrange the duties on sugar so as to foster the refining interest. Mr. Patterson moved in amendment that the Government be recommended to adopt a National Policy, which was lost, twenty for, to twenty-one against. Major Walker moved an amendment to the effect that the Board was satisfied with the 17½ per cent. tariff, which was lost, nineteen for, to twenty-one against. Mr. Thomas White, jr., then moved "That in the opinion of this Board the principle of Protection to the manufactures of this country is of vital importance to its prosperity, and that in any revision of the tariff this principle should be embodied, especially in the case of such articles as the unfair and unequal competition has pressed most heavily upon," which was adopted by twenty-one to fourteen. Resolutions were also adopted recommending the establishment of a system of Government Life Insurance; for the protection and breeding of fish; for a system of sub-marine telegraph in the river and gulf of St. Lawrence; and against the joint purse arrangement entered into between the Direct Cable and Anglo-American Cable Companies, which, it was claimed, was a violation of the Charter granted the former Company. Mr. Adam Brown, of Hamilton, was elected President.

2.—The fires of 1877 were not unusually numerous or extensive—except the burning of St. John N. B., of which we <sup>Fires.</sup> speak elsewhere—but were unusually disastrous with regard to the loss of life. On the night of the 8th March, a large fire occurred in St. John N. B., by which damage to the extent of \$280,000 was done, and five lives lost. Early on the morning of the 29th April, a fire broke out in the store of the Dominion Oil Cabinet Company, St. Urban Street, Montreal, and the building, which was a mere shell, was entirely destroyed. Loss \$10,000. On account of the inflammable nature

of the material and the dangerous neighborhood in which the fire occurred, the whole Fire Brigade was called out, and while they were at work in a small alley way known as Scotts' Lane, the tall wall of the Cabinet Company's building fell on a number of the Brigade and some citizens who were assisting them. Four firemen and five citizens were killed on the spot, and the Chief of the Brigade and seven other firemen injured, two of them so seriously that they died a few days after, and three others were laid up in hospital for some months. At another small fire in Montreal, on November 2nd, a man and a woman were suffocated. Hull had two large fires during the year, the first on the 1st June where Eddy's stable were destroyed and 43 fine horses burnt to death, involving a loss of \$20,000; and the second on the 30th July, where several houses were destroyed and \$60,000 damage done. Large bush fires raged during the year in Ontario, Nova Scotia and on the North Shore of Lake Superior and great damage was done.

3.—The one great fire of the year, however, before which all others appear as trifles, was the almost entire destruction of St. John, N.B., on the 20th June, a calamity which was by far the most stupendous and complete which had occurred since the burning of Chicago, and by which a large and flourishing city was in a few hours almost wiped off the face of the earth. The fire spread over an extent of upwards of 200 acres, and 1,610 houses, including nearly all the churches and public buildings were burnt. Nearly half the people of the city were rendered homeless, and for awhile their sufferings were very great; but contributions of money, food and clothing poured in from every city, town and village in Canada, and from many places in the United States and England. The total loss by the fire was over \$25,000,000, and nine or ten lives were sacrificed. About four months after the St. John fire, the town of Portland, N.B., was similarly destroyed, the number of houses burnt being 230, and the loss of property \$300,000, which fell with particular

The burning of St. John, N.B.

hardship on the people, as they were mostly of the poorer classes and less able to bear the loss than the people of St. John.

4.—Unfortunately religious feeling ran very high in Montreal this year, and from being one of the most quiet and orderly cities for its size on this Continent, it became almost given over to lawlessness, on account of the constant quarrels between the Orangemen and the Irish Catholic Union. These quarrels led to frequent fights, and revolvers began to be freely used—especially towards the last part of the year. For many years it had been the custom of the few Orangemen in the city to talk of having a procession on the 12th of July, but they were either intimidated or persuaded not to attempt it, on account of the ill-feeling, and probably worse, which it would provoke. This year their was more talk about it than usual and excitement ran very high. It was thought up to the last minute that they would attempt to walk, and the streets and squares, especially Victoria Square, were crowded with gangs of roughs who were determined to prevent a procession. The Orangemen did not walk in procession, but they attended church and, unfortunately, some of them wore Orange lilies which excited the ire of the lawless crowd, and several young men and ladies were assaulted. One of these young men, L. K. Hackett was so assaulted in Victoria Square and tried to escape into a store, but the door was shut in his face, and almost at the same moment he was shot by some one in the crowd. This murder of Hackett caused the most intense excitement, not only in Montreal but throughout the Orange body in Ontario. It was decided to give Hackett a grand funeral, and delegates from a number of Orange Lodges in Ontario were sent down to Montreal on the 15th to attend the funeral. It was considered almost certain that there would be a riot, and all the volunteers were called out; but, although there was an immense crowd and some rowdiness, no murder was committed this time.

Orange Riots.  
Hackett shot.

5.—The marine disasters of the year were not

more numerous than usual, and the loss of life was considerably less. The whole number of disasters to seagoing vessels in Canadian waters, or to Canadian vessels in other waters was 327, involving a loss of \$2,019,670. The number of lives lost was 100, of which 26 were lost in Canadian waters and 74 in waters other than Canadian. Amongst the losses were the new barque *Augustine*, which left Georgetown, P. E. I., on the 13th of December, 1876, with a crew of eleven and a cargo of oats for Bristol, and never was heard of; brigantine *Ethel Bolton* which sailed from St John N. B., for Canada, on the 5th of December, 1876, with a crew of eight, foundered at sea. On the Inland waters of the Dominion there were forty-two casualties, involving the loss of seventeen lives and property to the value of \$271,244.

6.—After the failure of Hon. Mr. Brown's mission to Washington to endeavour to nego-

The Fisheries award.

tiate a new Reciprocity Treaty on the ground of Canada giving up her claim to a money compensation for the Fisheries, under the 22nd Article of the Treaty of Washington, the Government at once took steps to have the Commission provided for in that Article meet and determine what compensation, if any, Canada was entitled to. The Commissioners appointed were Sir A. T. Galt, on behalf of Great Britain, with Mr. Ford and Mr. Bergue as his Agents; Hon. E. H. Kellog, on behalf of the United States, with Hon. Dwight Foster as Agent, and R. H. Dana, jr. as Counsel; and His Excellency Maurice Delfosse, Belgian Minister to Washington. Messrs. Joseph Doutre, Q. C.; S. R. Thompson, Q. C.; L. H. Davies, and R. L. Weatherbec acted as Counsel for Canada, and Hon. W. V. Whiteway, Q. C., for Newfoundland. The Commission met in Halifax in June, and the decision of the Commissioners was given on the 23rd November, when it was declared by two of the Commissioners that Canada should receive \$5,500,000 as compensation for the use of the Fisheries for twelve years—six of which had expired. The American Commissioner protested against the award

on the ground that Canada already enjoyed greater privileges under the Treaty of Washington than the United States, and was not entitled to any remuneration at all. He also claimed that the Commissioners must be unanimous in their decision to give the award any effect—an opinion which was shared by a portion of the American press and by Congress. The American Government protested against the award and Congress rejected the first application to pay the amount, but finally thought better of the meanness of repudiating the debt—especially as there was an unpaid balance of over \$5,000,000 out of the Geneva award in the Treasury—and the vote was passed. The money was paid over in London on the 18th November, 1878, by the American Minister, accompanied by a protest that the United States would not recognize the award as any criterion as to the value of the Fisheries.

7.—Amongst the other important events of the year may be mentioned the success of the Steamer *Northern Light* in navigating the Lower St. Lawrence

Other events of the year.

in the winter, and in keeping open communication with Prince Edward Island with very little interruption. Serious labor riots occurred in Quebec, and there were small demonstrations of unemployed working-men in Montreal and Ottawa, but no serious disturbance occurred. Fortunately for Canada we escaped the terrible railroad riots which occurred in Pittsburg and other American cities; and although the members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Canada sympathized with the American movement, and a general strike took place on the Canada Southern, and there was trouble on other roads, there was no rioting. The managers showed a desire to treat the men fairly, and arbitration soon settled the matter amicably. Two railroad events of more than ordinary importance occurred during the year, the first being the arrival at Winnipeg, Manitoba, on the 19th October of the first locomotive for the Canada Pacific Railway; and the second was the running of the first through train from

Montreal to Hull, over the Quebec, Montreal and Occidental Railway, (old Northern Colonization) on the 3rd December, putting the capital within five hours of Montreal. Another significant event was the first direct exportation of wheat from Manitoba to Europe, which took place on the 18th October. During the summer His Excellency took a trip to Manitoba and paid visits to the Mennonite, Icelandic and other settlements, and thus accomplished a task which no Governor-General had before attempted—that of visiting every Province in the Dominion. The year, on the whole, was not a prosperous one for Canada; the crops were poor, the fisheries yielded fairly, but the lumber trade continued dull, and trade and commerce generally worse than in any preceding year. The only gleam of sunshine seemed to be in the strong Conservative reaction which had set in and was daily gaining force, and from the success of which it was hoped that a new era of prosperity would be inaugurated.

## CHAPTER LIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN  
—FIFTH SESSION, THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1878.

1. OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—2. THE BUDGET.—3. DEBATE ON THE BUDGET.—4. THE DISMISSAL OF THE QUEBEC MINISTRY BY LIEUT.-GOVERNOR LETELLIER.—5. DEBATE ON THE LETELLIER CASE.—6. THE TWENTY-TWO HOURS SITTING.—7. THE CASE NOT SETTLED.—8. PROROGATION.

1.—The third Parliament of the Dominion met for the last time on the 7th of February, but the Commons having no Speaker, on account of Hon. Mr. Anglin's resignation, Sir W. B. Richards, Deputy Governor, dismissed the Commons to elect a Speaker. Some discussion occurred on the return of the Commons to their Chamber as to the right of the Clerk of the House to read the returns of members elected, but he read them, and Hon. Mr. Mac-

Opening of  
Parliament. Speech  
from the Throne.

kenzie then moved the appointment of Hon. T. W. Anglin as Speaker. The nomination was opposed by Sir John A. Macdonald, on the ground that Mr. Anglin was not a member of the House, not having been introduced, according to the rules of the House, and some discussion ensued, after which the House divided, and Hon. Mr. Anglin was declared elected by a vote of 116 to 53. On the 8th, the Parliament was formally opened by His Excellency in person. In the Speech from the Throne, His Excellency expressed his pleasure on having been able to visit Manitoba; congratulated the House on the settlement of the Fisheries question, and on the creditable display made by Canada at the exhibition in New South Wales; referred to the preparations which had been going on for some time for the representation of Canada at the Paris Exposition; referred to the St. John, N.B. fire, and the contribution of \$20,000 by the Government for the relief of the sufferers; spoke of a new treaty with the Indians, and to the settling of a body of Sioux Indians under Sitting Bull on Canadian soil to escape United States soldiers; announced that the surveys for the Pacific Railway had been completed, and the Government would be able to locate the line; and rejoiced at the bountiful harvest and a slight improvement in the revenue. Of new legislation an Act was promised relating to the keeping of the public accounts; Acts with reference to the registration of titles, enactment of a Homestead loan, and the promotion of railways in the North-West; a Temperance Act, and Acts relating to the Independence of Parliament, and for some changes in the Departments. In the Senate the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved on the eleventh by Hon. Mr. Thibaudeau seconded by Hon. Mr. Lewin, and after some discussion was adopted. In the Commons the Address was moved on the 11th by Mr. De St. George, and seconded by Mr. Charlton. The debate lasted five days, a large number of members speaking, and a vast variety of subjects, personal and otherwise, touched on, but no amendment was offered and

the Address was adopted without division.

2.—On the 22nd of February, Hon. Mr. Cartwright, Finance Minister, made his Budget

*The Budget.*

Speech. He commenced by regretting that his prophecy of five years ago, while in Opposition, that the extravagance then being indulged in would lead to disastrous results to the country had proved only too true, and that the country was still feeling the ill effects of that policy. He referred to the enormous shrinkage in the volume of trade, as shown by the Imports and Exports, which had taken place since 1873, the amount have been reduced from \$218,000,000 to \$168,000,000, and, of course, the revenue had proportionately decreased. In this, however, he saw some signs of change, the revenue having very considerably increased for the seven months of 1877-8; the excess over the same period last year being nearly \$1,000,000. He admitted that this was largely attributable to the heavy importations to replace the immense destruction at St. John, but thought that would not account for the whole of it, and that a genuine reaction had set in. He referred to the loan of 1876, and quoted some statistics with reference to the placing of recent foreign loans in the English market, to show that the loan had been placed on the very best possible terms. Turning to accounts for the last year he showed that the "Ordinary Expenditure" very little exceeded the estimates, and was \$1,734,696 less than in 1875-6. Although the expenditure had been thus kept down the revenue, especially from Customs, had shrunk so much that there was a deficit of \$1,460,000 on the year's transactions. He attributed this not only to the depression but to the bad harvest of 1876. With reference to the Estimates for 1878-79, he thought that, with a tolerably good harvest, he could safely calculate on \$13,750,000 from Customs, and a total of \$23,850,000 from all sources. With regard to the position on the 1st July, 1878, he said that he found he would need \$30,000,000 which would have to be provided for by fresh loans; of this sum \$13,500,000 was to meet maturing bonds; \$5,500,000 to com-

plete the Welland and Lachine canals; \$6,000,000 for Pacific Railway; and \$5,000,000 for miscellaneous purposes. He entered at length into comparisons of the expenditures in 1872-73 and 1873-74 and the last fiscal year, to show that the great bulk of the increase had been incurred by his predecessors. He compared our taxation with that of the United States and other countries, and claimed that it was light in comparison. He admitted that Canada was "mischievously affected" by the policy of the Americans, but did not consider that any reason why we should imitate them; he considered rather that it would be better to wait a little and see whether the financial position recovered itself, and not to increase taxes at present. He reviewed the stand taken by the Opposition on the question of the "National Policy" which he characterized as a plan "to increase the collective wealth of the country by increasing the taxation, and that they can enrich the community collectively by taking money out of their pockets"; and held that "it is the duty, and the sacred duty of the Government to take only from the people what is necessary to the proper discharge of the public service; and that taxation in any other mode is simply, in one shape or other, legalized robbery."

3.—The Finance Minister was followed by Hon. Dr. Tupper who severely reviewed the statement of the Finance Minister and said that gentleman had <sup>Debate on the Budget.</sup> proved himself equal to the task of establishing not one deficit but two, in the face of three and a half millions of additional taxation imposed on the people. He condemned the inactivity of the Government in not proposing some means of averting the threatened disaster of another deficit, and injury to the credit of Canada. The Finance Minister had shown that there was a large deficit last year, and likely to be another in the current year, but he was content simply to drift along, and had nothing to propose. He went on at considerable length to defend the financial policy of the late Government, and to take exception to that of the present Administration, holding that

what the country needed in the present crisis was a National Policy, such as had been proposed by the leader of the Opposition last year; and not a No Policy such as that of the Government. He was followed by Hon. Mr. Cartwright, and the debate adjourned. The debate was continued on the 26th, and on the 1st, 5th and 7th of March, on which latter day Sir John A. Macdonald moved in amendment "That the Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that this House is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which, by a judicious readjustment of the Tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home, will restore prosperity to our struggling industries, now so sadly depressed, will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market, will encourage and develop an active Inter-Provincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbors, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country, eventually, a reciprocity of trade." The debate was continued on the 8th and 12th, when a division was taken and Sir John A. Macdonald's amendment defeated, Yeas 77; Nays 114.

4.—The Local Legislature of Quebec, of which Mr. DeBoucherville was Premier, was in session at the same time as the Dominion House, and the action of the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province in suddenly dismissing his Ministers gave rise to the longest and most animated debate which occurred during the session, and occasioned what was, probably, the most extraordinary scene ever enacted in the Parliament of Canada. Mr. DeBoucherville had a majority of about 20 in the Assembly, out of a house of 65, and the Legislative Council was about two-thirds Conservative—in fact the

Local Government was about as Conservative as it could be, and there did not seem any probability that it would be anything else for many years to come. So matters stood on the 13th December, 1876, when Lieutenant-Governor Caron died, and the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture in Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet, was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Letellier is a gentleman of good birth, ample fortune and unexceptionable social standing in the Province; but although he had been over a quarter of a century in public life, and was the leader of the Lower Canada *Rouges* in the Senate from the Union when he was called to that body, to the formation of the Mackenzie Administration, still he could not be regarded as a popular man in his Province, and his appointment to the highest office in the Province by no means gave general satisfaction. With his Cabinet Mr. Letellier was far from being in accord; they felt aggrieved that a Liberal should be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of so Conservative a Province as Quebec; and he was too strong a partisan not to wish to do his party what he considered a good turn if opportunity offered—and opportunity was not long wanting. The DeBoucherville Government was in financial straits; the North Shore and Northern Colonization Railways had drained the Treasury, and the cities which had agreed to help those roads with subsidies when they were private enterprises, demurred about keeping their bargains now that the roads had been taken over by the Local Government. There was much difficulty between the Government and some of the Municipalities through which the two roads ran when Hon. Mr. DeBoucherville's Ministry proposed its financial measures for 1878. These may be briefly stated as a vigorous prosecution of the defaulting Municipalities and the imposition of a Stamp tax. The latter Act was most unpopular in Montreal and Quebec, and excitement had already run pretty high when, on the third of March, it was suddenly and unexpectedly flashed over the wires that Lieutenant-Governor Letellier had dismissed his Ministers. Mr. Letellier gave as his reasons

The dismissal of the  
Quebec Ministry  
by Lt.-Governor  
Letellier.



for this Act, that his Ministers had not treated him with that respect which his office demanded; that they had introduced measures in the House under his name not only without his consent, but in direct opposition to his wishes; that they had issued Proclamations in his name without his sanction; and that, he doubted whether they retained the confidence of the Province although they had a majority in the House. On dismissing Mr. DeBoucherville, Mr. Letellier sent for Mr. Joly, the Leader of the Local Opposition and entrusted to him the task of forming a new Ministry, which office he accepted, and succeeded in forming a Cabinet on the 9th.\* Both the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council voted by large majorities that they had no confidence in the new Ministry and the Assembly refused to grant any Supplies; the Lieutenant-Governor thereupon, on 9th March, prorogued the Houses, and, on the 23rd Parliament was dissolved and writs issued for a General Election to take place on the 1st May. Previous to prorogation both the Local Houses adopted Addresses to the Governor-General and Senate and Commons protesting vigorously against the action of the Lieutenant-Governor, and that officer and Hon. Mr. DeBoucherville both presented statements to His Excellency, so that there was soon no lack of documents in the case.

5.—The correspondence was laid on the table on the 26th March, and, on the 11th April, on

Debate on the  
Letellier case.

Hon. Mr. Cartwright moving that the House should again go into Committee of Supply. Sir John A. MacDonald moved the following amendment, "That Mr. Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be Resolved that the recent dismissal by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec of his Ministers was, under the circumstances, unwise

and subversive of the position accorded to the advisers of the Crown since the concession of the principle of Responsible Government to the British North American Colonies." He argued that this was a constitutional question of the gravest importance and should not be considered in a party spirit; it would establish a precedent, and it was of the utmost importance that it should not be a bad precedent. With regard to the competency of the House to deal with the question he said, "The first question that arises upon that resolution is whether we have any concern with it in this House. I need scarcely discuss the question, I suppose, and I hope, I believe, that the Lieutenant-Governors of the different Provinces stand now precisely in the same position with respect to the Governor-General and his Cabinet, as the Governor-General stands with regard to the Queen and her Cabinet; and, if that be admitted, then it must be held that the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada has a supervision of the acts of the Lieutenant-Governors." He quoted several instances where the Imperial Parliament had discussed the conduct of the Colonial Governors, such as Governor Eyre, Sir Charles Darling, &c., and continued, "My contention is, and I do not suppose it will be disputed, that the same power that rested in the Imperial Parliament with respect to Colonial Governors appointed by the direct command of Her Majesty, exists with respect to the Dominion Parliament as far as regards Lieutenant-Governors appointed by commission of the Governor-General." He argued that there was a great difference between the legal right and the constitutional right of the Sovereign, and that what may be legally right may also be constitutionally wrong. He then proceeded to argue on the constitutional position of the Lieutenant-Governor towards his legal advisers—setting aside his legal right to dismiss any office-holder at his pleasure—and maintained that they held the same position towards the Lieutenant-Governor as the Premier of Canada did towards the Governor-General, or the Premier of England to the Queen. In England it was thoroughly established that as

\* The Ministry so formed is as follows:  
Hon. H. G. Joly, Premier and Minister of Agriculture and Public Works.  
Hon. F. C. S. Langelier, Commissioner of Crown Lands.  
Hon. Pierre Bouchard, Treasurer.  
Hon. F. A. Marchand, Provincial Secretary and Registrar.  
Hon. H. Starnes, Speaker Legislative Council.  
Hon. D. Ross, Attorney General.  
Hon. A. Chauveau, Solicitor General.

long as the Ministry of the day had the confidence of the representatives of the people, they had the confidence of the Crown, and he hoped to see that principle maintained in this case. He proceeded to state that when Lieutenant-Governor Letellier entered upon office, he found his Ministers enjoying the full confidence of both the Assembly and Legislative Council, and strong in both Houses; the business of the session had progressed to near its close, and the Ministry had been maintained by a majority of twenty, in a House of sixty-five, and the Lieutenant-Governor had taken upon himself to dismiss these Ministers, on the ground that their measures were unconstitutional. "Not one of these grounds was sufficient, not one of these grounds can hold water for a moment." He quoted several instances of dismissals of Ministers by the Sovereign in England, to show that in each of these there was some reason for the course pursued, but in the present instance there was no reason. He entered at considerable length into the position held by Ministers under Responsible Government, quoting numerous authorities, and holding that Lieutenant-Governor Letellier had acted unconstitutionally in arbitrarily dismissing his Ministers, and deserved the censure of the House.

6.—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie did not deny the right of the House to criticise the conduct of Lieutenant-Governors, but thought it was a right which should be very sparingly exercised. The resolution was very mild, and only said that the action of the Lieutenant-Governor was "unwise," but was the House to constitute itself a Court of Justice, and sit on Lieutenant-Governor Letellier? He thought not. Cases may arise when it would be the duty of the authorities at Ottawa to interfere, but he did not think that the mere dismissal of one Ministry and the appointment of another was such a case. The position in Quebec was this: Mr. Letellier had dismissed his Ministers, and Mr. Joly had accepted the responsibility of forming a new Ministry; in doing so he had assumed the responsibility for Mr. Letellier's act, and had appealed to the

The 22 hours sitting.

country for approval. "Now, suppose this House exercised its discretion, and accorded to the honorable gentlemen opposite more wisdom than to the Governor, and should condemn the action of the Governor, and that the electors of the Province of Quebec, on the 1st of May, should say that the Governor's act was wise, in what position would the Federal Authorities and the Federal Parliament be in condemning the course which the people of the Province themselves had sanctioned and approved? That is precisely the position which the unwisdom of the honorable gentleman opposite would have us rush into, and it is one which I, for one, will not take the responsibility of incurring any danger upon. I believe it is an unwarranted use of the powers of this House to attempt, under the circumstances, to pass any vote of censure or of approval of either party." The debate was continued by Messrs. Masson, Laurier and Brooks, and adjourned on motion of Hon. Mr. Langevin. On the 12th the debate was resumed by Hon. Mr. Langevin and continued up to recess. After recess Mr. Langevin spoke for some time and was followed by Messrs. Jetté, Devlin and others until about midnight, when an adjournment of the debate was proposed, but objected to by Hon. Mr. Mackenzie who insisted that the debate must be concluded and a division taken. The Opposition resisted and began to talk against time. There was an object in this. The Opposition were, to a great extent, fighting the battle of their Conservative friends in Quebec, which was then in all the fever and ferment of a General Election, and they wanted, if possible to stave off a vote until Monday, so that it may not be posted up on the Church doors on Sunday that the House of Commons had approved of the course of Mr. Letellier and Mr. Joly. As the Opposition could not get an adjournment until Monday, they determined to talk until Monday—and they certainly held out very well. All through the night member after member solemnly rose and talked for one, two, or three hours, according to his capacity and wind; while some of the supporters of the

Government kept up a playful accompaniment of cat-calls, creakings of desks, songs and a choice selection of indescribable noises of various sorts. As daylight began slowly and cautiously to peep in through the stained-glass windows, and the flaring gas-lights paled before it, a curious and motley scene was presented. Mr. Speaker held out well, and from time to time tried to quell the disorder, but without effect; here and there hon. members were taking quiet naps, some ornamented with fools' caps, and others with simply a paper thrown over them; tired and worn-out pages crouched, half-sleeping, on the floor; restless reporters fidgeted about the gallery and ventured wise prophecies as to how long the Opposition could hold out. The leader of the Opposition had retired after marshalling his forces, but the Premier stuck close to his desk and seemed more determined than ever to force a division as soon as the Opposition showed signs of weakening. But they showed no signs. Hour after hour the increasing stream of talk flowed on; members strolled out in batches of twos and threes to get breakfast or other refreshments, and as the morning grew apace and it became known that the House was still in session, the galleries began to fill up, and by mid-day were crowded. In the afternoon, Her Excellency and her daughter occupied seats on the right of the Speaker for a while, and seemed much amused at the singing and other "entertainments." About four she rose to go, and then two loyal French Canadian supporters of the Government began to sing "God Save the Queen," and in an instant the whole House, including Mr. Speaker and the clerks, had risen to their feet, and not a few of the members joined in lustily in the singing. Her Excellency seemed much amused and pleased at the outburst, and waited until it was over before leaving the Chamber. About this time Sir John A. Macdonald, who had been absent since day-break, re-entered the House, and shortly after an agreement was made between himself and the Premier that the Speaker should leave the chair at six, and that the debate should then be closed, but a vote

not taken until ten o'clock Monday night, so that some members who were absent may have time to return. This arrangement was carried out, and the House adjourned at six o'clock, after twenty-two hours' continuous session. On the vote being taken on Monday night, Sir John A. Macdonald's motion was defeated.—Yeas, 70; Nays, 112.

7.—In the Senate the resolution condemning the course of Hon. Mr. Letellier was adopted, and the two votes—that of the Senate condemning, and that of <sup>The case not settled.</sup> the House neither condemning nor sustaining—went to the electors together. Contrary to all expectation Hon. Mr. Joly came back from the General Election with half of the House as his supporters, a wonderful gain in Quebec; and on the re-assembling of the Local House Mr. Turcotte, of Three Rivers, who had been elected as a Conservative, elected himself Speaker—we say this advisedly, for there were thirty-two members pledged to support Mr. Joly, and thirty-two opposed to him, and as Mr. Turcotte voted for himself it was certainly his vote which elected him. With this scant majority of one in the Speaker's chair, Mr. Joly managed to get through the session and pass the Estimates. The French Conservatives were furious, and after the result of the Dominion elections, on 17th September, it was thought that Mr. Letellier would be at once removed. But Sir John A. Macdonald, as leader of the Opposition, and Sir John A. Macdonald, as the responsible adviser of the Governor-General, are two different men; while he was quite willing to advise Mr. Mackenzie to remove Mr. Letellier he declined to do so on his own responsibility, after he had succeeded to office, until Parliament had reversed its decision of last year; and even after the House had reversed that decision, and censured Mr. Letellier, although he obeyed the wish of the House and advised His Excellency to remove Mr. Letellier, he at the same time advised him to take the opinion of the Home Authorities before acting, as his action would form a very important precedent, and it was best to have the precedent thoroughly well

established. So the matter rests at the time of writing (17th April, 1879.)

8.—The session was an unusually long one, lasting until the 10th May, but comparatively little business was done, and

Prorogation.

had it not been the last session before a General Election, when every member feels bound to make several speeches for the benefit of his constituents, it is doubtful whether the real business of the session would have lasted much over six weeks. This being the last year of the Earl of Dufferin's stay in Canada both Houses passed Addresses to him expressive of regret at his departure, and it is doubtful whether any similar Address to a Governor General was ever so heartily felt. His Excellency, in proroguing Parliament, gave assent to twenty-two public and twenty-three private bills. Amongst the most important was a new Temperance Act introduced in the Senate by Hon. R. W. Scott, the Act repeals portions of the Dunkin Act of 1864 and is a Permissive bill by which electoral divisions have the right to petition the Secretary of State to have a vote taken on the question of prohibiting the sale of liquor in that division, provided one-fourth of the electors qualified to vote for a member of Parliament sign the petition. Voting to be by ballot. A new Independence of Parliament Act was passed, which reduces the liability of members sitting and voting illegally in the House. Acts amending the Election Act; providing for a new system of auditing the public accounts; repealing the Customs duty on malt; with reference to the use of bill stamps; adulteration of food, &c. were passed. One of the most necessary Acts was that relating to crimes of violence, which was introduced by Hon. Mr. Blake, and which gives the Governor-in-Council power to Proclaim the Act in force in any district, after which all persons are forbidden, under heavy penalties, to carry fire-arms except soldiers, volunteers, peace officers &c. This Act was specially intended for Montreal, where lawlessness had increased to an alarming extent; and it was Proclaimed there shortly after its passage and has done much good.

## CHAPTER LV.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN —PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1878.

1. DOMINION BOARD OF TRADE.—2. THE 12TH JULY RIOTS.—3. THE ELECTIONS.—4. DEPARTURE OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.—5. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE AND H. R. H. PRINCESS LOUISE.

1.—The eighth annual meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade was opened in the City Hall, Ottawa, on the 15th of January, the President, Adam <sup>Dominion Board of Trade.</sup> Brown Esq., presiding. After the adoption of the annual report and the delivering of the President's address, the first business was the adoption of a resolution in favor of amending the Stamp Act so that either the maker or endorser could cancel the stamp. Resolutions in favor of amending the Weights and Measures Act, and recommending an uniform system of Customs appraisements and a reduction of the number of small ports of entry were also carried. Major Walker introduced a resolution in favor of Reciprocity with the United States, which was adopted. Considerable discussion took place on a resolution recommending that the inspection of butter and hides should be made compulsory, and it was finally adopted by 26 to 9. Mr. Mackenzie introduced a resolution to the effect that while the Board was content with the seventeen and a half per cent. tariff, it was of opinion that in the event of any revision the interests of manufacturers should be considered; which was adopted. A great deal of discussion took place on the subject of the sugar duties and the matter was referred to a Committee which reported in favor of advising the Government to adopt counter-vailing duties, and to reduce low grades for refining, it being held that no successful business could be done with the West Indies unless the refining interest was protected. The report was adopted by 28 to 5. Much fault was found not only with the existing duty



on malt, but in the manner of collecting it, which was very troublesome, and a resolution that the mode of collecting this tax should be changed was adopted. Resolutions regretting the injury done to the carrying trade by the Americans being allowed to use our canals while we could not use theirs; and in favor of Halifax as a winter port were carried. A long discussion took place on the question of taxing coal and the motion that a tax should be imposed was lost by 14 for 17 against. Mr. H. Joseph, of Quebec was elected President for the ensuing year.

2.—The unhappy religious feuds in Montreal increased very much during the year, the Orangemen and Catholic Unionists both increasing considerably in numbers, and frequent rows being the result. As the 12th of July drew near, and the determination of the Orangemen to assert their right to walk in procession became known, great fears arose of a possible conflict and great efforts were made to dissuade them from their purpose, but without avail. They claimed that they had a right to walk, and walk they would. Mayor Beaudry was applied to but declined to make any application for calling out the troops. Some Magistrates, however, applied for them and A. and B. Batteries were ordered out as well as some country regiments and all the city corps. On the 11th a legal opinion was given, at the request of Mayor Beaudry, by Messrs. S. Bethune, Q.C., E. Carter, Q.C., J. W. Ritchie, Q.C., and E. Barnard, Q.C., as to the illegality of the Orange body, it being held that they came under the provisions of an old Act against secret societies which has passed at the time of the rebellion. The four Q. C.'s agreed that it did, and, on the morning of 12th, Mayor Beaudry had the Orange Grand Master—David Grant—and some others arrested. They were afterwards tried but no case made against them, and it was agreed that a test case should be taken to the Privy Council. The 12th was an anxious day in Montreal. The Orangemen had assembled in their Hall on St. James Street preparatory to forming in procession, and when the procession

was abandoned on the arrest of the leaders, they found themselves besieged by an immense crowd, and had to remain in their Hall all day, until towards evening when they were taken home in cabs by the police. There was much excitement but no riots. Several persons were shot during the year and the streets were most unsafe at night. The Proclamation of the Blake Act, however, and its enforcement checked the use of revolvers, and after it was understood that the legality or illegality of the Orange body would be a matter for the Courts to settle, the excitement subsided and Montreal once more became quiet. On the 9th and two following days in June there were quite extensive labor riots in Quebec, and the Military had to be called out and fired on the mob, killing and wounding several.

3.—The great event of the year was the General Election for the House of Commons, which took place on the 17th September, and resulted in the triumphant endorsement of the "National Policy," and the return of Sir John A. Macdonald to power, with a larger majority to back him than ever Mr. Mackenzie had in 1874. For the first time since Confederation there was a square issue before the people, Protection or Free Trade, and their pronouncement in favor of the former was far more emphatic than even the most sanguine had anticipated. The two most notable defeats were Sir John A. Macdonald in Kingston, and Hon. Mr. Cartwright in Lennox. Sir John was at once elected for Vancouver, B.C., and, after a little while Mr. Cartwright obtained a seat in Centre Huron. Hon. Edward Blake was defeated in South Bruce, and has not re-entered public life. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie resigned shortly after the result was known, and Sir John A. Macdonald was called on to form a Cabinet, which he did with the following result:

RT. HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, P.C., K.C.B., M. P. British Columbia, Premier and Minister of the Interior.

HON. S. L. TILLEY, C.B., M. P. New Brunswick, Minister of Finance.

HON. A. CAMPBELL, Senator, Ontario, Receiver-General.

HON. H. L. LANGEVIN, C.B., M. P. Quebec, Postmaster-General.

HON. J. C. AIKINS, Senator, Ontario, Secretary of State.

The 12th July  
Riots.

The Elections.

HON. CHAS. TUPPER, C.B., M. P. Nova Scotia, Minister of Public Works.

HON. J. H. POPE, M. P. Quebec, Minister of Agriculture

HON. JOHN O'CONNOR, M. P. Ontario, President of the Council.

HON. JAMES MACDONALD, M. P. Nova Scotia, Minister of Justice.

HON. L. F. R. MASSON, M. P. Quebec, Minister of Militia and Defence.

HON. J. C. POPE, M. P. Prince Edward Island, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

HON. MACKENZIE BOWELL, M. P. Ontario, Minister of Customs.

HON. L. F. G. BABY, M. P., Quebec, Minister of Inland Revenue.

HON. R. D. WILMOT, Senator, New Brunswick, Speaker of the Senate.

4.—Canada sustained the loss of one of her truest and best friends, and one whose eloquent praise of her had made her better known than she had ever been

Departure of the  
Earl of Dufferin.

before, by the departure of the Earl of Dufferin, after having completed his term of six years as Governor-General. The British Government showed their appreciation of his services by offering to extend his term one year, but this he declined, and returning to England still greater confidence was shown in him by appointing him to the difficult and delicate position of Ambassador at St. Petersburg. Lord Dufferin took with him from Canada the hearty and honest regrets of a whole people who had learned to love, honor and respect him, and whose good wishes for his future success were both deep and earnest. Never since the days of Guy Carleton has there been a Governor in Canada who has so thoroughly identified himself with the people, and who has left so many pleasant memories behind him. Previous to his departure he paid a visit to the Eastern Townships and also paid a flying visit to Toronto to open the Provincial Fair. He was presented with a large number of Addresses, conspicuous amongst which was one from nearly all the Municipal Bodies of Ontario, which was presented to him at Quebec a few days before his sailing from that port.

5.—It seemed at first as if there could be no consolation for the loss of our popular Governor-General, and people were just beginning to think "there will never be another like him," when

The Marquis of  
Lorne and H.R.H.  
the Princess Louise.

it was announced that the Marquis of Lorne had been offered and had accepted the position and that he would be accompanied by H.R.H. the Princess Louise. The announcement was received with joyous surprise, and long before they would be here preparations were being made for giving them a right royal reception. Princes we had had, and got somewhat used to, but a Princess never, and the people determined that the first Princess of the Royal blood to set her foot on this Western continent should be accorded a reception befitting her rank, and worthy of the loyal hearts which loved to honor her. Their Excellencies arrived at Halifax on Saturday 23rd November, when they were met by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh who had arrived a few days previously in the *Black Prince*. The Royal party landed on Monday and were splendidly received. Never before had Halifax decked herself in more gala attire and never have her hospitable citizens extended a more hearty and cordial welcome to any of the many distinguished guests who have from time to time visited them than they did to "The young Lord of Lorne and his bonnie Louise." From Halifax to Montreal, and from Montreal to Ottawa "all along the line" the reception was most enthusiastic, and the capital fairly outdid itself in making its welcome worthy of the distinguished pair who came to take up their residence amongst us. Since their arrival here they have greatly endeared themselves to the people, whose wish we know we do but echo in hoping that they may remain with us for many years.